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BY

REV. THOMAS LAURIE.

Congress

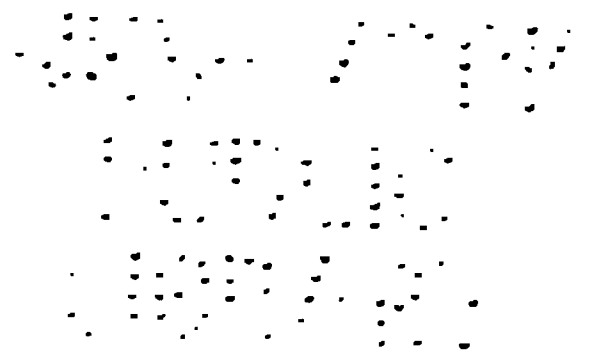


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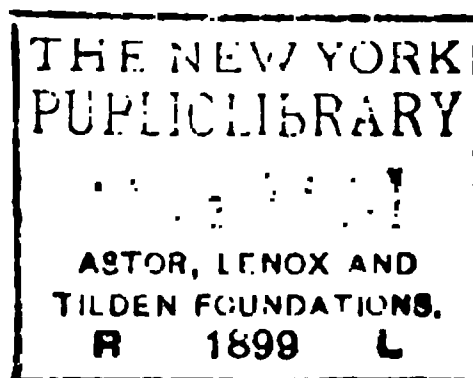
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THE doctrine which this article sums up and condenses from the Scriptures, is peculiarly a Scripture doctrine. Like the doctrine of the atonement, it is not likely to be discovered from nature, but requires to be revealed. The mode of the divine existence is, from the nature of the subject, so high above all the analogies of nature or created existences, that we must depend wholly on the Bible for the statement and the proof. Nor can we reasonably expect to comprehend it fully in its philosophy. “Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?” All that can be demanded by reason is that the facts be clearly revealed and that it shall not be absurd and impossible, or contradictory to reason and the analogy of nature. This therefore is one of several truths fundamental to the Gospel system, which no man can be expected to receive who has not first fully settled in his mind the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, such as to constitute them an infallible guide.

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As evidence, however, that the doctrine is not contrary to reason, and that nature does not reject or cry out against it, it may be stated that, like the custom of sacrifices, the notion has been very prevalent through the world, that, in some way, the Deity has a three-fold manner of existence. This fact can only be accounted for on the supposition that the doctrine of the Trinity was revealed to the patriarchs, and, by tradition, some traces of it were preserved and spread abroad among the nations.

It is well known that the ancient Egyptians, and the eastern nations generally believed in a Trinity. The missionaries find the Hindoos believing it in modern times, and find them also tracing the notion back to a very ancient date.

As the philosophers thought it their province to explain every thing, we find Plato, nearly four hundred years before Christ, endeavoring by philosophy to bring down the mystery to the comprehension of men. He resolved the Trinity into, (1) God as pure reason. (2) God as the original ideas in reason. (3) God as these ideas infused into material forms and now existing as the soul of the world. Plato had many followers who adopted these speculations with more or less addition and modification. During the first Christian century there arose various sects called Gnostics whose object was to blend the Platonic philosophy with the doctrines of the Gospel. The Ebionites, the Nicolaitans, and the followers of Cerinthus, against whom John wrote his Gospel, were all Gnostics who were corrupting this and other Christian doctrines by their speculations. Undoubtedly John in the latter part of his life wrote his Gospel more expressly to deny and refute the errors of those false teachers, who had endeavored to persuade the early Christians that the divine and the human were not actually and really united in the person of the Lord Jesus.

Hence at the outset, he goes back to the very expression which the Jewish church had for ages employed to represent the Jehovah, or Lord of the Old Testament, and repeatedly, and unequivocally applies it to Christ; declaring that this same person, called by the patriarchs and prophets the Angel Jehovah, "The Lord whom ye seek," "the messenger of the covenant," was the Lord Jesus Christ, both their Creator and Redeemer. The Babylonian paraphrase, or Targum, frequently translates the Hebrew word "Jehovah," by "The *Word* of the Lord."

John therefore seizes on this expression, well understood by the Jews, and the strongest he could employ to affirm that Jesus Christ is the very God whom the patriarchs and prophets worshipped from the beginning. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory (i. e. we, like our fathers, beheld his shekinah) the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

This authoritatively settled the question. Accordingly we find that, during the first three centuries, the primitive preachers of the Gospel taught the doctrine of the Trinity in the most plain and simple form, stating and affirming it without attempting any explanation. But, towards the close of this period, many who had imbibed the doctrines of the Gnostics were nominally converted to Christianity; and by them a new attempt was made to blend the two; or rather by philosophy to reduce the deep mystery of the mode of Triunity to the comprehension of reason.

With them the theory of emanation was the great source of explanation. The second person was viewed as an emanation from the first; and the third evolved by conjoined emanation from both the first and second. Construing the words of Jesus, "I came out from God," as if spoken of the literal generation of the Son, they said, it follows that the Son was begotten from the being of the Father. This gross view presented the Father and the Son as corporeal; and the Father as divided into two. Well has it been said, "these are the dogmas of men who never even dreamed of an invisible, incorporeal nature." Yet they served to bring on, in the fourth century, the most ardent and metaphysical discussion which the church has ever known. On one side the distinction between the Father and the Son was made so broad that the Son became wholly a distinct being from, and inferior to the Father: this was the Arian heresy. On the other hand, the distinction was so little that the Father and the Son became both wholly the same, only under different forms of manifestation. This was the Sabellian heresy.

All this shows us that the true doctrine of the Trinity, while

it must be received as a fact of revelation, is not, and was never felt to be absurd or impossible. It is not contradictory to reason, but above reason, like a thousand other things which have not been as to manner yet fully revealed and unfolded.

Before proceeding to the direct Scripture proof of this doctrine, it is important that we get the clearest possible view of precisely what is affirmed. It is not meant that there is simply a distinction of divine attributes, as if power stands for the Father; wisdom for the Son; and truth for the Spirit. Nor is a distinction founded on relations what is meant by the Trinity; as if God were called Father in consequence of his relation as creator and preserver. It is not the result of different manifestations, as if God as manifest to the patriarchs was the Father; and the same personality as manifest in the flesh was the Son; and as manifest on the day of pentecost, the Spirit. But it is meant that, independently of all manifestations and relations, there is in the eternal nature of the Deity a three-fold distinction to such an extent as that there can be proper society and communication between them. This three-fold distinction, for want of a better term, is commonly called a personal distinction.

Again, it is not, as we be slanderously reported, that we believe the one God to be three Gods; or the three Gods one God, but that the mode of his infinite and indefinable existence is that of a triunity; that the one God exists in three separate and distinct persons; that he is one in substance or being, and three in personality; that there is a basis in the high and mysterious nature of God's one only being, which renders it possible and natural that his personality should be three-fold.

This can not be said to be contradictory, without asserting the identity and inseparability of substance and personality; and no one is prepared for that; for substance is defined to be, "The essential part, that which supports accidents." Substance may exist without personality.

If you ask how the one being of God can exist in persons, we can not tell. Neither can we tell how man exists as soul and body, two distinct natures in one person. Indeed the mode in which any being subsists, connecting its distinct nature and known properties, is a mystery to the most learned naturalists,

and probably always will be in this world. And if the most common of God's works, with which we are so conversant, be in this respect incomprehensible, how can men think that the mode of the existence of the infinite Creator should be level to their capacities?

Looking now to the proofs, we shall find it most natural to divide our subject into two parts.

First, God is revealed in the Scriptures as the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. In the following passages, the three are placed in marked distinction from each other and all upon the same divine basis.

"Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Matt. xxviii. 19. "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." 2 Cor. xiii. 14. "The Lord [evidently the Holy Ghost] direct your hearts into the love of God, [God the Father,] and into the patient waiting for Christ." 2 Thes. iii. 5. "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." 1 Peter i. 2.

Other passages might be adduced in which the three persons in the Trinity address each other, enter into covenant engagements with each other, and in various ways are distinguished into different personalities.

That these three are the one only God is abundantly taught from texts which exclude all other Gods, such as—

"Is there a God beside me? Yea, there is no God; I know not any." Isa. xliv. 8. "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand. For I lift my hand to heaven and say, I live forever." Deut. xxxii. 39, 40. "Thou art God alone." Ps. lxxxvi. 10.

Second, these three persons are revealed in the Scriptures as equal in all divine attributes. It will not be necessary to enumerate the proofs that all divine attributes and titles are ascribed to God the Father; since as creator and governor this is everywhere seen and admitted. Our remaining work is, therefore, to

produce the evidences that such is the case also in relation to the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

It is necessary, however, first to premise that there can be no middle ground between God and a created being. From the nature of the case there can be no degrees in divine nature, since the very idea of divinity is infinite completeness, the highest possible state of being. The gulf between the creature and the Creator is an absolutely impassable and boundless one. There may be different orders of angels, rising rank above rank in the scale of being. But the highest, the archangel, is no more divine, no nearer to God in his real nature than the lowest. He is still a creature, and the distance between the creature and the Creator is and must be infinite. To suppose the contrary is to confound all distinctions of thought and language and render reasoning and knowledge as impossible as was society to the builders of Babel.

If, therefore, we find in the Scriptures that Christ and the Holy Ghost are spoken of in a way which raises them above the rank of creatures; if the divine, incommunicable attributes, such as eternity, self-existence, creative power, and omniscience are attributed to them; if a religious reverence is required to be paid to them, and sentiments and feelings are expressed towards them such as are only proper to be given to God; we must regard them as supremely Divine.

Let us come now to the view which the Bible presents of the Lord Jesus Christ. And at the outset it is essential to meet and answer satisfactorily the objections to the divine character of Christ which arise from apparently opposing texts, such as,

“The Son can do nothing of himself.” John v. 19. “My Father is greater than I.” John xiv. 28. “As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father.” John vi. 57. “No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” John i. 18.

Now in relation to these and all similar passages, two considerations furnish a complete answer.

First. The Son of God was truly and completely human as well as divine; and of course we expect the Scriptures to affirm

his humanity and in various ways recognize it. It was as important to his work of atonement that he should be human as that he should be divine. To be a proper daysman or mediator between God and man, he must partake of the nature of both. The idea of God, suffering as God, is revolting to our feelings, if not absurd. We see not how the whole Godhead could leave the throne of government and majesty even for a moment, and trail his royal robes in dust and ignominy in order to make atonement. It requires three persons, if one is to be the mediator between two.

And on the other hand, if we regard Christ as only the manifestation of God, and not a real person, then the suffering and atonement was only a pretense on the part of God and not real; which is utterly untenable and revolting. Christ must have had therefore a human body and soul as real, and in every respect like our own. His human body was as dependent on God for strength as any other human body; and his human mind and soul as dependent on God for sympathy, knowledge and wisdom as that of any other human mind and soul. And if this his humanity was essential to his character and work as redeemer, we see not how the Bible could be expected to be silent or equivocal on this subject. Hence the Scriptures are explicit and full in bringing out the distinct and perfect humanity of the Lord Jesus. It is said,

“He increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.” “The word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” “There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” “Verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham: wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.”

The other consideration is, that the Son of God for a time assumed, as was necessary to his redeeming work, a place subordinate to that of the Father, the place of an obedient, faithful, loving, and suffering son and servant. Both Isaiah and the Psalmist plainly intimate that, far back in the councils of eternity, the Three in One entered into covenant in relation to human redemption, in which the Son engages to take upon him the form of a servant and make atonement, and the Father en-

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If you ask how the one being of God can exist in persons, we can not tell. Neither can we tell how man exists as soul and body, two distinct natures in one person. Indeed the mode in which any being subsists, connecting its distinct nature and known properties, is a mystery to the most learned naturalists,

and probably always will be in this world. And if the most common of God's works, with which we are so conversant, be in this respect incomprehensible, how can men think that the mode of the existence of the infinite Creator should be level to their capacities?

Looking now to the proofs, we shall find it most natural to divide our subject into two parts.

First, God is revealed in the Scriptures as the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. In the following passages, the three are placed in marked distinction from each other and all upon the same divine basis.

“Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Matt. xxviii. 19. “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.” 2 Cor. xiii. 14. “The Lord [evidently the Holy Ghost] direct your hearts into the love of God, [God the Father,] and into the patient waiting for Christ.” 2 Thes. iii. 5. “Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.” 1 Peter i. 2.

Other passages might be adduced in which the three persons in the Trinity address each other, enter into covenant engagements with each other, and in various ways are distinguished into different personalities.

That these three are the one only God is abundantly taught from texts which exclude all other Gods, such as—

“Is there a God beside me? Yea, there is no God; I know not any.” Isa. xliv. 8. “See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand. For I lift my hand to heaven and say, I live forever.” Deut. xxxii. 39, 40. “Thou art God alone.” Ps. lxxxvi. 10.

Second, these three persons are revealed in the Scriptures as equal in all divine attributes. It will not be necessary to enumerate the proofs that all divine attributes and titles are ascribed to God the Father; since as creator and governor this is everywhere seen and admitted. Our remaining work is, therefore, to

produce the evidences that such is the case also in relation to the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

It is necessary, however, first to premise that there can be no middle ground between God and a created being. From the nature of the case there can be no degrees in divine nature, since the very idea of divinity is infinite completeness, the highest possible state of being. The gulf between the creature and the Creator is an absolutely impassable and boundless one. There may be different orders of angels, rising rank above rank in the scale of being. But the highest, the archangel, is no more divine, no nearer to God in his real nature than the lowest. He is still a creature, and the distance between the creature and the Creator is and must be infinite. To suppose the contrary is to confound all distinctions of thought and language and render reasoning and knowledge as impossible as was society to the builders of Babel.

If, therefore, we find in the Scriptures that Christ and the Holy Ghost are spoken of in a way which raises them above the rank of creatures; if the divine, incommunicable attributes, such as eternity, self-existence, creative power, and omniscience are attributed to them; if a religious reverence is required to be paid to them, and sentiments and feelings are expressed towards them such as are only proper to be given to God; we must regard them as supremely Divine.

Let us come now to the view which the Bible presents of the Lord Jesus Christ. And at the outset it is essential to meet and answer satisfactorily the objections to the divine character of Christ which arise from apparently opposing texts, such as,

“The Son can do nothing of himself.” John v. 19. “My Father is greater than I.” John xiv. 28. “As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father.” John vi. 57. “No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” John i. 18.

Now in relation to these and all similar passages, two considerations furnish a complete answer.

First. The Son of God was truly and completely human as well as divine; and of course we expect the Scriptures to affirm

his humanity and in various ways recognize it. It was as important to his work of atonement that he should be human as that he should be divine. To be a proper daysman or mediator between God and man, he must partake of the nature of both. The idea of God, suffering as God, is revolting to our feelings, if not absurd. We see not how the whole Godhead could leave the throne of government and majesty even for a moment, and trail his royal robes in dust and ignominy in order to make atonement. It requires three persons, if one is to be the mediator between two.

And on the other hand, if we regard Christ as only the manifestation of God, and not a real person, then the suffering and atonement was only a pretense on the part of God and not real; which is utterly untenable and revolting. Christ must have had therefore a human body and soul as real, and in every respect like our own. His human body was as dependent on God for strength as any other human body; and his human mind and soul as dependent on God for sympathy, knowledge and wisdom as that of any other human mind and soul. And if this his humanity was essential to his character and work as redeemer, we see not how the Bible could be expected to be silent or equivocal on this subject. Hence the Scriptures are explicit and full in bringing out the distinct and perfect humanity of the Lord Jesus. It is said,

“He increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.” “The word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” “There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” “Verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham: wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.”

The other consideration is, that the Son of God for a time assumed, as was necessary to his redeeming work, a place subordinate to that of the Father, the place of an obedient, faithful, loving, and suffering son and servant. Both Isaiah and the Psalmist plainly intimate that, far back in the councils of eternity, the Three in One entered into covenant in relation to human redemption, in which the Son engages to take upon him the form of a servant and make atonement, and the Father en-

gages that if the Son shall make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. Accordingly Paul says of Jesus :

“Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God : but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men : and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name ; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.” Phil. ii. 6—11.

Now with these two considerations in our mind the whole Bible harmonizes with the claim to supreme divinity which the Son of God himself set up and frequently advocated. Not a text can be found which asserts the humanity, the dependence, or subordination of Christ, in contradiction to his divinity. In every instance the text and context may be naturally made to harmonize with all these numerous passages which unequivocally assert the supreme divinity of the Saviour.

It is only necessary to add a few of these passages. In the following passages in John, Christ claims equality and unity with God.

“My Father worketh hitherto and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also, that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.” John v. 17, 18.

And notwithstanding this accusation, Jesus continued to call God his Father more than fifty times as recorded by the evangelists.

“I and my Father are one.” John x. 30. “The Jews answered him, saying : For a good work we stone thee not ; but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.” John x. 33. “Say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemist ; because I said I am the Son of God?” John x. 36. “If I do not the work of my Father, believe me not.” John x. 37. “O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.” John xvii. 5.

In the following passages is collected a specimen of the titles given to Christ in the Scriptures.

“I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.” Rev. xxii. 13. “Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulders: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.” Isa. ix. 6. “And we are in him that is true, even in his son Jesus Christ: this is the true God and eternal life.” 1 John v. 20. “Lord of all.” Acts-x. 36. “Lord of lords.” Rev. xvii. 14. “It pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.” Col. i. 19. And again, “Ye are complete in him who is the head of all principality and power.” Col. ii. 10.

In Heb. xiii. 8, immutability is ascribed to him: “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.”

In Col. i. 16, he is recognized as the creator and as having the right to seek his own glory. “All things were created by him and for him.”

John i. 3, asserts his omnipotence:

“All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made.” Also his eternity: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God.”

In the following text from Col. i. 16, 17, both his omnipotence and his eternity are asserted:

“By him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities or powers. All things were created by him and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.”

Here is omnipresence:

“Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” Matt. xviii. 20. “I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.” Matt. xxviii. 20.

While he is yet on earth he asserts that he is in heaven.

“No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven.” John iii. 13.

He wrought miracles in his own name and by his own direct power, saying, Matt. viii. 3, "I will, be thou clean," while the apostles uniformly wrought in the name of Christ.

We shall only add that the honors of supreme adoration were everywhere claimed for him and given to him. The martyr Stephen died, Acts vii. 59, "Calling upon God and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Christ never forbade those who fell down before him and worshipped him. Now to worship any being but God was strictly forbidden. Jesus said to Satan, Matt. iv. 10, "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." In Col. ii. 18, "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels." If it be said that Christ received worship in the name of, and as the representative of God, it is replied, why then could not the apostles and the angels do the same? But they always refused and shrunk back with horror from the idea. When on one occasion, Acts xiv. 11—15, the Lycaonians with their priests of Jupiter brought oxen and garlands, and would have done sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, the apostles hearing of it,

"Rent their clothes and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying; sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you, that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein."

John also tells us in Rev. xix. 10, that when he fell down to worship the angel which had showed him the wonders that he records, probably supposing him to be God, the angel said unto him, "see thou do it not; for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of those who keep the sayings of this book: worship God." How very different from all this was it with the Lord Jesus Christ! When he commissioned the apostles to preach the Gospel to every creature, he required them to associate his name with that of the Father and the Holy Ghost, in the baptismal formula. This would have been the highest conceivable blasphemy had he been anything short of the eternal, self-existent God.

The apostles ascribed to him the highest form of worship in their benedictions: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the

love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." Their most common benediction was, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you." Peter has it, 2 Peter, iii. 18, "But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to him be glory both now and forever. Amen." Jude closes with, "To the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and forever. Amen."

What blasphemy all this, on the supposition even that Jesus was but the highest seraph that ever tuned his golden harp in glory!

In Hebrews we are taught that God the Father requires that the Son should receive worship; "When he bringeth the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." Heb. i. 6. In Rev. v. 13, we are told that all the glorified inhabitants were heard saying, "Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever."

We have thus shown, we think, beyond all dispute, that the Scriptures uniformly represent Christ Jesus as equal with the Father in all divine attributes.

How is it with reference to the Holy Ghost, the third person in the Godhead?

We do not know that either his personality or his divine nature were ever disputed by the Jews. Hence, less pains were taken by the evangelists and apostles to affirm and establish the same. But having such indubitable evidence in relation to the supreme divinity of the Son, the inference is natural and strong that the same is true of the Holy Ghost. The principle of plurality of persons being admitted, and there being the same necessity for distinct, personal, and divine existence in the office-work of the Holy Spirit, as in the case of the Lord Jesus; the evidence of the supreme divinity of the Holy Spirit is readily received. The office-work of the Holy Spirit in the scheme of redemption is as important as the office-work of the Son of God. Men must be convicted, illuminated, regenerated, sanctified; and so reconciled to God. If the Father could consistently reconcile sinners to himself, why could he not redeem them also? If certain subjects were in unreasonable and wicked

rebellion against their king, it would not be considered consistent with the proper honor and majesty of the government to plead with the rebels, or even to communicate with them while they were in rebellion. A neighboring sovereign might volunteer to change and bring back the rebels to their allegiance, and thus it would be consistent for the justly offended king to delay retribution and give space for repentance.

So in the government of God over rebellious and lost men, there is seen to be need of a distinct, divine person to take into his hands the work of actually renewing and reconciling men to God on the plan provided by Christ; one who shall take of the things of Christ and show them unto sinners; one who shall, by inspiration, provide a Bible, the truth, by means of which to enlighten and sanctify; one who shall set home the Law, in its spiritual interpretation, upon the conscience, touching and subduing the flinty heart, with the same efficient, almighty power by which a dead body is raised to life, as Paul teaches in the first chapter of Ephesians; one who shall be the guide and comforter of Christians, always with them after Christ's departure.

Such was the teaching of Christ in his farewell address to his disciples.

“But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.” “It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.”

This language can only have any meaning on the supposition that the Holy Spirit is truly a divine and personal agent. Accordingly in the following passages, the Holy Ghost is called God more or less directly. “But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.” Acts v. 3, 4. Let it be remembered that the Holy Ghost, as did Christ before him, had made his official entrance into the world just before, on the day of Pentecost, to be henceforth the divine, official guide of the apostles and the church. And that men might be impressed with a sense of his true character; might be warned not to trifle with him on whom their conversion and sealing depended, it was important thus

early and awfully to vindicate him as the heart searcher, against the slight of Ananias and Sapphira.

Again, if we put together these two passages, John iii. 5 and John i. 13, the declaration of the Spirit's divinity, and of his attribute of power is as plain as language can make it. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he can not enter into the kingdom of God." "Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." So also in the following texts, one asserts that inspiration is of God; and the other attributes it to the Holy Ghost. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." 2 Tim. iii. 16. "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." 2 Peter i. 21. Again, compare 1 Cor. iii. 16 with 1 Cor. vi. 19. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?"

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is made an unpardonable sin. Is this done to secure divine honor to, and fear for, the Holy Ghost? In Heb. ix. 14, he is called the "Eternal Spirit." In other passages he is called the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge, the Spirit of power, the Spirit of holiness. And there is no essential attribute or work of divinity that is not repeatedly ascribed to him personally. He is one of the three that bear record in heaven. He is associated on equality with the Father and the Son in the baptismal formula; and prayer is offered to him in the apostolic benedictions and is intended to be thus offered in all ages. What evidence could we have more?*

Does any one ask for the use of the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity? Why all this pains to fathom so deep and mysterious a subject? The reply is at hand. While we would not seek to penetrate within the vail of unrevealed mystery, we must remember that the great facts concerning the mode of the divine existence are plainly revealed, and are of the highest importance for us to understand.

How shall we worship God "in spirit and in truth" if we have no correct knowledge of God? Without this piety can not

* We have formerly unfolded the proofs of the personality of the Holy Spirit, as an individual distinct from the Father and the Son, without regard to the question of his grade or divinity. See Vol. III., pp. 437—445.

be intelligent—it can only be a sentiment, like idolatry, though the idol be a god of the imagination. Did not Jesus teach that it is the will of the Father “That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father”? And, “He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father that hath sent him.”

And are we not exhorted by the apostle, “Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption”? “Quench not the Spirit”? Are we not required to “love in deed and in truth,” and that “hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him”? How shall we avoid grieving him, if we neglect to know and honor him in his true character? How can we understand the plan of redemption, indeed how can we see it possible that there should be a real atonement, anything besides a mere pretence on the part of God, only as we are satisfied of the triune existence of the Divine Being?

Moreover, do we not get higher and more glorious conceptions of God, as being complete in himself, not solitary and silent, but having blissful and eternal society in himself, ages before he had created man, or the world, or any angel; one in nature, one in disposition, one in purposes, yet taking sweet council, planning harmoniously systems of worlds, and covenanting with unfaltering confidence?

What a cluster of infinite perfections and sources of blessedness is here; worthy of our contemplation and study throughout the ceaseless future: possessed of all conceivable sources of felicity, had no planets ever rolled from his hand to pursue their fixed undeviating orbits in space; and had no ranks of seraphim and cherubim been called into being to take their willing stations around his throne!

Can this doctrine ever be safely removed from our church creeds?

ARTICLE II.

HEROD THE GREAT.

HEROD THE GREAT was one of those unusual persons, whose life constitutes an era in history. Men reckon to and from such a life as a bold way mark on the great historical thoroughfare of events. Such was the cruelty of his character and government that he has become a byword and an illustration for all that is bloody in a man, and despotic in a king. The awful tragedy, that associates his name in the Gospel narrative with the Prince of Peace and the angel song of good will to men, is but an ordinary item in his monstrous life of nearly half a century as governor and king in the Holy Land.

It will much aid our understanding of the whole, if, before we go into the particulars of his life, we state who were prominent actors in the royal theatre of the East, and what was done by them in those times when Herod was so conspicuous.

Herod the Great was born in the year 72 B.C., and died in or near to the second year after the birth of Christ. Within these years of the lifetime of one king, many distinguished persons flourished in the East, and with them Herod, as a most prominent man, had both acquaintance and business.

Julius Cæsar was older than Herod by only about twenty-five years, and so the two were for some years plundering the world at the same time. In the earlier part of his public career Pompey and Marius, Sylla and Cataline were vexing the Roman empire with their ambitious intrigues. Later in the reign of Herod, Antony and Cleopatra taxed the honor and peace of two kingdoms for their own mutual and criminal pleasures. The great Augustus, too, was nursing the army and navy of Rome for universal empire, while his patronage of literature was marking his reign as the Augustan and crowning age of Roman scholarship. These were the days of Cicero and Virgil, of Horace, Sallust and Livy. Most stirring battles and other events that shaped the courses of nations took place during the life of Herod. Cæsar conquers Gaul and invades

Britain. The battle of Pharsalia is fought, leaving Cæsar victor, and hurrying Pompey into Egypt to die by assassination. Four years afterward Cæsar meets the same fate. Between these two violent deaths Herod receives his first appointment as governor of Galilee. Soon after followed the battle of Actium, that left Augustus without a rival, as head of the Roman empire.

In such times as these, among such men, and in scenes so important for the destinies of the world, was the life of Herod the Great.

The father of Herod was Antipater, an Idumæan, or Edomite, of noble rank, and his mother, Cyprus, was an Arabian of illustrious family. When Herod was born Judæa was free, and the high priest was head both of church and state. For this office there was much intrigue, bribery and bloodshedding. When Herod was yet in his cradle, two brothers, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, were competitors for the princely and priestly office. In the year 63 B.C. the victorious Pompey came to Damascus, as about to wage war on the Arabians. These two brothers submitted their case to him for arbitration. He decided in favor of Hyrcanus the elder. Aristobulus opposed the decision and shut himself up in Jerusalem with his faction, to carry the day against his brother and Pompey. The siege lasted three months, when the city was taken. In this capture of Jerusalem the walls of the temple and of the city suffered very much. After the capture Pompey gave to Hyrcanus full possession in the priesthood and princely office, and at the same time he made Judæa tributary to Rome.

In this position essentially the religious and civil state of things in Judæa continued till the sixteenth year of the reign of Hyrcanus. In this year, that is, 48 B.C., the battle of Pharsalia was fought between Julius Cæsar and Pompey. Cæsar was victor. Then came a change of administration in Judæa. Cæsar continued Hyrcanus in the office of high priest, but cut off from him all civil power, drew a distinct line between church and state administration, and gave all the latter into the hands of Antipater, the father of Herod.

This Antipater was a man of extraordinary powers in civil affairs, and he had gained such an influence in Judæa, Syria

and Arabia that Cæsar found it both politic and necessary to be on the best terms with him. And so he appointed him governor of Judæa under him. Antipater had five children; four sons, Herod, Phasælus, Joseph, Pheroras, and one daughter, Salome. Prideaux, An. 47. Immediately on receiving the appointment as procurator of Judæa he divided the civil power in it between his two sons, Pharsælus and Herod. To the former he gave Jerusalem and the regions adjoining, while he made Herod governor of Galilee. In this act Herod is first introduced to our notice as a public man. This was in the year 47 B.C., and when Herod was twenty-five years of age. For nearly half a century onward from this time he was a prominent actor in the stirring and tragic scenes of the East. All the wide region from the Nile to the Tiber, and in some measure, Germany, Gaul and Spain, felt his influence.

So soon as Herod entered on his office of governor he signalized it, and gave an index to his own character by destroying the robbers that infested Galilee and Cælo-Syria. There were strong and savage bands of these. But Herod soon made them captives, and in a very summary way, without any of the forms of a trial, he put them all to death. His enemies seized on this act as illegal, and foreshadowing tyranny and despotism. By their management he was summoned before the Sanhedrim, or Supreme Court of the Jews at Jerusalem. In his appearance at court he showed the same courage and independence that he had used in slaying the robbers. For he came, not as a criminal, but in royal robes, and with a well armed body-guard. His robes and soldiers and haughty bearing so overawed the court that no one of his former accusers dared bring any charge against him. At length one of the council, Sameas, boldly accused him, and upbraided the court for their timidity. When Hyrcanus, the high priest, who presided, saw that the judges would condemn him to death, he adjourned the trial till the next day, and in the meantime advised Herod to flee, which he did. So this man of violence opened his public career with an illegal execution of criminals, and then openly trampled on the regular administration of justice by defying and despising the highest judicature of the land, when assembled to try him.*

* Josephus' Antiqs, B. 14, c. 9. Prideaux' Con. Anno 47.

But by destroying the robbers he made himself very popular in Cœlo-Syria, the military presidency of which he soon after obtained by a heavy bribe. Now raising an army he was about to march on Jerusalem and punish Hyrcanus and the Sanhedrim for arresting and trying him. But his father and his brother Phasælus dissuaded him, though he had gone far enough to show his spirit and power.

As showing the temper of the age it may here be said that about this time, Antipater, the father of Herod, was poisoned at a feast by one who wished to work a revolution and come into power. Not long after Herod took care to have the assassin thrust through at another feast.

The enemies of Herod now hating him more than ever, and fearing that the Herodian family, now so successful and popular, would displace wholly the ancient family of the Maccabees or Asmonæans, they accused him and his brother to Mark Antony, then Roman governor in Asia. But by large presents Herod turned the judgment of Antony against his accusers, and obtained for himself and brother the office of tetrarch of the Holy Land. And when Antony would have put the accusers to death, Herod saved them by his intercessions.

The hostile party, not wearying in their efforts to destroy Herod, engaged the Parthians against him. When they had succeeded in imprisoning Hyrcanus the high priest and Phasælus, Herod fled with his household and friends, about eight hundred souls, and some treasure into Massada, a castle on the west shore of the Dead Sea. By this movement Antigonus, one of the Maccabees, became high priest. Phasælus, knowing that his death was determined, committed suicide by beating his head against the walls of his prison. Antigonus spared the life of Hyrcanus, but to prevent his ever returning to the office of high priest, through any change of mood with the people, he caused his ears to be cut off, thus making his restoration impossible. Lev. xxi. 17—21.

These were trying times for Herod, but instead of depressing him they roused his great powers to meet a great emergency. For leaving his family at Massada, in charge of his brother Joseph, with provision for a siege of several months, he led the remnant of his followers into Arabia, hoping for aid from Mal-

chus the king, whom he had often befriended. Malchus, like too many who are friends only in prosperity, refused a helping hand to the sinking fortunes of Herod. Without a pause Herod hastened to Egypt, and though it was the season of tempests and sailing was very dangerous, he embarked at Alexandria for Rome. On the way he was wrecked. Building another vessel he pressed on, arrived at Rome and laid his case before Antony. The Senate came together, and while Herod asked only that Aristobulus, his wife's brother, might be made high priest, and he rule under him, as his father Antipater had ruled under Hircanus, the Senate at once crowned him king of Judæa and Samaria and Idumæa, with the power of appointing whom he would as high priest, and all subordinate officers. Accomplishing all this in only seven days he left Rome for Judæa, and arrived after an absence of only three months.

But it was easier for the Roman Senate to vote the crown of Judæa to Herod than for Herod to wrest it from a rival and make it safe on his own head. The whole Roman force in Syria and the region around was ordered to aid Herod in this work, and it was commenced with all zeal. But Jerusalem was a strong city to be captured, and when the army went into winter quarters at the end of the first season, only the open country of Palestine and the minor strongholds had been brought over to the interest of Herod.

While the auxiliaries of the army rested through the winter, he with his men could not be quiet. A part of them he sent into Idumæa under his brother Joseph to make sure all his interest there. With the rest he undertook to destroy the bands of robbers in Galilee. These had their retreats in the caves that opened from the wild and perpendicular cliffs. To reach them Herod let down his soldiers from the tops of the precipices in huge boxes or baskets, till they came against the openings of their caves. Then with fire, and spears and long poles with hooks they managed to kill the robbers, or haul them out of their hiding places and tumble them down the rocks. Another summer campaign passed and still Antigonus held out in Jerusalem. But in the third year the Roman auxiliaries swelled the entire army to more than sixty thousand. With this force the city was closely beleaguered, and after a hard

siege of more than six months was taken. Antigonus was made a captive. He was one of the Asmonæan or Maccabæan family of kings. While he lived Herod could not therefore feel safe, and so by a great sum of money he persuaded Antony to put him to death. Thus Herod the Great became the actual and reigning king of Judæa, Samaria and Idumæa in the year 37 B.C., and in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

And now began to be revealed more fully the awful wickedness of this man. For while adversity will bring out a man's good qualities and show his greatness of mind, prosperity will expose his weaknesses and vices and moral deformities.

To be a king as Herod was, is to act as one pleases. This gives full liberty, a kind of unlimited and regal scope to selfishness and revenge and malice and mad ambition. So was it with Herod. He came to the throne through much blood, and by blood alone could he hold it. Though the opposing faction was subdued it was not extinct, and he was constantly tormented with a lively fear that some of them would seek his life in revenge or to restore the old Asmonæan dynasty. So he was daily putting some of them to death. His fears acted as witness, judge and jury against them. The Sanhedrim, who had tried him for his illegal execution of the robbers, he put to death wholly, excepting Pollio and Sameas. Through the entire siege they had counselled the Jews to yield to Herod. Sameas was the one who showed true manliness in accusing Herod when all others were silent and afraid. It would seem as if Herod respected such moral courage and independence, and rewarded it. He also put to death forty-five of the firmest friends of Antigonus. Of these cruelties there were holy witnesses, Zacharius and his wife Elizabeth, Anna the prophetess, and Simon the just, waiting to see our Lord that he might depart in peace.

The extreme selfishness and ambition of Herod are seen in his appointment of a high priest to fill the place of Hyrcanus now in exile. Anxious to keep from such a post of influence any one who could make himself prominent or important, Herod put into it an obscure and inferior man from among the captives at Babylon. This gave great trouble to Herod since it gave great offence to his own household. For he had married Ma-

riamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and her brother, Aristobulus, by right of succession, was entitled to the priesthood. And Alexandra, the mother of his wife and of the young man, was constantly urging the claims of her son. She even began to enlist the aid of Cleopatra in securing the office for him. And so Herod unable to resist the importunities and intrigues of these women, deposed the Babylonian and installed Aristobulus in the office of high priest. But he was also the legal heir by succession to the crown, and having gained the former point, Alexandra, with a peculiar ambition and pride, set herself to secure the throne of Judæa for her son in place of her son-in-law, Herod.

Aristobulus also by his remarkable nobleness and beauty of personal appearance as a young man of seventeen had gained a dangerous popularity with the people while officiating as high priest. The quick eye of Herod saw that the youth, heir in the true line to both mitre and crown, and the only male member surviving of the Asmonæan family, excepting his grandfather Hyrcanus, endangered his own popularity and even throne. He must be put out of the way. And so, while bathing at Jericho, his companions, as pre-arranged by Herod, dipped and ducked him, as if in sport, till he was drowned. Herod attempted to cover the crime by feigned tears and a splendid funeral and monument. But the veil was transparent to mother and sister and friends.

The mother sought revenge through Cleopatra, who persuaded Antony to call Herod to account for the death of Aristobulus. When Herod left Judæa to meet Antony in Syria he gave his government affairs and the charge of his family into the hands of his uncle Joseph. And doubting how it might fare with him, he charged his uncle to put Mariamne his wife to death, in case death should befall him. And this he did, he said, that no one, and especially the voluptuous Antony, might enjoy so rare a beauty as his wife after his decease.

This bloody command Joseph foolishly revealed to Mariamne. When Herod returned, his sister Salome, the very incarnation of jealousy and strife and domestic feuds, and between whom and his wife and mother-in-law there was perpetual hostility, persuaded him that Mariamne and his uncle had been too inti-

mate in his absence, and that she and her mother had been plotting escape from Jerusalem. Herod in his first passion was about to draw a dagger on his wife. But loving her very deeply he refrained, and spent his rage on his uncle and his wife's mother. The former he killed outright, and without hearing a word of defence, and the latter he put in chains and in prison.

But a course of crime and blood has no end except in reformation. Plotting and falsehood always demand one more step, to cover and make sure against the last. The policy of Herod gave him neither safety nor any resting place. Deeper depths opened before him, and crimes more revolting engaged his heart and hand.

The deposed high priest Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne, still lived. For twenty-four years he filled the sacred office at the head of the Jewish nation. He was now a venerable old man of eighty, fast ripening for the grave. One would not think him a dangerous rival. But a guilty conscience is full of fears. He was the last surviving male member of the Maccabæan family. Herod wished to spill all the blood of that race except so much of it as was mingled with his own. And so, on some sham plot, invented for the occasion, he caused the old man to be tried, condemned and executed.

About this time, B.C. 31, Antony and Cæsar Augustus, two rivals for the chief honor of the Roman Commonwealth, came to battle at Actium. Antony was routed and in the year following, his case being hopeless, he voluntarily fell on his sword and so died. Herod, who had been his ally against Augustus, now found it necessary to seek the favor of the latter. It was a dangerous and very doubtful step to show himself to Augustus. Yet with that adroitness and diplomacy, in which few have been his equals, he had the interview and came away with multiplied honors. When he left Judæa on this dangerous errand he left his wife Mariamne and her mother under charge of his treasurer, and confined to a castle, with the express command that if he met his death in this visit they should be immediately put to death. The women bore the imprisonment with great indignation, and when Herod returned, his wife, who had learned his command from her keeper, showed a bitter alienation from him. For more than a year this alienation continued. Mariamne

hated more and more her monster husband, while his sister and his mother, Cyprus, did all they could to inflame his jealousy, and bring him to put her to death. Nor did they labor in vain, and by judges of Herod's own choice, and by his strong personal effort at the trial, she was condemned to death, on a false charge of attempting to poison him.

So died a virtuous and excellent princess, and the ornament of her times. In the beauty and the graces of her person she excelled all the women of her day. Her feelings of estrangement from her husband were natural and excusable. He was building the fortunes of his family on the ruins of hers. He had usurped the crown that belonged to her race. To favor his own purposes and gratify his intense and unscrupulous ambition, he had brought to a violent death her father Alexander, her grandfather Hyrcanus, her brother Aristobulus, and her uncle Antigonus, her father's brother. And twice had he given conditional orders for her own death. Few women, whom the world could honor, would bear all this, and maintain an affection for such a monster, though he were a husband.

But Herod loved Mariamne intensely. Of the ten wives whom he had during his life, she was the noblest and the most beloved by him. It was only in passion and in burning jealousy, inflamed by his sister and mother, that he ordered her execution. So soon as the act was performed, his better sense and his affection for her returned. Then agony, regret, remorse, and every scathing passion preyed on him. He found no rest by day or night. Go where he would, her image haunted him. He plunged into pleasure of various kinds, but in vain. He was nearly delirious, and would in his frenzy, order his servants to call Mariamne. Then there came a pestilence on the land, and he received it as a judgment of God. He forsook Judæa and gave up all the business of his kingdom, and finally had a severe and very lingering sickness.

On his recovery he returned to Judæa, but he never recovered his former good spirits, and was more cruel than ever to the end of his life. In putting her to death he put out his guiding star. After this all was dark to him, and though he lived thirty years yet, his life settled into a deeper and deeper gloom, through more horrid crimes, till it ended in an awful night.

What a family scene have we here presented ! It is a royal household, standing at the head of God's ancient and loved people. From it go forth law and example for the wide lands of Judæa, Samaria and Idumæa. Intrigue, bribery and violence have given this Herodian family their exalted position, at the sacrifice of the Maccabæan family, who had ruled the Jews for one hundred and twenty-nine years. A crown thus usurped gave an uneasy head to the usurper. If Herod could corrupt men to secure him this place, others could be corrupted to displace him. So anxieties, suspicions and jealousies were the constant companions of this miserable king. Unscrupulous, unjust and unmerciful himself, he was daily looking to see the same, in kind and measure, meted out to himself. And so, nominally a king, he was really a slave. His fancies and fears were a thousand keepers over him. A sense of his own injustice and of merited punishment led him to look for poison in every cup of cold water, and an assassin at any unguarded corner, in Jerusalem or Jericho, or Samaria, or in the stronghold of Masada, or the rock city of Petra. He had no kingdom. He was a prisoner at large, and his broad liberty to go where he would was his deep danger. In his very bed-chamber he looked to find his servant the hiding of some rival Maccabæan. So he sought to inclose and make himself safe by a fortification of tombs. He encircled himself with the graves of the Sanhedrim, and of the noble patrons of the Asmonæan dynasty. He labored to protect himself from the royal line and the rivals of this line by building their sepulchres about him. If he would flee from care to his home, as to a strong tower, he had no home. This, as everything else that he touched, he had blighted. His shadow had fallen upon it, and it was dark. His breath was strange unto his wife, and she nobly refused his embrace and the hand that had twice drawn her death warrant.

And that God, whose judgments are strange and terrible in both worlds, might leave this man without guide or light to grope out his way of crime over the cliffs and into the awful chasm that awaited him, he suffered him, in a fit of jealousy and passion to put that noble woman to death. An eclipse then came over his sun that never passed off. So when Napoleon so basely disowned the noble Josephine. No battle, not even

Waterloo, so turned the day against him, as her divorce. It was the first step of the pathway that led him to his rock prison, around which the waves of the Atlantic kept an unceasing patrol, till death took guard of the prisoner.

The neglect and ill treatment of a good wife is one of those crimes that God follows up providentially with a close judgment. His own iniquities, as heaven's avenging police, seize the man in the guilty act, and bind him over to a daily chastisement in his own castle. If any man deserves a summary judgment, without trial or sympathy, it is that man who is cold and selfish and authoritative toward one whom he has vowed before heaven to love as himself. Why should his will or wish or self-indulgence take precedence and control in an interest that is mutual and inseparable? Why should he act the petty tyrant over one whom the law of God and man has given him as a mercy, to be evermore an undivided half of himself, and an equal heir to a common inheritance of joy? The neglect and abuse and tyrannies and slow agonies with which some men maltreat their wives, as if they were but a domestic convenience or utensil, though to the eye of the world all may seem fair, are crimes that God avenges. By a self-acting arrangement in the domestic system as God has constituted it, such men fall at once from the highest grade and blessedness of life. They hardly know why, but the ways are rough, the winds are adverse, times and moods and changes seem to come as a mishap. Their dull eye can see nothing of importance beyond the circle of self, nor any reason why all events should not revolve around their centre, and contribute to their happiness, and all wills and fancies yield to theirs. So to them the reason is unperceived why they are living a third and fourth rate life. And they do not account for the painfully realized fact that their existence is depreciating, and their life tending to a failure. God is visiting with judgment their abuse of an institution of his appointing, and of his preserving from the wreck of Eden. The coldness and selfishness and tyranny that the man bears toward her who is his equal in rank and superior in worth, is a violence done to himself. And while it falls primarily on the womanly and nobler half of the household head, it recoils like a divine visitation on the man as separate from the husband.

So Herod found it after he had put Mariamne to death. His palace was now as the house of a stranger to him. In his unfounded jealousy and violence he had made it desolate. Remorse and grief overcame him, and in his partial delirium he would call that loved name, and the echo through the gloomy halls would mock him. Visions of the murdered old man Hyrcanus flitted about, the cries of the drowning boy Aristobulus came over the stillness of his night watches.

The families nearest related to him by birth or marriage he had clothed in mourning and cut off from sympathy. So had he increased his safety by increasing his solitude. The presiding genius in his home was now that domestic fury, Salome, his sister, whose blood was all Herodian and whom God providentially left there to avenge Herodian crimes.

The excesses in banqueting and wantonness into which he plunged to drown sorrow, were of no avail. In his flight for similar purpose to the wilderness of Samaria his burning memories followed him. A fugitive from his crown, or in his palace, he could not flee from himself. And, as is natural and necessary, there being no repentance or reformation, he became hardened, and sunk into deeper crimes of despotism. He grew so cruel, that upon the least occasion he was ready to put any one to death. While lying dangerously ill at Samaria, his mother-in-law, Alexandra, was plotting at Jerusalem to take possession of the kingdom. Being informed of this, he ordered her death at once. And so another member of the rival house of the Maccabees was cut off. In the second year following, Salome raised his suspicions of several leading persons who had favored the Asmonæan interest when Herod captured Jerusalem. These, with many others, accused as accomplices in some recent plot, or being remote branches of the ancient Asmonæan family, he at once put to death. So he removed all those who excelled in dignity, that he might do whatsoever he pleased, and have none to resist him.

By this extravagant tyranny and sacrifice of human life he alienated the most of the Jewish people from him. He was of the stock of Edom and Arabia, and so from the first they regarded his right as remote and doubtful, to call himself a Jew, or fill an office over them that only a Jew could properly fill.

Yet was he Jewish, though a descendant of Esau. But in heart and policy he was wholly gentile. Religion was nothing to him except as an instrument of state. He had all the ambition and royal feelings of the kings about him, and sought to be like them. So he sought to make the Jewish nation in its policy and usages like the heathen nations. After his dangerous sickness, therefore, at Samaria, he threw off all disguise, and showed his utter dislike of Judaism as a religious system, and at once began to introduce foreign rites and customs.

He first instituted heathen games, consisting of wrestling and the like, after the manner of the Romans, to be observed every fifth year; and by music, sumptuous entertainments, and the offer of costly prizes, he endeavored to gather on these occasions a vast concourse at Jerusalem from the surrounding nations. He next built a theatre in Jerusalem, a thing most incongruous in the holy city. But it marked a moral stage in the man. It suited his morality and piety. It was congenial to the depraved character of the man. And he showed great tact in introducing it as a means to accomplish his object. He wished to overthrow the Jewish religion and temple service and turn the Jews to the idolatry, heathenism and corruption of the gentile nations. The theatre was an instrument admirably adapted and wisely chosen for this end. Of a heathen origin, inherently vicious in its tendencies, and the foe of morality and religion wherever patronized, its influence has always been demoralizing. Nor was Herod the only or the last man who has established a theatre to change the rites and customs of religion and the doctrine and life of a consistent piety. He was as wise as he was wicked in bringing into the holy city the theatre to become the rival and ultimately supplanter of the temple. With like feeling and purpose he built a splendid amphitheatre on the plain near the city, in which were contests for prizes by personal combat, music, chariot racing and the like. Here he also gathered a great variety of ferocious wild beasts, that were to fight among themselves for the gratification of the audience, or with criminals condemned to death, who were first armed and then exposed to these savage animals.

All this stirred the Jews to a deep indignation. It put their whole religious system in danger. Ten of them, therefore, con-

spired to assassinate Herod. But the plot was discovered by one of the many spies whom he always employed, and so the conspirators boldly confessed their intention and died with great manliness, as dying to save their holy city and religion from pollution and destruction. When afterward certain infuriated ones had tortured this spy to a miserable death, Herod brought a terrible judgment on them, peculiar to himself; for he not only destroyed them but all their families.

But this severity of the tyrant did not check the ardent hostility of the people toward him. He was not slow to see this and so prepared for his personal defence. Already he had Antonia as a palace castle in Jerusalem. This fortress was immense and almost impregnable. It was built by one of the Maccabees, and Herod rebuilt, enlarged and beautified it. It joined on the north the area on which the temple was built. The enclosure was nearly equal to the entire enclosure of the temple, and was surrounded by a wall sixty feet high.

“Within it had all the extent and appearance of a palace, being divided into apartments of every kind, with galleries and baths, and also broad halls or barracks for soldiers. So that, as having everything necessary within itself, it seemed a city, while in its magnificence it was a palace. At each of the four corners was a tower. Three of these were seventy-five feet high, while the fourth, at the south east corner, was over a hundred feet high, and overlooked the whole temple and its courts. The fortress communicated with the northern and western porticos of the temple area, and had flights of stairs descending into both, by which the garrison could at any time enter the court of the temple and prevent tumults.” *Rob. Pal.*, I: 292.

The entire area of this fortress of Antonia was probably from north to south some five hundred or six hundred feet, and from west to east about nine hundred and twenty-five feet, that is, an area as wide and about two-thirds as deep as the area of the temple. *Rob. Pales.*, I: 291—3, III: 233, 4.

In such a stronghold Herod would feel safe within the city of Jerusalem. But the evident bitterness of the people against him, as well as the recent conspiracy, suggested to him fortresses in other parts of the Holy Land both as places of safe refuge for himself in emergencies, and to overawe the country in any tendencies to rebellion. One of these fortresses he built

in the city of Samaria. This city, about a day's journey from Jerusalem, wasted by wars and much neglected, Herod rebuilt on an enlarged and very splendid scale. He inclosed it with a high and strong wall, two and one-half miles in circuit. On the heights within the walls he erected a formidable fortress, and the whole place he garrisoned with six thousand soldiers. The extent and splendor of this work may be inferred from the appearance of the immense ruins still visible.

Dr. Robinson found there a colonnade nearly three thousand feet long. About eighty columns of it were still standing, and very many lying on the ground. They were of limestone, sixteen feet long, two feet in diameter at the base, and one foot eight inches at the top. This work he says, "is probably to be referred to the time of Herod the Great." Rob. Pales., II: 388.

And for both his own glory, and for his defence in his kingdom, he built Cæsarea. This was a seaport of the Mediterranean, and noted in New Testament history. Here in the amphitheatre built by his father, Herod the Great, Herod Agrippa was smitten of God for not praising the Most High, when the people flattered him. Here Cornelius, the centurion, and Philip, the deacon, with his four daughters were baptized. And here Agabus prophesied to Paul that he would be bound at Jerusalem. Here, too, the great apostle pleaded before Felix, was imprisoned two years, and then made his final defence before Festus and king Agrippa.

The whole coast of Palestine is much exposed to westerly storms from the Mediterranean, and furnishes no good harbors. Herod observed this, and so to remedy the evil, he undertook at Cæsarea one of those vast labors of olden time that only a king can assume to do. He turned his attention to build a large and safe harbor, and a city adjoining. He constructed a semi-circular breakwater within which a large fleet could ride safely. We have some idea of the vastness of this work when we remember that the water was one hundred and twenty feet deep where he constructed it. "This he effected," says Josephus, "by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth." Ants. XV. 9. And his work in the city was worthy such a harbor. For

he built many splendid palaces and houses, as also a theatre and amphitheatre and temple. These were built of white stone faced, and presented a very imposing appearance.

This vast work engaged the attention and labor of Herod for ten or twelve years. When it was completed he made a great display at its dedication. He provided games for contests in music, wrestling, boxing, horse-racing and fighting with wild beasts. For these plays he furnished the most costly and beautiful ornaments and furniture. And as the place, formerly called Straton's Tower, was now to be called Cæsarea in honor of Cæsar Augustus, Julia the empress sent, for the occasion, a large part of her wardrobe and theatrical apparatus for such displays, to the value it is said of five hundred talents. All the vast concourse of spectators who came to witness this celebration Herod maintained at his own expense and in a most sumptuous manner. So in this part of his kingdom, at a point fifty-five miles north of Jerusalem, Herod built a harbor and seaport of great public utility, but mainly for the display of his own greatness and glory, and as a military stronghold to keep his subjects in awe.

Herod had a peculiar passion for building cities and castles, palaces and theatres. The number of these that he built wholly new, or renewed from their decay was very great. But in all this public work the motives were one and the same, the display of his own glory, and the better protection of himself in his kingdom against the rebellion of the people whom he most cruelly oppressed. As to the expenses of these vast and varied works, it was nothing to him. He forced taxes on his subjects to any amount needed; and when he wanted laborers for any enterprise, he ordered whom he chose to the work, and they received little in payment but their living from day to day. So in this way he often had hundreds and even thousands of men employed on these great public works.

It will serve to give a better view of this wonderful man if we mention some of the stupendous labors that he performed in building towns and fortresses and royal abodes. We can take space, however, only to name them, and that, too, without regard to the order of time in which he executed them. A city in ruins on the coast south of Gaza, called Anthedon, he re-

built, and named Agrippias, in honor of his friend Agrippa. This city was afterwards called Darum or Daron, and became celebrated as a fortress in the time of the Crusades. Rob. Pal. II: 38. We also mention, among his works, Antipatris, Cypros, the tower of Phasælus in Jerusalem, and a city by the same name north of Jericho, the fortress Herodium and a royal villa around it, theatres at Tripoli, Damascus, Sidon and Ptolemai, the walls of Biblus, temples and market-places at Beirut and Tyre, vast aqueducts at Laodicea, and fountains and baths at Ascalon. The temple of Apollo he rebuilt in a very splendid manner, after it had been destroyed by fire, and a public square in Antioch of Syria, offensive and shunned for its uncleanness, he paved with polished marble, though it was two and a half miles long.

But it is time to hasten through some of the more conspicuous to the concluding events in the life of this eminently wicked man. From what has been said of him it will be seen that he was a man of uncommon powers of mind and therefore had great ability to be wicked. Some are as wicked as Herod, so far as they are able. But he had great capacity for being eminent and enormous in a life of crime, and he used his powers almost to their full extent in the way of crime and blood.

Two of his sons by his beloved wife, Mariamne, viz., Alexander and Aristobulus, he sent to Rome to be educated, under the patronage of Augustus the Emperor. In the twenty-second year of his reign, B. C. 16, he went to Rome to see them. Finding them well instructed according to the notions of a royal education at that time he took them home to Judæa, and they were soon married as became their rank. But Salome, that fury in the house of Herod, his sister, whose veins were filled with unqualified and unmixed Herodian blood, and who with her accomplices had procured the death of Mariamne their mother, now feared vengeance at the hands of these sons. She therefore conspired for their death. For three years they lived in the palace with their father, and were neither slow nor prudent in expressing their resentment of the death of their mother. These expressions Salome and those confederate with her, carefully treasured and turned artfully into reproaches and even threats against Herod their father. With such coloring and

distortion as they knew so well how to give, they misrepresented the young men to their father. He had looked to them as his successors in the kingdom, and gave them preëminence in the palace over his other sons.

But this manœuvre excited his jealousy, and rather to restrain and reform than disinherit his favorite sons, Herod brought to the palace and placed above them in honor, for the time being, Antipater, his eldest son by his first wife. This wife, Doris, had been divorced to make way for Mariamne, and so this son had been brought up in private. Stung by this ill treatment of his mother and himself, and always coveting and plotting for the crown, he gladly received and used his accidental position at the palace to secure his end. And so well did he and the other conspirators succeed, that four years after Herod had taken Alexander and Aristobulus from Rome, as heirs apparent to the throne he introduced this Antipater there to the patronage of Augustus as the real heir, and placed the two sons of Mariamne as secondary.

So adroitly did Antipater and the confederates manage the suspicions and jealousies of Herod that the next year, B.C. 11, he took the two sons of Mariamne before Augustus in Italy and accused them of seeking his life by poison. Augustus, however, saw through the intrigues of Salome, Antipater and the rest, and so reconciled Herod to the young men. On return Herod stated the reconciliation to the Jews in the temple, but still he kept Antipater as the first heir of the throne.

The plotting however continued, and Herod was so tormented by false reports of treason by his sons that he could not be easy nor feel safe, day or night. To gain evidence against the young men he put their servants to the torture. So tormented, and to escape such terrible agonies they falsely accused Alexander. He was at once thrown into prison and loaded with chains. Thus unjustly treated by his father he devised a plan to vex and torment him to the greatest possible extent. He therefore confessed plots and conspiracies against his father, that never existed, and involved in them two of Herod's prime ministers, his brother Pheroras, and that fiend of the household, Salome, his sister, and many other of Herod's chief friends. So this unnatural son of an unnatural father gained his wicked purpose. For

he was naturally a very jealous and suspicious man. And the consciousness of his awful tyranny and cruelty and bloody stratagems to carry his own ends, led him to look for like things in others toward himself. Therefore he believed all the false stories of Alexander, and so was tormented by his anger and fears beyond measure. Some of the accused he put to death at once, and some he put to death on the rack because they would not confess to what was totally untrue of them. So he executed friends and foes indiscriminately, as one who strikes in the dark. As he had no certain knowledge his fears were his counsellors. And he filled his palace with horror and torture and cries and blood.

This Alexander had married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. In this terrible domestic and royal feud he interposed for his daughter's sake; and effected another reconciliation. It however continued but a year or two, Salome and Pheroras, his sister and brother, and Antipater his son, still seeking the death of the young princes. Then Herod obtained permission from Augustus to try his sons, and if he saw fit to put them to death. He called a council of his friends. The death of his sons was a foregone conclusion. The trial was a mockery. They were condemned, and having been imprisoned in the fortress he built in Samaria, were there strangled by order of their inhuman father.

Thus perished two more of those who were nearest to Herod by the ties of blood and should have been dearest by the ties of affection. At this time of the troubles concerning the young princes, and their trial and death, all Judæa was in anxiety and fear. The great theme of thought was Herod and his sons. It was the theme of thought. For all men were afraid to speak their mind. While they had pity for the young men, and indignation against the conspirators and a deep hatred of Herod and his policy, they dared not speak their own thoughts, or even hear another express his. The people were shut up, through fear, to an oppressive silence.

But a blunt and bold old soldier, who had served under Herod, openly expressed his views to the king himself. He assured him of the general dissatisfaction with his treatment of his sons. In his statements to the king he implicated about

three hundred persons, all of whom, with the old soldier and his son, Herod moved the multitude to stone to death. About the same time he had his sons strangled in Sebaste, the fortress in Samaria.

Near to this time it was that the angel of the Lord announced the birth of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, while he ministered in the temple. So it will be seen with comfort that we are drawing nigh to the end of life for this monster of iniquity and cruelty.

It is painfully interesting to notice now how his own iniquities seized upon him, and how his crimes involved and burdened and tormented him. He shows at this point in his awful career how a life of sin is a life of terrible servitude, and how the wages of sin are torment.

Alexander and Aristobulus being dead, Antipater stands alone as the acknowledged heir of the throne. Schooled to intrigue, corruption and blood by the practice and in the very palace of his father, will it be strange if he begin to practise as he has been taught? Nothing now stands between him and the crown but the life of his father. He enters at once into a conspiracy to dispatch the old man by poison.

Among the conspirators for this Antipater engaged Pheroras, brother of Herod. Between these brothers there had long been ill feeling. For at two several times Herod had offered to his brother one of his daughters by Mariamne in marriage. Pheroras declined each, and instead took one of his maid servants. And also when Herod had fined seven thousand Pharisees for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Augustus, the wife of Pheroras, who sympathized with this sect, paid for them the entire fine. From these and other causes of dislike, Herod was very severe toward Pheroras.

He therefore readily joined with Antipater his nephew to remove his brother by poison. Though the plot failed, it gave Herod immense trouble and anxiety. When it was discovered it was also found that Antipater had previously poisoned two of his brothers that they might not be in the way of his succession to the crown. Such a household of intrigue and murder was that whole Herodian family. Antipater himself, being con-

victed of his plot to put his own father off the throne, was executed in regular course of justice.

Between the discovery of his plot and his execution there were seven months. In this interval it was that our Lord Christ was born.

And now there was entered on the page of history by the hand of Herod, one of those hideous crimes, one of those enormities in wickedness, that signalize the actor and the age, and make the ear of the world tingle at the recital.

For many years before the advent of Christ the Eastern world was filled with predictions and expectation of the coming of some wonderful personage. He was to come as a universal sovereign, and his kingdom was to be in bliss and righteousness. These predictions had many of them received a definite form and statement, and he who was to reign was constantly expected. The place of his birth was designated in some of these predictions as Judæa. So Tacitus records the feeling thus: "Many fully believed that there was a prediction in the ancient books of the priests, to be fulfilled about this time, that a people from Judæa should obtain the empire of the world." v. 13. And Suetonius has a similar remark. "An old and fixed notion prevailed in the East, that near this time men should spring up in Judæa and obtain universal empire." In Vesp. 4. Simon, Anna the prophetess, and the Jews generally, expected in this wonderful personage, the Messiah. And in their idea of his reign they gave undue prominence to temporal redemption and supremacy. The Romans, and other gentile nations, who had the expectations just quoted from their historians, were looking only for a new and strange worldly king.

In the midst of these predictions, impressions and general expectations, Christ our Lord is born at Bethlehem. The great fact is somewhat known, yet feebly apprehended and understood even by the most godly and believing of the Jews, and by those immediately connected with the families of Elizabeth and of Mary. Still the vague yet exciting thought that Shiloh had indeed come, goes abroad. It is at first as a pale light enveloped by mist and shut up by clouds in some deep valley. Slowly the rays go out, climbing the hillsides, and lighting up obscurely here and there a mountain height. Then eyes from afar that

had long been watching catch the bright vision. They hasten with offerings for him who is born King of the Jews. They make inquiries for him — a strange company of travellers from afar. They pass over hills in the very sight of Jerusalem and Herod's palace and ask for another heir to the throne of Judæa. "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" How swiftly some spy whispers those words in the ear of Herod.

He is troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. He runs over the bloody list of Maccabæan and Herodian relatives whom he had ordered to be put to death, to protect his crown. And now there is another born, King of the Jews. He learns the locality where the predicted and expected king is to be born. He calls the wise men, and with satanic hypocrisy speeds them in their search for the young child. "And when ye have found him bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also." How cool and deep and awful the purpose of this monster!

But God interposed. The wise men worshipped and departed under the guidance of the Almighty. The holy family, warned of God, fled into Egypt. Then the anger, and madness, and fears of Herod were stirred. His throne was in danger. The wise men had mocked him. The reputed infant king was not to be found. Couriers run to and fro, but in vain. The infant Jesus could not be discovered. Many families in Bethlehem rejoiced over an infant, that was more to them than all Herod's gifts, and all Judæa's honors. Ignorant of the flight of Joseph and Mary, Herod thought that this prophetic heir to a throne must still be one of those little ones that made the hills and valleys of Bethlehem so joyous. Had human life ever baffled him in a project? Had the shedding of blood ever kept him from executing a wish? Was not his throne already surrounded by the graves of his kindred? Why then should the blood of infants make him waver in his purpose? Doubtless no whisper of conscience troubled him. The word went to make sure work. The sword followed, "and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in the coasts thereof, from two years old and under." Then "was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not."

We see the bloody men, as they hurry from house to house. We see the terror stricken mothers as they try to flee or to hide away their children. We hear the unconscious cry of the concealed little one, and the shriek of the mother that follows the discovery, and mingles with the dying moans of her babe. We see stout men who have fathers' hearts stand nobly by their children, and make their spears red with the blood of the hireling murderers. Yet all in vain. The eagle swoops upon the nestling brood and is away, and they are gone. Another day, and what sorrow among those hills of Bethlehem, what burial services, what lonely cottages, and what burning, bitter thoughts of Herod.

What a fact this awful tragedy to stand connected with the holy child Jesus, and with the man Christ Jesus. Very like in later days his remembrance of this gave a peculiar tenderness and earnestness to his manner and words with the little children.

But we change the place and the scene. We leave Bethlehem for Jericho. An old man of seventy years lies there in a palace hall. Terrible diseases are on him. He has been to the hot baths beyond Jordan, but without benefit. Strength fails him and he pauses short of Jerusalem in the return. His indomitable courage still abides, and his iron will is unbroken. He knows that he must die, and he knows too that all Judæa, and Idumæa and Samaria will break forth into singing when it is proclaimed, Herod is dead. Swept on by a passion for iniquity on a scale beyond all former enormities in crime, he summons to him all the chief men of his kingdom, as if for counsel and state purposes, and then shuts them up under guard in the amphitheatre. Then he calls Salome his sister, that goddess of discord, and says: 'I will have mourning when I die. So soon as the breath leaves my body, turn loose the soldiery upon these my chief men, and put them all to death. Then shall there be weeping in all my realm, when it is said, Herod is dead.' But a little latent remnant of humanity kept her from executing this atrocious command.

Now God's hand pressed more and more heavily on the giant sinner, crowding him into eternity. A slow fever burned within him. Ulcers ate his bowels and filled him with agonies. His limbs swelled and burst in dropsy. Sores that bred worms

wasted him. A foulness of breath kept attendants at a distance. Paroxysms and convulsions worried and tortured him. "Thus," says Josephus, "he died, in horrible pain and torment, smitten of God in this signal and grievous manner, for his many enormous iniquities."

ARTICLE III.

FAITH A SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE.

HAVE we no medium of vision save these material organs of sight? Can we perceive nothing but that which comes to us through the discernment of the understanding alone? We look around on the outlying world: we send our investigating powers on excursions to distant ages and climes for knowledge. Is this all our resource? Are we shut up within these limits of instruction inexorably? May we learn nothing which cannot be mastered by the senses, the bare and naked intellect? It would pitiably narrow in our horizon to affirm this. There is a higher avenue of truth, there are loftier objects of knowledge to the spiritual man, than these. That avenue is Faith; those objects are the revelations of God which transcend, in parts of their projection and elevation, the entire comprehension of the finite.

But what is faith; what is it not? It is not superstition. It is not credulity. It is neither the weakness of first nor second childishness. Its absence is not the ascendancy of reason, the proof of manly thought. Just the reverse is often the fact. Extreme scepticism and credulousness are quite natural associates. The freest-thinking is frequently the most puerile. Prof. Trench has an excellent remark concerning Dives in the parable:

"His unbelief shows itself again in supposing that his brethren would give heed to a ghost, while they refused to give heed to the sure word of God—to Moses and the prophets. For it is of the

very essence of unbelief, that it gives that credence to portents and prodigies which it refuses to the truth of God. Caligula, who mocked at the existence of the gods, would hide himself under a bed when it thundered; and superstition and incredulity are evermore twin brothers" !*

So men now will run after half-crazed "spirit-rappers," who laugh to scorn the idea that holy men of old "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that these Scriptures are those divine words. Let us at the outset get rid of the notion that faith is mental imbecility, and its absence mental strength.

Christian belief does not require our assent to any palpable absurdity. It does not, for example, lay it upon our conscience to hold that, by a few spoken words, a man can turn a little cake of flour and water into the body, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ. When, at the sacramental feast, our Lord took the bread and said, "This is my body," it is not true that he meant to affirm an exact identity of substance between that bread and the hand which held it; or that he designed his church to believe that the holy eucharist is a literal consumption of his flesh and blood. By a constant miracle of power, even this might be possible. But all of God's miracles are those of wisdom as well as of omnipotence. This could not be the former. It could subserve no morally valuable end. It would simply be stupendous folly, a monstrous absurdity. To attempt to accredit its reality would be an effort of superstition, not of faith.

Nor does this challenge our assent to impossibilities. It makes no part of its creed that the Divine nature is a trinity with respect to the same facts and relations which constitute it a unity. It tells us not that God is able to be or to do what, in the nature of things, can neither be nor be done. He cannot be true and false, honest and dishonest; cannot govern a moral being by merely physical laws; cannot make wrong right, or the reverse. To strive to give him such ability is to confer on him no honor. He asks no such faith, as he claims no such sovereignty. God respects the limitations of the possible. Whatever can be accomplished he can effect. To believe more than this is not Christian belief.

Nor is this to concede what flatly contradicts reason. Within

* *Trench on the Parables*, pp. 368—369.

certain boundaries, its decisions are reliable. If we are told that the saving grace of the Gospel is lodged in a class of men, the virtue of whose ministration depends upon an unbroken chain of succession connecting their ordination with the twelve apostles, we reject it as unreasonable that this should be the condition of salvation to our race. It neither does credit to God's wisdom nor to ours, in a matter plainly within the range of our comprehension; nor does it meet the demands of historical research. We clearly conclude that, amid the disruptions of so many ages, this chain would certainly lose here and there a link, as authentic records show it has; and that the whole theory is an irrational assumption. So does a calm judgment reject as fiction the modern revelations of pretended prophets of God; the foolish trumpery of "latter-day" miracles, inspirations; the religious powers of dead men's bones, and live men's penances. Reason, sitting on her rightful throne, and not usurping a higher than she is competent to fill, pronounces all this inanity to be undeserving her regard, because in positive conflict with her sound dictates.

The ground which Chillingworth defends against the Romanists, that Scripture must be used, in a reasonable way, as the true and only arbiter of religious controversies, we see no cause to abandon, lest the concession be turned against ourselves by those who call themselves rationalists *par excellence*. With proper explanations and limitations, as that strong writer lays them down, we too say:

"For my part, I am certain, that God hath given us our reason, to discern between truth and falsehood; and he that makes not this use of it, but believes things he knows not why; I say, it is by chance that he believes the truth, and not by choice; and that I cannot but fear, that God will not accept this sacrifice of fools."*

But now we have reached the point of a careful discrimination. Now, it is most easy, and to some, most tempting, to throw off all the requirements of faith, to assert that our powers of judging must be deferred to as supreme, through the entire circuit of spiritual facts. Avoiding the shallows of superstition, they drift upon the rocks of scepticism. Fearful of believing

* "The Religion of Protestants, a Safe way to Salvation." Philadelphia: 1 vol. octavo 1844. p. 150. § 113.

too much, they refuse to believe anything beyond their reach. But, as we have seen, to abandon the grounds of a legitimate faith in the invisible world is to run very naturally into the weakest speculations concerning it. For among our constitutional capacities and necessities is this leaning over of the soul upon unseen and as yet uncomprehended realities. As it knows there is a God and an immortality, so does it know that there is another sphere than this, full of wonders which it now discerns, if at all, only as through a glass obscurely. Men do not, therefore, become thorough rationalists by renouncing the spirit of a religious trust. Probably there is no such thing as an at all enlightened mind which is convinced of that only which it can completely understand. Our souls are companions of a great brotherhood of spirits, countless multitudes of whom will have no incarnation like ours; but they exist in a universe of moral relations with us; and often we are conscious of feeling in our blindness after what we are persuaded must be, and we seek some one who shall lead us by the hand amidst these but partially opened apartments of our being and destiny. We do not live in a narrow cell, every inch of whose configuration we can touch, and measure, and analyze. There are windows in our prison walls through which we catch glorious glimpses of mountain, ocean, and the bright or clouded altitudes of heaven. But what of this is shadow and what is substance, faith taught by its divine instructors must tell us.

Pretended religious doctrine has, in different periods, demanded the acceptance of various absurd, impossible, unreasonable ideas, assumptions. And we have affirmed that Christian belief repudiates justly all such claims upon its respect. But two things do not follow: first, that all the demands which may be made upon this principle are also absurd, impossible, irrational; nor, secondly, that everything is thus which may seem to be so, to the cursory view. Very many facts in natural science have been stoutly denied on just these grounds, which are now among the unchallenged maxims of the schools. Hardly a department of physics but has been compelled to fight its way to belief through most determined and formidable reiterations, aye, demonstrations, of its extravagances, falsehoods, ridiculous or wicked senselessness. Such histories are sug-

gestive of caution, humility, self-distrust, particularly in fields of spiritual investigation. Reason, upon its own proper level, is a very trustworthy guide. No one has any wish to disgrace, to dethrone it, in order to decorate with its despoiled honors an encroaching rival. You might as well say that the eye is insulted, wronged, because you sometimes place a telescope to it, to help it take in an object too remote for its unassisted angle of vision. Faith is reason's telescope, sweeping the outlying spaces of the moral universe. Its necessity is, that there is much to be known which transcends our natural grasp of thought. It presupposes as it proves, that there are firmaments above us, gemmed with constellations of spiritual truths which, without its use, must remain veiled forever to our perception; which it does not indeed altogether discover to our comprehension, but whose existence it plainly reveals. Some of these far-off bodies it shows us as central suns; and some, as secondary orbs; and some as unresolved nebulae; but all composing a grand system, worthy of God's authorship, deserving of our confidence, where we cannot no less than where we can explain its ongoings; and opening to the trustful heart a delightful anticipation of studies to be pursued indefinitely into the nature of God and his government, with ample success, when faith shall be merged into sight.

It should suffice to satisfy us of the justness of these positions, to remember the circumstances in which Christ uttered these among other memorable words—"Said I not unto thee that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God?" It was at the tomb of Lazarus. It referred directly to the resurrection of that dead brother of Martha to life. Christ had promised this to those sisters, "Thy brother shall rise again"; and he had explicitly narrowed down his intention to the then present time. But Martha could not accredit that pledge. The dead man was sleeping beyond her gaze; and how much further away was his winged spirit than his corrupting flesh? "Rise again? Rise now?" And if she had spoken what doubtless she felt—"this is too absurd, impossible, unreasonable, for a moment's belief"—who, of all that throng would not have responded—"even so"! But was it either of these? No. Lazarus lived at Christ's reviving call, and Mar-

tha's scepticism was the only irrational thing on this occasion. It was so, not because the promise did not seem to be most strange, unnatural, impracticable; but because reason should have persuaded her that whatever Christ might offer to do, he could and ought to do. Faith assumes that every word of God is true; that there is a reliable basis, a worthy cause of all his revelations respecting himself and us. If he tells us that which is as foreign to our ordinary experience and observation as was the assurance to the sisters of Bethany of their brother's restoration from the embrace of death, we are to believe it. It is more rational to put confidence in God than not to, against all appearances; for be these what they may, they will never involve him in folly nor unreason. That he may demand our credence to disclosures totally unexpected, and which we never should have dreamed to be actual otherwise, the incident before us demonstrates. Christ required Martha to believe in her brother's immediate resurrection. There is nothing seemingly more absurd, impossible, unreasonable, in an orthodox interpretation of Christian doctrine than that demand of Jesus upon human faith. Therefore, this may be as deserving our belief as was that. The difficulties of the subject will not determine the question, but the evidence fairly weighed that the Bible is God's communication of religious truth; and the application to its contents of the strict laws of verbal criticism and exegesis, with no forced disruptions nor contortions of the text towards this or another theory.

Here our doctrine finds an important practical bearing. One of the most constant and unyielding requisitions of Christian faith respects the inspired authority of these Scriptures, and the acceptance of their guidance beyond the line, in some places, of our full understanding. This topic of a written book from God to us takes immeasurable precedence of all others in vital interest. It is of supreme moment that, with reference to its claims, the mind and the heart, knowledge and belief, should occupy their proper positions. Neither alone can settle the question aright. It lays a weighty tax on reason and faith conjointly, while it has no use for presumption or superstition whatever. We avail ourselves with pleasure of a sentence or two, by one who will not be charged with bigotry on the subject of inspira-

tion—Neander; in which the true path along this most debatable ground seems to be very happily indicated.

“ We need no further revelations. On the contrary, it must be to us as if the Lord had himself, at this moment, spoken to us, inasmuch as he has given us the instruction required for all the highest necessities of the present; as if he had himself said to us all which it concerns us to know, in order to find consolation under present sufferings, the means of certain victory in all our conflicts, the clue to guide us out of all the perplexities of a distracted age safely to our goal. Divine truth has been revealed to us—in this historical embodiment, in this application to individual cases, to specific historical circumstances and social relations, imparted through the instrumentality of individual men, who lived as depositaries of divine truth among their fellow-men; who, in the common intercourse of human life, testified of and revealed the divine, speaking and acting as men, each in his own peculiar human manner, though hallowed indeed by the Spirit of God. Thus was divine truth to be brought humanly near to us. Thus to our own special activity, under the guiding and quickening influence of the Spirit of God, without whom nothing divine can be received or understood, was to be left the work of investigating the divine in its connection with the human.”*

This covers the case. These are God’s words. They are to be studied as an actual revelation, in their adaptation to our wants, social, spiritual, temporal, eternal; with reference to our earthly and heavenly salvation; with all the faculties of an aroused and patient intellect; but where this fails us, with that heartfelt trust in God’s superior knowledge which comes through a “humble dependence on that Divine Spirit, who alone leads into all truth and unlocks the depths of his word.”* God has treasured up his “glory” in these disclosures of his sovereignty and grace, his power and love. But the believing soul alone can see that glory in its fulness.

Sceptical casuists are not so sure that a miraculously attested revelation from God is impossible, as when Baden Powell planted himself there in the “Essays and Reviews.” M. Renan does not venture that stretch of bare negation, and the later deliverances of the *Westminster Review* avoid so exposed and indefensible a position. It now distinctly admits “that law and miracle may coexist.” There is too much of the old faith in an

* “Neander on Philippians.” pp. 19—21. Octavo edition.

Almighty God, at least among the common folk, to tolerate what can never be other than an arrogant and ignorant assumption, whencesoever this statement may come, that a miracle cannot take place in any circumstances. How do you know it is not possible? is answer enough to such an impertinence. The writer of the article on "Miracles" in the October reprint of the *Westminster* puts the case thus :

"As there is a limit to our knowledge of the Divine Being and no limit to divine power, there is no warrant for the assertion that miracles are impossible ; but our readiness to accept them will depend on their conformity or non-conformity to the conception we have formed of His character. If we regard him as an arbitrary Being, we shall expect incoherence in nature, and the incompatibility of miracle and law will not be felt by us. If on the contrary we believe him to be unchangeable, we shall be disposed to look for the expression of his will not in temporary expedients to meet passing emergencies, but in laws which are as permanent as his being. The more we know of nature, the more deeply are we impressed with the uniformity which pervades it, and the higher our conception of mind, the more orderly and calculable do we find its operations ; so that increase of knowledge tends to correct our first impressions of arbitrariness in God and a corresponding discontinuity in nature. Science thus modifies our conception of God, and this reacts upon our views of nature, till miracles are felt to be inconsistent with both." —p. 170.

This is respectful in comparison with much which has been written on that side. Yet we do not concede the inconsistency here alleged : nor do we feel much force in this reasoning :

"Any attempt to recommend the miraculous by assimilating it to the natural must necessarily end in failure. If miracles are brought within the compass of law, the aversion entertained toward them by scientific minds may be overcome ; but their essential distinction is lost, and they differ in no respect from other natural phenomena. The supposition that they are brought about by higher laws, does not at all affect the question. Higher laws, we are told, counteract lower, and miracles may be in accordance with laws which lie beyond human knowledge : but higher laws make no approach to the supernatural. We can never transcend the region of the relative by climbing to more extended generalizations." —p. 169.

The question is not of terms but of facts. It is not essential

to the defence of Christianity that the term "supernatural" be retained. The point at issue is — has God employed the powers of the physical world to attest the divine commission of men, in an extraordinary manner to such an extent, that the whole effect of the interposition upon the human mind carries the conviction of his presence and agency for this express end. If it should be found eventually that the raising of the dead, for instance, as in the Gospels, was in harmony with natural law in its more occult relations and workings, this would not prejudice the event so recorded, nor weaken its influence as a seal set by Heaven upon the words of prophets and apostles and Christ. Was the dead man actually restored to life by Divine power, to authenticate the mission of Jesus as the Christian prophet, priest, and king? Is the record that of a fact or fable? If the former, then how the Almighty did it through the intervention of the laws of matter or spirit — whether supernaturally, or preternaturally, or naturally — does not change the result. To God everything is natural. But to man much is not, which nevertheless is so to man's and nature's Author. The power of the miraculous upon the human mind is in its apparent (not necessarily real) discontinuity of cause and effect. We make this concession, by way of argument as against the lame logic of the reviewer; but not as thereby holding ourselves to the positive defence of any theory of the miraculous which, by the conditions of the problem, is beyond our mental reach.

Our inquiry has virtually answered a question which naturally suggests itself in this connection, as to the value of an educational or hereditary faith. It is more easy to talk fluently on this subject than soundly. It is a flattering thought to put every topic of knowledge to an independent and original investigation, and thus to settle our opinions respecting its merits. But we are able to do this on comparatively few tracks of research. Time is too short and art is too long. Science is too multifarious, even within its more familiar and everyday applications. Civilization could not go forward upon an advancing path, but would merely run around a small circle, if every generation began at the same initial point to educate itself. It does not deem this to be needful nor reasonable in any department of secular wisdom. Successive ages enter upon the heritage of the fathers, as their

rightful and real patrimony ; nor imagine it at all incumbent upon their mental manliness to pry up and re-demonstrate these well-done labors of by-gone times. Many conclusions are fixed in law, physics, government, art, so that their principles are considered worthy of acceptance by the people as matters of credence. And this, too, be it understood, on faith in others. For what do the masses know of the analysis of a thousand experiments in mechanics, chemistry, and the like, the results of which they nevertheless receive undoubtingly. How many, also, comprehend our Newtonian theory of the heavens, who are quite persuaded, however, that it is the earth and not the sun which rises and sets. Men show their discretion in not being ashamed to believe the testimony of competent persons concerning facts of the material world ; facts which they never have and never will see ; which they could not explain nor comprehend by any effort of their minds. And our children are learning to believe many such things ; it is a part of their training, of necessity. By and bye, they will discover the reasons of more or less of this instruction ; but the whole of them, probably never. Secular education goes along very largely and properly on the basis of hereditary faith.

Is there nothing, then, fixed in religion ? Essentially and fundamentally there is much, there is enough for human salvation, firmly settled. To deny this is to asperse most dishonorably both God and man. It charges each with mental imbecility and moral obliquity to affirm that theological science is all adrift on uncertain currents, tossing like a loosened raft in ruinous confusion. What discord there is springs far more from wrong spiritual tendencies and affinities than from an ingenuous intellectual divergence. What though infidelity denies, and latitudinarianism stumbles at, the requisitions of a true Christianity ! It is not, therefore, the less true, as expounded by the countless accordant voices of the regenerate from the beginning. For there is a concord in this testimony, as to essentials of doctrine and life, vastly beyond that to which the interpreters of not a little currently accepted secular philosophy have yet attained. Men would see this, if a perverse bias did not obscure their vision.

We therefore contend, that to require an independent investi-

gation of religious science, in order to a fixed belief thereof, is irrational; that it is just as proper to inculcate the principles of Christian doctrine, as a part of education, as it is to teach the axioms and maxims of any earthly branch of knowledge; that it is more incumbent, as divine transcends human wisdom; that parents should transmit, as a most precious legacy, a sound, theoretic religious faith to their offspring; that no one should be ashamed to believe more than he has thoroughly studied here, on the trust which he reposes in those who have gone down into the depths of these researches both theoretically and experimentally. To say that we cannot thus believe is to contradict what we know that we are continually doing. A sad concession has been made at this point, by the church, to the mis-called rationality of the age. It is time to take it back, with no apologies or reservations; and for every believer in Christ and the Bible to feel that it is his highest duty to make his Christian life a part of the life of all for whose souls God will, in any measure, hold him responsible. If this shall afterwards influence in that direction individual studies upon this subject, it will not be likely very much more to do this, than fairly to counterbalance the natural propensity of fallen man to ruinous delusion, to sin-indulging, pride-inflating error.

But faith has its true existence not in the mere assent of the will to the revelations of God, but in the love of the regenerated heart. It is not simply that we dispute not the mysteries or the severities of God's government of law and redemption. It is that we embrace them with a fervent affection, because they are the ordination of God our Father. This is the trusting confidence which gives light to the soul beyond all other spiritual revealings.

“The childlike faith, that asks not sight,
Waits not for wonder or for sign,
Believes, because it loves aright—
Shall see things greater, things divine.

“Heaven to that gaze shall open wide,
And brightest angels to and fro
On messages of peace shall glide
'Twixt God above and Christ below.”*

* Keble's "Christian Year."

To receive God, in the humility of penitence and the submission of love, as the preferred controller of our moral natures, is the best, the only really successful method of extending our range of spiritual discernment. A purified heart is the most effective opener of the mental eye when divine objects are in the field of search.

“Faults in the life breed errors in the brain.”

Sin is the great obscurer of these higher heavens. Holiness goes up their vaulted pathways, and surveys with satisfying clearness many a marvel which will forever be in eclipse to the “natural man.” It believes God sympathetically, and sees his glory as sainted ones behold it yet more fully, where faith is turned to vision. And here spring the true fountains of human joy. How can the soul of the finite enter more intimately into the life of the Infinite, than through this trust reposed in God so lovingly, concerning these deepest and eternal interests of our being? If the Christian might have, for the asking, every mystery resolved which pertains to the Divine existence and acts, which involves his own well-being also, he might perchance not ask it, from the very pleasure of confiding some unexplained enigmas to one so benevolent, so wise, so loved as is our God and Saviour. Heaven may discover to us that the loftiest attainable joy of the saved is to be found in perfected knowledge of the ways of God; but earth can give the sanctified no purer happiness than is ministered to the believer through the power of faith. It too alone conducts to that larger understanding of this grandest of sciences which heaven promises. It is the gateway to the kingdom of God now and forever. It is our noblest honor as it will be our eternal benefactor. It puts us in fellowship with all right spiritual life, as it has the pledge from Christ of all good and glory.

“Believe, and show the reason of a man;
Believe, and task the pleasure of a God;
Believe, and look with triumph on the tomb.”

ARTICLE III.

ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation. By Sir CHARLES LYELL, F. R. S., &c. Philadelphia : George W. Childs. 1863.

THE public have been long familiar with the fact that certain discoveries have been made, which are thought by the savans to indicate an existence of man upon earth for a much longer period than common chronology has allowed. The public also, sometime before the book appeared, were aware that Sir Charles Lyell was preparing a volume which should embody and present these discoveries to the world. The volume has appeared, and already for some months, has engaged the attention of readers and the press. It is a very readable book, everything being put in Sir Charles' plainest and pleasantest style. And it is a debt of gratitude worthy of being mentioned, which the world owes to Hugh Miller, Lyell, Huxley, Tyndall, and a few others, that they have brought out science in so great degree from its cryptic lurking and concealment in hard terms and labored expressions, and set it forth to more general apprehension and acquaintance through a freer and more familiar style. The volume is an important one, both to the scientific and the religious world. If the discoveries it relates are to be received as the revelations of an antiquity of man hitherto unthought of and almost inconceivable, then a new and large advance has been made for science; it is made to occupy a higher and a wider platform by far than before; and theology is called to look about itself and see to its records.

The discoveries, as narrated by Mr. Lyell, relate chiefly to works of art found in Danish peat; the shell mounds, or Kjökken-mödding of the Danish Coast; the Swiss Lake Dwellings; the Delta and alluvial plain of the Nile; Bones found in ancient caverns; Flint Implements found in post-

pliocene sand and gravel in Abbeville and Amiens, France ; and the deposits in the Brixham Cave, England. They are briefly as follows :

WORKS OF ART IN DANISH PEAT.

There have been found in hollows or depressions in the northern drift or boulder formation in Denmark deposits of peat from ten to thirty feet thick. Peat is of inappreciably slow growth. The lowest stratum, two to three feet thick, consists of swamp peat, composed chiefly of moss. Above this lies another growth, not made up exclusively of aquatic plants. In these two strata, lie trunks of trees, especially of the Scotch fir, often three feet in diameter, which must have grown on the margin of the moss-bogs and frequently have fallen into them. The Scotch fir is not now and never has been in historical times a tree of Denmark, and when introduced there has not thriven. The Scotch fir, according to the record of the peat, was succeeded by the sessile oak ; and this still later by the common beech. The oak still exists in Denmark, but the beech has almost succeeded in supplanting it. From below a buried trunk of the Scotch fir was taken out a flint instrument of evident human manufacture—one of the knives or arrow heads of which we hear so much in this volume. By studying the discoveries made in the peat bogs, sand dunes, and shell mounds of Denmark, the Danish and Swedish antiquaries and naturalists have succeeded as they think, in establishing three successive periods of human antiquity, the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages. The stone is the age of flint implements ; the bronze and the iron, the ages of those implements respectively.

SHELL-MOUNDS, OR KJOKKENMODDING.

At certain points on the Danish coast occur immense heaps of shells ; oyster, cockle, and other shells of edible mollusks. Scattered all through these heaps, are flint knives, hatchets, and other instruments of stone, horn, wood and bone, with fragments of coarse pottery, but never any implements of bronze, or iron.

SWISS LAKE DWELLINGS.

In the dry winter of 1853—4, the inhabitants of a village on Lake Zurich undertook to raise the level of some ground and

turn it into dry land. The soil for this purpose they dredged up from the adjoining shallow water. The dredging operations disclosed the existence of a large number of wooden piles driven deeply into the bed of the lake, and among them, a great many stone hammers, axes, celts (stone hatchets) and other instruments. Nothing of metal was found, except an armlet of thin brass wire and a small bronze hatchet. Fragments of rude pottery were abundant, and masses of charred wood, supposed to have formed parts of the platform on which the wooden cabins were built. Also evidences of fishing gear, in the form of pieces of cord, hooks and stones used as weights. Subsequent to this, many sites were discovered. They occur in the large lakes of Constance, Zurich, Geneva, and Neufchatel, and on most of the smaller ones. Some are exclusively of the stone age, others of the bronze. The reasons for believing that these are the sites of ancient dwellings among the piles, are the discovery of so many of the articles and remains of common daily life, and the fact that habitations of the kind have existed within historical times. A kind of lake dwelling has likewise been discovered in Ireland, accompanied with similar evidences of human habitation.

DELTA AND ALLUVIAL PLAIN OF THE NILE.

Between the years 1851—4 some investigations were made in the Delta and valley of the Nile, under the auspices of the Royal Society of England to ascertain the nature, depth and contents of the Nile mud. The results of chief importance were obtained from two sets of shafts and borings sunk at intervals in lines crossing the great valley from east to west. One of these consists of fifty-one pits and artesian perforations, made where the valley is sixteen miles wide, about eight miles above the apex of the Delta. The other line, consisting of twenty-seven borings and pits, was in the latitude of Memphis, where the valley is only five miles wide. In these excavations, articles, or fragments of articles, such as jars, vases, pots, a copper knife, a small human figure in burnt clay, burnt bricks, etc., were brought up from all depths, even where the borings sank to the depth of sixty feet in the central part of the valley. If an average of six inches to the century be assumed as the rate of Nile mud deposit, a brick brought up from the depth of

sixty feet would be twelve thousand years old. One fragment of red brick was found at a depth of seventy-two feet.

CAVERN BONES.

In the discoveries mentioned thus far, the accompanying fossil shells and mammalia were of living species. We come now to some in which, while the shells are all recent, the mammalia are in part extinct.

As long ago as 1828, MM. Tournal and Christol found in the cavern of Bize, in the Department of the Aude, France, human bones and teeth, with fragments of rude pottery, in the same mud and breccia, cemented by stalagmite, in which land shells of living species were imbedded, and the bones of mammalia, some of extinct, some of recent species. In 1833—4, Dr. Schmerling of Liége, a skilful anatomist and paleontologist, published in two volumes, the results of several years' explorations and study of the ossiferous caverns which border the valley of the Meuse and its tributaries. He describes the contents of more than forty caverns. Many of them had never before been entered by scientific observers, and their floors were encrusted with unbroken stalagmite. Beneath the stalagmite, in the strata of mud and gravel, were found human bones and flint implements, associated, among others, with the bones of the cave bear, hyena, elephant, and rhinoceros. Many of the bones were much rolled and scattered, showing the action of water. No gnawed bones, nor any coprolites were found, showing that the caves were not the resort of wild beasts, and the bones were not brought there for purposes of prey. Whole skeletons were in no case found—only a few of the bones of the skeleton—most frequently teeth separated from the jaw, and the bones of the hand and the foot. Sometimes the bones of the limb or part of the body of an animal would be in such juxtaposition as to show that they must have been deposited while clothed with flesh, or at least enough of the muscle and ligament to hold them together. In the Engis cavern, about eight miles southwest of Liége, a human skull was found imbedded by the side of a mammoth's tooth. In the same cave, another skull was found buried five feet deep in a breccia, in which the tooth of a rhinoceros, several bones of a horse, and some of the reindeer occurred. It was singular that in the cave

of Engihoul, directly across the Meuse and in the other bank from Engis, while both caves abounded in the bones of extinct animals mingled with those of man, and while in the cave of Engis there were several human crania and very few other bones, there occurred numerous bones of the extremities belonging to at least three human individuals, and only two small fragments of a cranium. The like capricious distribution held good in other caverns, especially with reference to the cave bear, the most frequent of the extinct mammalia. Flint implements, of the rudest sort, were universal.

FLINT IMPLEMENTS OF ABBEVILLE AND AMIENS.

The most noted discovery relating to this question, and that which has brought into importance the foregoing, and taken the lead in public interest, is that of the flint implements in the post-pliocene deposit in the valley of the Somme, in France. As early as 1841, M. Boucher de Perthes observed and began to collect these implements, as they were dug out of the drift or deposits of gravel and sand whenever excavations were made in repairing the fortifications of Abbeville, or annually, as flints were wanted for the roads, or loam for making bricks. They were found from twenty to thirty-five feet beneath the surface, and associated with the bones of the elephant, rhinoceros, bear, hyena, stag, ox, horse, and others. These implements were rudely formed arrow-heads, knives, and hatchets, made by skillfully striking off chips from a flint pebble till the desired form was attained. They appear to be precisely similar to the arrow-heads, etc., used by the aborigines of this country, and frequently found in New England and the West. The same discovery was made by Dr. Rigollot at Amiens, forty miles below Abbeville, in the same Somme valley. The implements were found in both places in considerable abundance, and Dr. Rigollot and M. Perthes both published full accounts. The fact was especially noted that it was not in vegetable soil, nor in the brick earth with land and fresh water shells next below, but in the lower beds or coarse flint gravel, usually twelve, twenty, or twenty-five feet below the surface, that the implements were met with.

BRIXHAM CAVE.

Brixham is a town in Devon, England, near Torquay, upon the sea coast. In 1858 the discovery of a suite of caverns was made by the accidental falling in of a roof. At present five external openings are exposed to view in the steep cliffs and sloping side of the valley. At that time they were blocked up with breccia and earthy matter. Immediately it was thought best to have a thorough investigation made. Accordingly the Royal Society made grants toward defraying the expenses, and a committee of geologists was charged with the care and responsibility of the investigations. Geologist Pingelly was placed in superintendence, and the excavations of the different galleries were carried on with the greatest care. All the fossils taken from the subterranean fissures and tunnels were labelled and numbered; and a journal of the progress of the work was kept, and in it recorded with scrupulous care the geological position of every specimen. The floor of the main gallery was ninety-five feet above the level of the sea, and sixty above the bottom of the adjoining valley. All the passages exhibit the action of running water, and some of them seem to have been mostly, if not altogether, excavated by it. The united length of the five galleries which were excavated amounted to several hundred feet. They were sometimes filled up to the roof with gravel, bones, and mud, but occasionally there was considerable space between the roof and floor. The latter, where there were fissures through the roof, was covered with stalagmite; otherwise, usually there was no such incrustation. The general succession of deposits was this:

1. At the top, a layer of stalagmite, varying in thickness from one to fifteen inches, and sometimes containing bones — in one instance a reindeer's horn, and in another an entire humerus of the cave bear.

2. Next below, loam or bone earth, of an ochreous red color, from one foot to fifteen feet in thickness.

3. At the bottom of all, gravel, with many rounded pebbles in it, probed in some places to the depth of twenty feet without being pierced through, and being nearly barren of fossils, it was left for the most part unremoved. The mammalia obtained from

the bone earth consisted of *elephas primogenius*, or mammoth; *rhinoceros tichorhinus*; *ursus spelæus*; *hyæna spelæa*; *felis spelæa*; — cave bear, cave hyæna, and cave lion respectively; *cervus tarandus*, or the reindeer; a species of horse, ox, and several rodents, and others not yet determined. No human bones were obtained anywhere during these excavations, but many flint knives, chiefly from the lowest portion of the bone earth. Mr. Lyell remarks:

“Such knives, considered apart from the associated mammalia, afford in themselves no safe criterion of antiquity, as they might belong to any part of the age of stone, similar tools being sometimes met with in tumuli posterior in date to the era of the introduction of bronze. But the anteriority of those at Brixham to the extinct animals is demonstrated not only by the occurrence at one point in overlying stalagmite of the bones of a cave bear, but also by the discovery at the same level in the bone earth, and in close proximity to a very perfect flint tool, of the entire left hind leg of a cave bear. . . Every bone was in its natural place, the femur, tibia, fibula, ankle bone, or astragalus, all in juxta-position. Even the patilla, or detached bone of the kneepan, was searched for, and not in vain. Here, therefore, we have evidence of an entire limb not having been washed in a fossil state out of an older alluvium, and then swept afterwards into a cave, so as to be mingled with flint implements, but having been introduced when clothed with its flesh, or at least when it had the separate bones bound together by their natural ligaments, and in that state buried in mud.”—p. 100.

These are the discoveries, and from them as data, Mr. Lyell argues the indefinite antiquity of the human race, an antiquity of tens of thousands of years at least, and perhaps of hundreds of thousands. Do they prove it?

One having little knowledge or experience in that line in which Sir Charles Lyell so greatly excels, is hardly authorized to say no. Sir Charles is surely not a dishonest man, a neophyte, or a mountebank in science. He could not easily be practised upon in a geological question, nor would he practise upon others. His life has been one of geological research, and his object in that research simply fact. The facts in this case no one can question. And when once such man as he has pronounced, from his own observation, upon their geological character, no one can question them as geological facts. When

Mr. Lyell tells us that any deposit or discovery belongs to the post-pliocene, or any other, we may well be satisfied. There is no higher or better authority.

There are reasons, however, which seem to us sufficient for rejecting the conclusions, while we allow the facts. They are briefly the following.

1. The age of deposits is established by analogy, which involves too much assumption. It is assumed, for instance, that the rate of river-delta deposits is in general the same. It is found by experiment that the river Nile throws down a certain amount of inundation mud each year. It is assumed that that has been its rate from the first; and therefore when a boring reaches the depth of sixty or seventy feet, and yet only inundation mud is found, a simple arithmetical computation is made and its age declared; and if remains of human workmanship are found at that depth, it casts no suspicion upon the conclusion, but proves the antiquity of the race. Now, evidently, the rate of deposit of a few years at the present time may not be, and in all probability is not, the rate of earlier years, especially of the earliest. When a river was ploughing out its channel, on the first upheaval of a country from its ocean bed, it must have borne great quantities of soil in its current, to deposit where the waters became still or moved slowly. It would seem natural, as a river grew older, that the material which it could take up in its course, would diminish in quantity. How can there be in the course of the Nile that material to-day to be taken up by its current, which there was forty centuries ago? In some places it has found a rocky bed, and from those places, as fast as the bed has been reached, the supply has practically ceased. And although Mr. Lyell states that everywhere in these sections the sediment passed through was similar in composition to the ordinary Nile mud of the present day, except near the margin of the valley, where thin layers of quartzose sand, such as is sometimes blown from the adjacent desert by violent winds, were observed to alternate with the loam (p. 34), it is not easy to understand how the deposits in the Nile valley must not be greatly affected by the desert sand. Desert sand has filled in many feet deep in the vicinity of the pyramids at Ghizeh, at Denderah, and at Luxor, the first and second of these being

upon the west and the third upon the east side of the river. The disclosure of many of the ancient ruins upon both sides of the river, has been at the cost of a vast amount of sand excavation. Mariette's excavations in 1852 in front of the Sphinx, near the pyramids, were so extensive as to disclose a paved dromos, leading to a large wall, which seemed to have formed a court around the Sphinx. The pavement was twenty-four feet below the top of the wall. In 1858, only six years later, this dromos was covered again with sand.* If sand has been laid to such depths upon the banks of the river by the wind, how can the river itself have escaped receiving vast quantities? How can it be that the valley deposits are not in considerable proportion wind-brought desert sand?

Mr. Lyell notices the suggestion that the Nile has wandered to and fro over its valley, undermining its banks on the one side, and filling up old channels on the other; and answers, that "in historical times the Nile has on the whole been very stationary, and has not shifted its position in the valley." But there is certainly some evidence to the contrary. The Eastern or Pelusiatic arm of the Nile is now a mere canal, but it is commonly supposed to have been formerly navigable for fleets. This opinion, Professor Robinson says, (*Bib. Researches*, Vol I., App. note xii,) is based upon a passage in Arrian, where he is describing the expedition of Alexander against Memphis. From Pelusium, Arrian says, Alexander ordered part of his troops to sail with the fleet up the river to Memphis; while he with the remainder marched through the desert to Heliopolis, having the Nile on the right hand. *Arr. Exp. Alex.* 3 : 1. 4. It does not certainly follow from this that the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile was then navigable, and that Alexander's fleet did sail up it; but so it has always been understood, and the view gains probability from the fact that Lake Serbonis, east of Pelusium, well known in ancient times, has become wholly dry land. *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. Egypt. If then, this is true, certainly great changes have been going on with regard to the bed of the Nile.

It will be remembered that Cairo was founded about A. D. 969. "At the time and long after Cairo was founded, the Nile ran more to the eastward, as Mr. Lane has shown, under its

* *Austrian Lloyd's Hand Book for Egypt*, p. 68.

western walls.”* The space between Cairo and the Nile varies between a mile and a mile and a half in breadth. And this variation in its course the Nile has made in less than nine hundred years. In other words the Nile is constantly moving to and fro across its valley and has been always running its great furrows through the soil of its delta, and turning to the bottom whatever has lain at the top. Would it be surprising, then, if some of the fragments of pottery which have been found at depths of sixty and seventy feet, were even of Roman manufacture, as has been asserted by some? Mr. Lyell himself remarks that the amount of matter thrown down by the waters in different parts of the plain varies so much, that to strike an average with any approach to accuracy must be most difficult, (p. 37,) and yet proceeds at once to assume an average of six inches to the century. When we take, however, this variation into consideration, and remember also the variety of agencies which have been at work — the earthquake power by which Cairo was once nearly destroyed, (*Encyc. Brit. Art. Cairo*) ; the geological change of level by the subsidence of the coast along the Mediterranean, and the elevation of the region about Suez ; and that overwhelming flood of the Nile which must have occurred when it burst its rocky barriers at Sibsilis, sometime between the twentieth and fourteenth centuries B. C., (*Encyc. Brit. Art. Egypt*,) the basis for any important argument as to the antiquity of the remains found in the Delta, seems very slight. Is not the whole theory of the antiquity of man from discovered bones and implements based upon the hasty and false assumption that the changes of nature in all the past have been as gradual as they are in the present?

2. It is argued, from the fact that the bones of extinct animals and man have been found together, that man is more ancient than has been commonly thought ; not that the extinct animals are more recent.

For example, the demonstration in the Brixham cave, of the contemporaneousness of the extinct cave bear and the maker of flint implements is perfect. And the maker of all the flint implements is unquestionably man. No one who has once seen the relics of our own aborigines will question it for a moment, and

* *Rawlin. Herod.*, vol. II., p. 6, note signed G. W. (Sir Gardiner Wilkinson).

it would seem that no one could question it, who thinks for a moment what the effect of the collision of rocks in running or dashing water is, that it gives more or less a rounded shape. But does this prove at all that man is any older than he has been usually thought before to be? No more than it proves that the cave bear is more recent than has been supposed. Has the limit in time to which these extinct animals have come down been determined? By no means. Then we cannot prove anything as to the antiquity of man because in any case their remains are found contemporaneous. The only thing proved is, that they were contemporaneous. If there is more reason to think man recent, and more reason to think that his age is known, then the weight of argument lies on the side of the recentness of the extinct animals, and not on the side of the antiquity of man. This, Mr. Prestwick, a name frequently quoted by Mr. Lyell, confesses. He says, as quoted by Mr. Dana, (*Manual of Geology*, p. 582,) "The evidence, as it at present stands, does not seem to me to necessitate the carrying of man back in past time, so much as the bringing forward of the extinct animals towards our own time; my own previous opinion, founded on an independent study of the superficial drift or pliocene (post-tertiary) deposits, having likewise been certainly in favor of this view." That animals have become extinct within historical times we know; (the dodo, and moa of New Zealand, the *æspiornis* of Madagascar, etc.), and that any became extinct before historical times, or what is the same thing, without being mentioned in history, is, in itself, little evidence as to the antiquity of their extinction. And it is difficult to believe that the *elephas primogenius* has been long extinct, when in some localities its remains are found in abundance on the surface of the ground, or dredged up by fishermen in no great depth of water near the coast, (Dana, *Man. Geol.* p. 560,) and when at the beginning of this century one was found imbedded in ice at the mouth of the river Lena, retaining the wool on its hide, and being so perfectly preserved that the flesh was eaten by the dogs. *Ibid*, p. 561.

3. The disregard of historic verities. We do not forget that Mr. Lyell is looking merely to the 'testimony of the rocks.' He is not looking up an argument for the antiquity of the race

from any and every source. Nevertheless, in coming to his conclusions, he is bound to respect, and not override the testimony of history. Plainly, if history could have thrown any light on the lake dwellings of Switzerland, it would not have been going out of his way to consider what it had to say. It is possible that history might have had something to say about peat bogs, and have been able to explain why a flint implement should be found lying beneath a trunk of Scotch fir, and thirty feet of strata in Danish peat; or about the elevation and subsidence of coast line; and have thrown some light on the remains of a Norwegian hut, found beneath sixty feet of marine strata.* If so, Mr. Lyell would doubtless have availed himself of it.

Now there is a historic verity which, antiquated as the idea may be, may have had something to do with some of these geological appearances, especially with those at Abbeville and Amiens. We refer to the Noachian Deluge. The day is indeed past when all marks of diluvial violence in the upper strata of the earth's surface can be ascribed to the Flood. The church has learned from science that other agencies have been at work, and has learned now, when a marine shell is found in a stratum a hundred or two hundred feet above the level of the sea, not to look upon it as a relic, or decisive evidence of that remarkable event. Still the Noachian Deluge is a historic verity.

“The fact of a deluge which once destroyed the whole race, with the exception of a few individuals, is one of the best proved events in all past history. It is sustained by an array of evidence as strong as is possible in regard to an event which lies so far back of all written memorials and more impressive than mere documents could furnish. It has been branded into the memory of the nations, and has come down from time immemorial in all parts of the globe.” Professor Bartlett.† The case is admirably summed up in the section from which this quotation is made. “A survey of all these traditions,” existing in the different nations, “assures us that the flood was an historical event which had struck deep root in the

* “The wooden frame of the hut, with a ring of hearthstones on the floor, and much charcoal were found, and over them marine strata more than sixty feet thick. Some vessels put together with wooden pegs, of anterior date to the use of metals, were also imbedded in parts of the same marine formation, which has since been raised, so that the upper beds are more than sixty feet above the sea level, the hut being thus restored to about its original position relatively to the sea.”—p. 240.

† *Art. on the Historic Character of the Pentateuch*, Bib. Sac., April, 1863.

memory of the nations; that the recollection of it extended from Armenia to Britain, and from China across eastern Asia to America; and that the biblical narrative of this event, in its freedom from all mythological and merely national elements, is the most faithful and purely historical representation of a tradition which had spread through all the nations of the world." Delitzsch, as quoted by Professor Bartlett.

Now, we submit whether, since there exists such a truth in history, such geological appearances as those of the post-pliocene in the valley of the Somme may not possibly be attributed to it: and if only possibly, yet whether it is not preferable, more in accordance with sound reason, and demanded indeed by the weight of probabilities, to so attribute it, or even to attribute it to some supposed cataclysm, rather than impinge upon other historic verity? There are the marks of cataclysm in all the deposits where flint implements have been found. This bed is gravel, or sand and gravel. It is a great and violent force which moves large bodies of gravel, a force which does not admit of the regular deposition of the finer loam and mud. Waters, moving like torrents, and glaciers, are the only forces which can transport gravel masses. Mr. Lyell does not attribute the formation in the valley of the Somme to glacial action. It is then to be attributed to the action of water. These implements and bones were laid here by a power which rolled and mingled gravel, sand, bones, and implements together. This gravel was not deposited as fine loam is deposited. These implements did not find their places by settling down quietly through water. Some cataclysm is therefore to be sought for. No other origin will satisfy the demands of the case. The Noachian Deluge was a cataclysm which once overwhelmed the whole known or inhabited earth. How then is that deluge out of the limits of consideration? We do not maintain that the explanation of the phenomena at Abbeville and Amiens is to be found in the deluge; but we do not see how it is not possible for the explanation to be found there; nor how the man of science, searching for the explanation, can at all suffer himself to pass by that notable fact without a consideration.

It will be seen that Mr. Lyell does not rest the antiquity of the relics upon their geological position, although he calls it

post-pliocene. Their geological position, from the nature of the case, the evident marks of dislocation, is an uncertain one. Nothing can be determined from it. He rests their antiquity really upon their association with the bones of extinct animals. The whole question really is, the antiquity of those bones.

These are the difficulties that occur to one carefully reading Mr. Lyell's volume. The conclusion that man is tens or hundreds of thousands of years old is hasty, and to say the least of it, according to the Scotch verdict, "Not proven." The weightiest arguments are those of the flint implements of the Somme. From Mr. Lyell's own presentation, it is not difficult to see, that the time of their deposit may not have been so very distant. No carboniferous strata cover them, not even any of the tertiary. They lie in a disturbed, dislocated deposit, immediately beneath the stratum of surface soil. Mr. Lyell calls it post-pliocene, a very good name, but it may have been very *post*.

As for the bone caverns, especially the post-pliocene burial place of Aurignac, they have very little weight in the scale; and the lake dwellings less still. The bone caverns and the lake dwellings are indeed not historical. Not a trace is to be found in any archives, or on any written page regarding them. But have we any pre-Roman history of those regions? Suppose we had a history of all the peoples which have inhabited Europe. Might it not possibly tell us of times when they used flint implements, dwelt in lake dwellings, and used caves for burial places; and when moreover, great mammoths and rhinoceroses and bears, and other animals long since extinct, roamed the land, and when great geological changes were taking place, perhaps those which filled the Brixham underground galleries with gravel and organic remains? To prove by the absence of testimony is a long and roundabout road. It is not easy to say how long it took to bring about changes, where there was no eye to see, and no hand to record; nor how long ago an animal became extinct which no people of letters ever saw, and marks of which, perhaps, special causes have been in operation to erase. One of the extinct animals which Mr. Lyell mentions as a favorite food of the ancient people, the wild bull, he frankly says was seen by Julius Cæsar, and survived long after

his time. Can any one say that the *elephas primogenius* and others had then long been extinct? We want to see very much the argument which proves these animals long extinct. The case, as it now stands, seems to have been made up in this way. The remains of these extinct animals, having been found heretofore without any human remains associated, have been therefore adjudged to a high antiquity. Their age has thus been fixed. At last human remains are found associated; and now, instead of bringing their age forward, the age of man is put back. Mr. Lyell himself speaks of the rapidity of geological changes, and thus seems sometimes to argue against himself. For instance, he says, (p. 287),

“ I see no reason for supposing that any part of the revolutions in physical geography, to which the maps above described have reference, indicate any catastrophes greater than those which the present generation has witnessed. If man was in existence when the Cromer forest was becoming submerged, he would have felt no more alarm than the Danish settlers on the east coast of Baffin's Bay when they found the poles, which they had driven into the beach to secure their boats, had subsided below their original level. Already, perhaps, the melting ice has thrown down till and boulders upon those poles, a counterpart of the boulder clay which overlies the forest bed in the Norfolk cliffs.”

How many such admissions would it take to be fatal to any argument for the high antiquity of man?

But suppose the antiquity of man reasonably proved; suppose the testimonies multiply and appeal with such force to reason, that aside from the Bible, it cannot be denied, what then? Are we to give up our Bible? By no means. If a fault in chronology were proved, what would that be in comparison with the evidence that remains. If the paleontologists of every sort, the geologists, the anatomists, and the Egyptologists combined, should reasonably prove that the Adam of the race (they do not argue for an ante-Adamic man,) should be put back ten thousand or one hundred thousand, or five hundred thousand years, it would only, and at most, prove an error in chronology, and would not abate from all the positive testimony we have that the Bible is the inspired word of God.

On this supposition, all that we can do is to look to our

records again. If we have not read them correctly, in our new study and investigation new light will arise. We have been called to re-read our records and correct our reading, before. Once astronomy made the demand; and the church has been no more shocked at any assertions and demands made by science since, than she was by those made by Galileo and the pioneers of modern astronomy. But she gave her records a new reading, and to-day finds no difficulty in reconciling the statements of that record with the discoveries of the planetary science. A second glance showed the church that the inconsistency was only apparent. Geology next made the demand. It asked a longer period for the processes of creation than it had been thought the inspired account gave. The church looked to her records again. She found that without doubt she had lost the primitive idea of the Mosaic "day" of the creation, and that restored, she had no difficulty in reconciling the indubitable records of the "stony science" with scripture.

Such will always be the result. The two great works of God, Nature and Revelation, will only come into conflict when searched and explained by minds that are uncandid, and which God has not enlightened.

Meanwhile, the proper attitude of the Christian theologian and Newtonian lover of science is, patience. They can both afford to wait till science has advanced to a ground of unmistakable fact, and the light of truth shall beam unclouded from the pages of revelation.

ARTICLE V.

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

“THE souls of the righteous being made perfect in holiness are received into the highest heaven, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day.”—Presb. Conf. Faith.

THUS plainly do the standards of the Presbyterian church assert the doctrine of the righteous and the wicked, the former in a state of happiness, the latter in a state of misery, during the interval between the death of the body and the final judgment. And this faith has been, and is, the faith of nearly all evangelical Christians. The uniform testimony of the entire Protestant church in all its branches might therefore be appealed to as an argument in favor of the truth of this well-nigh universally admitted doctrine.

But, omitting all reference to human standards and philosophical arguments, except so far as may be unavoidable in the answer to certain objections, we propose in this article to exhibit as briefly and as clearly as in our power the teachings of the New Testament upon this subject.

If we mistake not they establish the doctrine asserted above, of the conscious existence of both the righteous and the wicked in a state of happiness or of misery, between death and the judgment. In proof thereof we refer first, to the absolute silence of the New Testament in reference to any other doctrine than that commonly received. This negative argument, or argument from silence, is the more convincing in proportion as we realize the importance of the subject under consideration, and the serious consequences connected with erroneous views on it. The neglect of Christ and his apostles to assert any other doctrine concerning the condition of the soul after death than that generally received is a strong presumptive argument in favor of its truth.

And we must remember that the Pharisees and Essenes of Christ's day believed in the immortality of the soul, its future conscious existence in a state of enjoyment or suffering, and in the final resurrection of the body and its reunion with the soul. On this point we have the explicit testimony of Josephus, who says of the Pharisees :

“ They believe that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life, and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again.” *Antiq. Jews*, XVIII. 1 : 3. Cf. *Jewish Wars*, Bk. II. 8 : 14. And of the Essenes, he says, they “ teach the immortality of souls and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for.”

Tacitus also ascribes the same opinion to all the Jews.

“ Animasque prælio aut suppliciis peremptorum æternas putant. Hinc generandi amor, et moriendi contemptus. Corpora condere quam cremare e more Ægyptio, eademque cura et de infernis persuasio.” *Hist. L.* 5, c. 5.

Had not Christ admitted these common opinions respecting the future state, he would have intimated a contrary. But instead of teaching a doctrine inconsistent with these views, he opposed the Sadducean theory and defended that of the Pharisees. Had any great number of the Jews or any of the disciples of Christ believed that souls pass, after death, into an intermediate state at all resembling that expressed by the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory, or into a state in which new opportunity would be given for repentance, their opinions would have been referred to, and if true would have received the Saviour's sanction. That we find no reference in the New Testament to these doctrines is conclusive proof, as we think, that they were not current in Christ's day, or in the time of the apostles. It therefore belongs to those who question the truth of the common doctrine to show that the statements of the New Testament are at variance with it. This has been attempted.

By those who believe in the unconscious state of the dead and in the annihilation of the wicked, such passages as *Eccl.* ix. 5, “ The dead know not anything,” (cf. *iii.* 19 ; *Ps.* cxlvi. 4 ; *Isa.*

xxxviii. 18,) are quoted in proof; passages which evidently refer to the dead as ignorant of what is occurring in this world, and which determine nothing whatever as to their consciousness or unconsciousness, in the future state. Much stress is laid also on the pretended assertions in Heb. xi. 13, 39, 40, "These all died in faith, not having received the promises," that the ancient worthies were not rewarded at death, and that therefore no Christians are, though it would seem that very little thought might convince any one that the apostle is speaking of those "worthies" as being saved by faith in a Redeemer who did not appear till long after their death. They died in the faith of Christ though the promises of the gospel were never proclaimed to them in person.

Again, the dead are spoken of as asleep, as having "fallen in sleep," and are therefore, it is argued, unconscious. But to say that because death is likened to a sleep, there is no consciousness beyond the grave, is to beg the question, for it assumes that to be true which the best philosophers deny, that the mind ceases to think, or is unconscious in profound slumber. And suppose it were true that in deep sleep the mind is unconscious, is it not going too far to affirm on the strength of an analogy which may not hold good after death, that in a disembodied state the soul can have no consciousness? Vide 2 Cor. xii. 2—4.

Besides, the language of the New Testament is the language of common life, and is to be interpreted as words in daily use now are, and from the connection in which they stand.

The fact that death is called a sleep in the New Testament only proves that the outward resemblance between the two was observed and spoken of by Christ and his apostles, and can no more be appealed to as indicating their belief in the unconscious state of the dead, than the use of the word sleep now, can be cited as proof that he who employs it expresses thereby his faith in the assertion of consciousness in ordinary slumber. The opinions of men cannot always be determined from the language which they use in common life. Cicero was a firm believer in the soul's future conscious existence, (De Sen. c. 23), and yet he spoke of death as an everlasting sleep.

Those who disregard the general teachings of the Scriptures

can, of course, quote passages in proof of whatever theory they wish, especially when they overlook the fact that the same word is often used in different senses. Hence it is easy for believers in an unconscious state to defend their theory by reference to the use of the word death as denoting the destruction of the body, and therefore of the soul. Says a writer in the *World's Crisis*, (a Second Advent paper published at Boston,) Nov. 25, 1862, "No part of man is alive between death and the resurrection," and another, in a tract entitled the "Key of Truth" affirms that "Man's soul never outlives his body." The righteous and the wicked are alike unconscious after death, or rather cease to exist. At the judgment both are "raised" (recreated?) in order to be judged, the righteous to receive eternal life from Christ, the wicked to be annihilated to suffer the second death. It is difficult to see how the advocates of such a theory, a theory which raises men from the dead merely to kill them, and that with the most exquisite tortures, can consistently object to the common doctrine of eternal punishment.

But this strange materialistic theory might have been avoided if its authors had only observed that the word death is used in different senses in the New Testament, that sometimes it denotes the death of the body merely, as in Rom. vii. 2, where the woman is loosed from the law of her husband after he is dead; that sometimes it is expressive of a spiritual state, as in Eph. ii. 1, "dead in trespasses and sins" (cf. "dead to sin," "crucified to the world," etc.) a state which beginning in time will have its consummation in eternity; and again, in a sense more comprehensive still, that it denotes the penalty of sin, the results, the consequences of disobedience to the commands of God, as in Rom. vi. 23, "The wages of sin is death." (cf. v. 13, "alive from the dead"; and v. 21, "the end of those things is death.") *

But a more serious, and if well established, a valid objection to the common doctrine, is based upon the use of the terms *destruction*, *destroy*, *perdition*. These it is said denote the extinction of conscious existence. Annihilationists, therefore, lay great stress on Matt. x. 28, "Fear not them which kill the

* Vide Hovey's *State of the Impenitent Dead*, chap. 2; Bib. Sac., July, 1858; Hodge's *Com. on Rom. vi.*

body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy (*ἀπολέσαι*) both soul and body in hell, (*γέενν*).” Here, it is said, is a positive assertion that soul and body can both be annihilated. But while admitting the power of God to annihilate, if such be his will, we remark in answer to this objection that no ordinary, unprejudiced reader would think of making this verse teach any such doctrine. The theory is first formed, and the passage interpreted accordingly. And besides the parallel passage in Luke xii. 4, 5, “Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell,” shows that the casting into hell takes place after the destruction, the annihilation of the soul and body, which is impossible.

The advocates of the annihilation theory also quote Matt. x. 39, “he that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.” Instead of the word life in different senses in the two clauses, they assert that he who is not willing to suffer even bodily death for Christ forfeits his conscious being in the next life. The evident meaning of the verse is, he who submits to the loss of all things for Christ, even to the loss of physical life, shall inherit eternal life, while he who prefers worldly and temporal existence shall forfeit the happiness of the eternal state. Compare Matt. xvi. 25, Luke xvii. 33, John xii. 25, with Luke xviii. 29, 30.

They take comfort again from a passage in Peter, “The heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and *perdition*, (*ἀπωλεία*) of ungodly men.” 2 Pet. iii. 7. The perdition of ungodly men is here interpreted to mean their annihilation. But neither the connection in which the passage stands, nor the similar passage in 2 Thess. i. 8, 9, “In flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting *destruction* from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power,” would favor such an

explanation. For (1) the wicked are represented as conscious at the time the punishment is inflicted, and (2) they are punished by being sent away from the presence of the Lord, being deprived of his favor, a punishment which would lose its efficacy and terror if the one on whom it was inflicted were annihilated. Besides it is described as everlasting, (*αιώνιον*).*

But a fatal objection to a theory which rests on the use of the words destruction, perdition, etc., is that the root of the word from which these are derived, does not denote the annihilation of the person as being lost or destroyed. A Greek concordance will make this apparent to every one who will take pains to examine the subject. We quote a few passages. "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall no wise lose his reward." Matt. x. 42, cf. Mk. ix. 41. Lose here means to fail of obtaining. To speak of the reward as annihilation would be absurd. "What man of you having a hundred sheep if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost." (*ἀπολωλός*). Luke xv. 4, cf. v. 8. Would a search for an annihilated sheep be profitable? Compare Matt. xviii. 13, and Christ's application of the passage. "Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish," (*ἀπόληται*) v. 14. "This my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost, and is found." Luke xv. 24. "For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost," (*ἀπολωλός*). Matt. xviii. 11.

What meaning would these passages have, and others which might be quoted resembling them, if the word lost were interpreted to denote the destruction of the conscious being of the person, or the annihilation of the thing lost? And yet upon such a slight basis does this theory rest!

An argument in favor of the unconscious state is also drawn from the New Testament account of the final judgment. The righteous and the wicked are to receive their reward according to the deeds done in the body at the last great day. If sentenced or punished then here, it is asked, can the dead have

* For a farther examination of similar passages, vide Hovey's *State of the Impenitent Dead*.

been in a conscious state before? Does God punish men before he tries them? The last objection may be removed by remarking that the whole of the present life is a period of trial, and the first by conceiving of the judgment as the New Testament represents it, as a public declaration at the end of the world of a predetermined state. And again, though in figurative language, the dead are said to be awakened from their graves by the sound of the trumpet. This does not establish their unconsciousness, or, as some affirm their non-existence, but rather implies their continued existence, in a state in which they are able to hear the summons which calls them into the presence of God. Nor does the passage in Rev. xv. 5, "the rest of the dead," those who had worshipped the beast and had received his mark, "lived not again till the thousand years were finished," prove the unconsciousness of the dead. For the context affirms the conscious existence of those who had not worshipped the beast, and as both righteous and wicked are regarded by Adventists as in the same state, it is evident that their explanation of the passage cannot be true.

The catholic doctrine of the eternal punishment of the wicked is denied by Universalists and Restorationists of every class. The former descant upon the goodness and mercy of God, as though he could not be just as well as merciful, forgetting, seemingly, that this objection is as valid against the divine government over man in this life, as it can be in the next, for sin is punished here to some extent, if not to the extent which it deserves, and quote such passages as 1 Cor. xv. 22, "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," and 1 Tim. ii. 4, "Who will have all men to be saved," and v. 6, "Who gave himself a ransom for all," passages which taken in their connection do not teach the doctrine of universal salvation, and which idea absolutely contradicts the plainest assertions of other parts of the New Testament; "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God," "He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him."

Restorationists, looking to the ultimate salvation of all men, either attempt to explain the positive statement of the New Testament in regard to the future condition of the wicked, as figu-

ative, symbolical language, by a rule which universally applied would destroy all confidence in the Scriptures, or find intimations of the possibility of repentance in the future life, even in the pardon of the hard-hearted servant, (Matt. xviii. 34, 35,) who, according to Olshausen, is not to be eternally punished, because he admits his indebtedness, and is therefore cast into prison only, till, convinced of his true state, he shows a capacity for love as much as for repentance ! The words of John are a sufficient answer to such a theory, "The smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever." And Christ himself has said, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment."

The doctrine, however, which has done more than all others towards creating lax views upon future punishment, and which is entirely opposed to the common belief in only two separate states between death and the judgment, is the well-known doctrine of purgatory. Stripped of some of its more odious features it is related to every form in which the theory of the ultimate restoration of the wicked has yet appeared.

The authority on which the Papal doctrine of Purgatory rests, is two-fold — Scripture and Tradition. With the latter we have now nothing to do, for the purpose of this article limits us to a consideration of arguments drawn from the New Testament only.

In proof of the truth of their traditionary doctrine of a future state of purgation by fire, which may issue in the bliss of heaven, Catholics quote 1. Cor. iii. 15. "If any man's work shall be burned he shall suffer loss : but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." But even if the expression, "so as by fire" is not proverbial, indicative of narrow escape, as reference to Amos iv. 11, "As a firebrand plucked out of the burning," (cf. Zech. iii. 2, Jude 23,) seems to suggest, the drift of the entire passage makes the interpretation which Romanists give to this text untenable.

The apostle is speaking of the work of Christian teachers and of the test to which it is to be put. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," i. e., no man can provide a way of salvation which overlooks Christ as its author. Yet on a good foundation a perishable building may be erected. For, "if any man build upon this foundation," i. e.,

Christ, "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day," the judgment day, "shall declare it because it [the day] shall be revealed by fire," shall be manifest with or in fire as its characteristic. "And the fire shall try, [test, prove] every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon," i. e., upon Christ as the foundation, "he shall receive a reward" for his labor, and for its results. But, on the other hand, "If any man's work shall be burned," because of inflammable material and so unable to stand the test of fire, "he shall suffer loss," even the loss of all that he has done, "but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire," i. e., with the danger and difficulty of a man who barely escapes with his life from the flames which have enveloped his house. There is no allusion here to a purifying process which the soul undergoes after death; it is the work of Christian teachers which is tested, and this testing takes place, not during an intermediate state, but at the day of judgment.*

The passage, however, in which Romanists have the greatest confidence, as establishing the truths of their doctrine of purgatory, is found in 1 Peter, iii. 18, 19.

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."

This passage, it is asserted, indicates the employment of the soul of Christ during the three days in which his body lay in the grave. To determine the place to which his soul went (for Matt. xii. 40, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," refers to the body of the Saviour and not to his soul,) Romanists quote Acts ii. 27, "Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption," which is itself a quotation from the second Psalm, and which Peter applies to Christ to prove his divinity from the fact of his resurrection. The essential meaning of the verse is that the soul and the body of

* Hodge and Olshausen's Com. *in loco*.

the Saviour were not to be left separate. Death should have no power over them. The use of the word *hades*, here rendered hell, cannot be referred to as a term equivalent to purgatory, a place in which penance is paid for sin committed in this world, for it is generally employed to denote the state of the dead without regard to their condition, as all the passages in the New Testament in which the word occurs will show.* It is found only eleven times in the New Testament; three times among the words of our Lord, once in Matt. xi. 23, (cf. Luke, x. 15, the parallel passage,) "And thou Capernaum which art exalted unto heaven shalt be brought down to hell," where *hades* is contrasted with the word heaven to denote a state of the greatest degradation and abasement in opposition to one of exaltation and privilege, and again in Matt. xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;" where, says Dr. Alexander, *in loco* the phrase "gates of hell" is "a strong figure for death or destruction corresponding to "the gates of the grave," in Isa. xxxviii. 10, and "the gates of death" in Ps. cvii. 18, and is equivalent to saying that nothing shall "destroy the safety of the church erected on the rock here mentioned," and finally in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 23, where it is affirmed of the former that "in hell, (*hades*) he lifted up his eyes," which no satisfactory interpretation can make to mean anything less than a place of torment, separate from the abode of the righteous. It is not a little remarkable that in the only instance in which Christ used the word *hades* to denote a state of suffering hereafter, he applied it to the abode of the wicked in contrast with that of the righteous, and how unlikely that he went to a place from which the soul of the beggar was delivered! The word is met with twice in Acts, in the speech of Peter in the chapter from which we have already quoted, and is to be explained as indicating the apostle's belief that David foresaw that God would not abandon his Son to the power of death. The use of *hades* in 1 Cor. xv. 55, "O death where is thy sting, O grave [*hades*] where is thy victory," cannot be appealed to by Romanists in support of their doctrine, for it is evident that there is here no reference to a state

* Dr. Alexander's Com. *in loco*, and Prof. Hacket's.

of suffering. The remaining passages in which the word occurs are in Revelation, i. 18, "the keys of hell and death;" vi. 8, "And I looked and behold a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was death, and hell followed with him," where death is personified as followed by his victims; xx. 13, 14, "And death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them." (How could they have been delivered up if they were annihilated?) "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire," passages which in no way countenance the Romish doctrine under consideration, for death and hell themselves, used by metonymy for their victims, are cast into the lake of fire after the judgment.

We are therefore brought back to the passage in Peter, not simply for information regarding the employment of Christ's soul during the period intervening between the crucifixion and the resurrection, but for the place to which it went. And here it should be remarked that whatever be the result of our investigations as to the meaning of this difficult passage, we have no right to allow a single ambiguous statement to weigh against the concurrent testimony of the entire New Testament, nor can we suppose that Peter, an inspired apostle, and one of the three most favored with his Master's intimacy, would, as some have suggested, either have used language in accommodation to the opinions of the times in which he lived, or have taught a doctrine which contradicts all that the other apostles have taught as concerning the future state; for were it true that a theory of an intermediate state from which the doctrine of purgatory is but the legitimate outgrowth, were prevalent in his day, an assumption by no means warranted by facts, Peter as an inspired teacher would have corrected that belief, as a belief fraught with serious and fatal consequences.

A glance at the original of the passage before us shows that our translators have disregarded the antithetical character indicated by *μὲν* and *δέ*, of the two important clauses: "being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." * We may render it as follows: "being put to death, indeed, in flesh, but being made alive, or quickened in spirit," the first clause re-

* Vide, Bib. Sac., Jan. 1862, for an instructive examination of this verse by the Rev. J. B. Miles of Charlestown, an Article of which we have freely availed ourselves.

ferring to Christ's bodily death, the second to his spiritual exaltation, to his increased spiritual power. As Mr. Miles has shown, the dative *σφρι*, cannot be translated as the dative of agency, with reference to the Saviour's body, for that he was put to death by himself, by his flesh, is untrue. Nor can it be referred to mankind, the whole race, without violating the ordinary rules of speech.

The leading interpretations of this text are the following: (1) The oldest, most generally received, and at first sight, the most natural one, is that Christ, in a disembodied state, went and preached to the spirits in prison, i. e., to the souls either of unbelievers, or of believers, or of both, who had died before the flood: that these souls, (according to some the souls of the Patriarchs,) were waiting to have the message of the Son of God delivered to them directly, and that having performed this work while his body lay in the sepulchre, the Saviour arose from the dead, and afterward ascended into heaven.* The objections to this interpretation, even though sanctioned by some modern commentators of great repute, are (a) that it is at variance with the plain teachings of the rest of the New Testament, and (b) that it sanctions the fatal views of the Romanists and many unevangelical protestants, by holding out the prospect of a future state in which separation is possible.

(2) Bishop Leighton, and Prof. Brown of Edinburgh, (Bib. Sac. 1847) suppose "spirits in prison" to mean the souls of sinful men righteously condemned, i. e., sinners of every age of the church, and that being quickened in spirit refers to the quickening of the sinner's spirit in consequence of his penal sufferings, his bodily death, "being put to death in the flesh," by which an influence was exerted throughout the church, increasing and intensifying the earnestness of Christians in proclaiming "the way of life" to the lost. The work which Christ performed was therefore a spiritual one, accomplished through the agency of renewed men.

The objections which are commonly made to this interpretation are (a) that the phrase "spirits in prison" according to the New Testament usage, though common in the Old Testament, does not refer to sinners. They are never termed prisoners.

* For the history and the influence of this belief, vide Pearson on the Creed.

(b) The term *πνεύματα* denotes disembodied spirits, and not living men. (c) The time when these spirits lived on the earth, expressly stated, is "in the days of Noah."

(3) The interpretation proposed by Dr. Skinner, (*Bib. Repos.* Apr. 1843,) and now quite generally advocated, explaining "quickened in spirit" as before, to denote the spiritual fulness, above measure, with which Christ was filled in consequence of his vicarious work, makes "the spirits in prison" the souls of the antediluvians who repented not at the preaching of Noah, the agent through whom the Saviour, by his spirit, made known the conditions of eternal life. The text has been thus paraphrased: "Christ exerted himself by the spirit, through the ministrations of Noah when the deluge was at hand, and he then preached by his faithful prophet to the disobedient persons of that generation, whose disobedient spirits are now in the prison of hell bearing the just punishment of their incorrigible impenitence." This interpretation, in lieu of a better, would commend itself to our minds, though open to the charge brought against it of changing the collocation of the words of the original, and of being incongruous with the context, neither in harmony with nor suggested by it.

(4) A fourth interpretation, ingenious and plausible, to say the least, has been recently suggested. *Bib. Sac.*, Jan., 1862. Its leading features are the following: (a) When Christ gave up the ghost on the cross, his spirit passed immediately into the spirit world, a place which from other parts of the New Testament we learn to have been paradise, or the presence of God and not the world of woe. (b) Though the work of atonement was then completed we are not to suppose that the spirit of Christ was inactive. It was quickened in consequence of the completion of his earthly work, and was engaged in quickening his followers on earth, the very same work in which the Saviour has been engaged since his ascension. (c) By "the spirits in prison" are meant the lost souls of men who lived in the time of Noah, and to whom, as cognizant of the great work which he had completed, Christ preached by way of example. This finished work "made proclamation" to those who had refused to repent at Noah's preaching, of the justice and mercy of God,

and strengthened their conviction of the righteousness of their doom.

In favor of this explanation it is claimed (a) that it gives no unusual sense to the word *κηρύσσω*, which both in the classics and in the New Testament signifies to make known, as a herald, by proclamation, without note or comment; (b) that it harmonizes with the context; (c) that it accords with the analogy of faith. It does not make Peter teach a doctrine foreign alike to the spirit of the rest of the apostles and that of the divine Master.

But whether we accept this interpretation in all its details, or not, the synopsis we have thus briefly given of some of the leading explanations which the passage has received, shows that we are not under the necessity of admitting the truth of the Romish doctrine of purgatory, in order to obtain a reasonable and even satisfactory meaning from Peter's words. Neither he, nor any of the apostles, lends any sanction to the theory of a future state of repentance, or to a period of purgation by fire.

So far therefore as we can see we have shown that the New Testament does not contradict the commonly received doctrine in regard to the intermediate state. If the objections we have considered were valid, they would have been urged in Christ's day. The silence of Christ and his apostles in regard to them is conclusive proof that they were not urged, and therefore were not believed. The negative argument in favor of the common doctrine, or the argument from the silence of the New Testament in respect to any other doctrine must be allowed its full weight, for on such an important subject as this we cannot receive anything not plainly taught by the inspired record.

Assuming, what is generally admitted to be true, that the language of the New Testament is the language of common life, and that many of the Saviour's words were suggested by the prevailing belief of the Jews in the immortality of the soul; and farther, that the knowledge of Christ and his apostles on the subject of a future state was not less extensive than that of the Old Testament saints, who believed in a future existence, as their common synonym for death, "going to one's fathers," and the laws which Moses made against necromancy, and the calling up of Samuel by Saul, abundantly testify, we may draw a

probable argument in support of the common doctrine of a future state, from the indirect teachings of the New Testament, as to the condition of both righteous and wicked beyond the grave, and from the doctrines to which the apostles gave especial prominence in their official labors.

(1) The constant existence and blessedness of the righteous during the intermediate state may be established from the following considerations.

(a) The account of the transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1-13, Mark ix. 2-9,) informs us that Moses and Elias were seen by three of the apostles talking with Jesus, which indicates not only a belief in, but the assertion of the conscious existence, and happy state of Moses and Elias.

(b) In the refutation of the Sadducean doctrine (Matt. xxii. 27,) concerning the resurrection, Christ adduces the case of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, affirming that God is not the God of the dead, of those whose souls have been annihilated, but of the living, those who were conscious at the very time when the Saviour was speaking.

(c) "Rejoice ye in that day, for great is your reward in heaven, for in like manner did their fathers unto the prophets," Luke vi. 23, (cf. Matt. v. 12.) The prophets are here spoken of as though they were alive and happy at the time when this exhortation was made.

(d) The visions of John, (Rev., chaps. iv. v. and vii.,) indicate not only a belief on his part in the consciousness, but in the blessedness of the righteous during the intermediate state as well as after it.

(e) The reward of the righteous is eternal life, in contrast with that "everlasting death" which is the portion of the wicked. Our limits forbid an extended quotation of the passages in which this is affirmed. The following will serve as examples :

"Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him." John xvii. 2, 3. "And show you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." 1 John i. 2. "This is the promise that he hath promised us, even eternal life." ii. 25. "And this is the record that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in

his Son." v. 11. "Because I live ye shall live also." John xiv. 19. "He that doeth the will of God abideth forever." 1 John ii. 17.

Do not these quotations, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, prove that the life which the believer has through Christ shall never terminate? "Because I live ye shall live also." What is this but an assertion that the existence of Christ was the source and pledge of the existence of his followers? But could it be so if the life of the believer were broken off by an interval of we know not how many thousands of years, passed in unconsciousness? What sort of eternal life would that be which admits of such interruption?

To "drink of the fountain of the water of life," to wear "a crown of life," to "eat of the tree of life," to "receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away," and the blessedness of "the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth;" i. e., from this moment onward forever, imply the continuation of consciousness and the enjoyment of great bliss in the state which intervenes between death and the judgment.

(2) The future state of the wicked is learned from those passages in which their condition is absolutely declared, and from those in which it is contrasted with the condition of those who believe in Christ.

"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Mark xvi. 15, 16. The character of the condemnation here spoken of, is to be determined from its contrast with the salvation of the righteous.

"It is better to enter into life, halt or maimed, . . . than to be cast into everlasting fire," Matt. xviii. 8, (cf. v. 29, 30.) The meaning of this passage is more clearly seen by comparing it with the parallel passage in Mark ix. 43-49. "It is better for them to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, to go into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," a passage which declares on the one hand, that mortification and suffering here will receive their reward hereafter, while on the other, it asserts that those who submit to no self-denial will enter into hell, into gehenna, the place of torment; for it is thus used in every one of the twelve instances in which it is found in the New Testament, (vide Matt. v. 22, 29, 30; x. 28; xviii. 9;

xxiii. 15, 33 ; Mark ix. 43, 45, 47 ; Luke xii. 5 ; John iii. 6.) It is unquenchable fire, fire which cannot be put out, where torments never cease. And as if this were insufficient, it is added Mk. ix. 49, "For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt," which may be explained as affirming that every one shall be kept from annihilation, from the corroding, destructive agencies of fire, by fire, and like salt for purposes of preservation so that punishment may be inflicted for ever and ever. (Vide Dr. Alexander, Com. *in loco*.)

Fear not him who can kill the body only, but him who can destroy both soul and body in hell. Luke xii. 4, 5. If we compare this passage and others resembling it which represent the souls of the lost as in a place of torment, with the account in Rev. xiii. 8 ; xiv. 10, 11, of the condition of those who worship the beast between death and the judgment, and subsequently, (cf. xix. 20,) when the beast and the false prophet are cast into a lake of fire burning with brimstone, as compared with the state of those who have not worshipped the beast, xiv. 3, 7, 13 ; xv. 2, and with the condition of the angels that kept not their first estate, but are "reserved in everlasting chains" (*αἰδίοις*, a word elsewhere applied to the eternal power and godhead of Jehovah) "under darkness unto the judgment of the great day," (Jude 6) who must have been conscious or they would not have been placed under guard and bound, it will be evident that the unbeliever immediately after death and forever onward is in a state of conscious misery.

And "the spirits in prison" to whom Christ preached, 1 Pet. iii. 19, must have been conscious at the time of the crucifixion, and if conscious then what proof that they will not always remain so, or that they will ever be annihilated?

The scene of the final judgment sheds light upon the intermediate state of the soul, Matt. xxv. 41—46. (Compare the parable of the tares, Matt. xiii. 24—30 ; 36—43). Those on the left hand are sent away into "everlasting punishment," which is equivalent to gehenna, or "unquenchable fire," the strongest possible terms which can be employed to set forth eternity of torment, "prepared for the devil and his angels," fit subjects of the kingdom of darkness, while the righteous enter into life eternal. The terms indicating the character of the reward and

the punishment given, assert an entrance upon a state which can never end, and imply that, at the time when the final decision is made, both those on the right hand and those on the left, are conscious, and therefore favor, if they do not necessitate the conclusion that both parties have been in conscious misery or happiness during the whole period which has elapsed since their bodily death, for no mention is made of the exertion of any power to excite them out of a lethargic or unconscious state, nor is there the slightest allusion to any penance which they have paid since entering upon the intermediate state. The doom pronounced is based upon sins committed on the earth. If another state were to come into the account, why is there no mention of it?

From the passages thus cursorily examined we conclude, (a) that the righteous and the unrighteous are conscious during the intermediate state; (b) that at death they enter immediately upon that state of "life" or "death" which is their respective portion; (c) that there is no penance in the world beyond the grave; (d) that the judgment is a public declaration of a final and unalterable state, though that state might have been fixed long before.

(3) The common doctrine of the intermediate state is inferred to be true, from the doctrines which the apostles made prominent in their official labors.

(a) Regeneration is everywhere represented as a necessary preparation for heaven. The Saviour's assertion that "except a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of God," is repeated over and over again in different forms in the writings of the apostles. John describes it as being "born of God," and as passing from "death to life," and Paul affirms that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."

(b) The regenerate, "being justified by faith" are united with Christ. They partake of his divine life. Because he lives they live. His work, his sufferings and death, secures their life. And the life they live is eternal. It cannot be interrupted even by death, for where Christ is his followers are. "I go," he said to his disciples, "to prepare a place for you . . . that where I am there ye may be also." The church on earth and

in heaven are one, and Christ is its head. To suppose that those who have "fallen asleep in Jesus" continue unconscious till the judgment, would make much that the apostles have said meaningless. "Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed," Rom. xiii. 11, which implies that Paul was looking forward to its consummation at death. "Our light afflictions are but for a moment." "Looking for that blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." "Ye are come unto Mount Zion . . . to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born . . . to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant." The apostles anticipated with joy the termination of their earthly career. They were persuaded of their union with Christ, and that nothing could separate them from him, who ever lived to make intercession for them; so that they could say, as they believed with truth, "whether we wake or sleep, we shall live together unto him." 1 Thess. v. 10.

The sufferings of the wicked are also described precisely as they would have been, if they were to begin immediately after death. The terms which express the character of these sufferings are such as would be employed to denote conscious, eternal misery. The wicked go into "everlasting death," into "unquenchable fire," "their worm dieth not." They are banished unto "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord." They are "cast into the bottomless pit," "prepared for the devil and his angels." These terms do not favor the doctrine of an "unconscious suffering" or of annihilation, but of unending, conscious torture. And these descriptions are given to the future state of unbelievers in order to induce men to seek to escape from the wrath to come, which is revealed against all manner of righteousness. For though a life of positive enjoyment might be desirable, yet to the sinful posterity of Adam, it would furnish a weak motive for resistance of sin, if the only penalty of transgression were unconsciousness till the judgment, and annihilation afterwards.

(c) The apostles admit the personality of Satan and of his angels. A kingdom is subject unto them. Those on the left hand at the judgment, prepared for them are sent away into

"everlasting death." Unless Satan himself is to be annihilated, of which there is no mention in the New Testament, the souls of the wicked will not be annihilated, and from the fact that the same term, "eternal" (*αἰώνιον*), is applied to the future state of the believer and the unbeliever, we infer the eternal existence of the wicked and consequently of their sovereign, their "father," who reigns over them.

(d) Christ's work is a complete and perfect work. Suppose the righteous are unconscious after death, and before the judgment. They lose the enjoyment which they would have taken during that period, had they been conscious. The work of Christ would have been more complete therefore if it had secured the happiness of believers during this period. To suppose that it did not, limits the value of the atonement, and contradicts the testimony of the inspired writers.

(e) The redeeming work of Christ is indispensable. This follows from the nature of justification and regeneration, as well as from express assertions of the New Testament. Christ was offered once for all, a ransom for many, that God might be just, and justify those that believed on him. But if penance for sin in this life may be paid beyond the grave, the death of Christ is unnecessary, for though his death might alleviate somewhat the pains of purgation, yet their endurance is of the nature of meritorious atonement, which not only detracts from, but renders the work of the Saviour unnecessary.

It is evident that our Lord and his apostles did not countenance the doctrines of annihilationists or lend their sanction to those who advocate the theory of the ultimate restoration of the wicked. If a man does not repent in this life there is no hope for him in the next. "Ye shall die in your sins," says the Saviour, "and whither I go ye cannot come." "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation," writes Paul to the Hebrews.

The exhortations and warnings addressed to sinners, and the consolations and encouragements held out to believers, by those who were judged "for the hope of the resurrection of the dead," who looked for a city that had foundations, who watched "for the glorious appearing of Christ," trusting that if he lived they who had received life from him should live also, who expected

to reign with him, sitting on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, could have had no sympathy which makes sin less heinous than it is, or which detracts from the perfection of that salvation through Christ, which, bought with his precious blood, is offered to all who are willing to receive it.

The argument against the Sadducees, in favor of the resurrection and for the immortality of the soul, the transfiguration, the account of the final judgment, the doctrines which the apostles proclaimed concerning the necessity of the new birth, and in reference to the unity of Christ and his followers, the encouragement which the Saviour held out to them, that after his departure he would send them another Comforter, that he himself would be with them to the end of the world, thus implying his conscious existence, which none are so irreverent as to deny, (though if believers are united with Christ in this life, and are with him in the next, and are yet unconscious, the awful doctrine of the Saviour's unconsciousness must be affirmed,) constitute so strong a probable argument in favor of the received doctrine concerning the future state, as to almost warrant us in unhesitatingly affirming its truth.

But we have stronger evidence than we have yet adduced in favor of the truth of this doctrine, in the positive statements of the New Testament in reference to the condition of the righteous and the wicked between death and the final judgment.

(1) The account of the repentance of the thief on the cross proves something as to the place and condition of the righteous. "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Luke xxiii. 43. The question to be here answered relates to the meaning of the word "paradise." The elements of which it is composed do not determine its meaning, nor can it be ascertained with perfect accuracy from its historical associations. It is a word of Eastern, perhaps of Persian origin, and denotes a pleasure-park, a place of great delight, and is applied by the LXX to the garden of Eden, and would therefore seem to be an appropriate term for a place, or a state of happiness and enjoyment. In the New Testament the word is met with but three times, once in Luke, in the passage already quoted, and once in 2 Cor. xii. 4, where it is used interchangeably with the third heavens, which were regarded as the abode of Jehovah

and into which Paul was caught up, and where he heard unutterable words, (a passage which, it may be observed in passing, proved that the apostle thought it possible for the soul to exist apart from the body,) and again in Rev. ii. 7, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God," i. e., in the place where God's presence is manifest. A comparison of these three passages has produced a general conviction that paradise is a place of conscious existence and happiness, a conviction which is strengthened by the knowledge that Christ went after his death to the right hand of God, or, as he told his disciples, "to my Father and your Father." Yet some have attempted to explain the passage in Luke as not inconsistent with the doctrine of an unconscious state, by supposing that the Saviour meant to say to the thief on the cross that his sleep after death would pass so quickly that he would seem to himself to enter upon eternal joy that very day—an interpretation not only forced and unnatural, but inconsistent with the Saviour's character.

(2) The parable of the rich man and Lazarus sheds some light upon the future condition of the sinful and the holy. Its drapery is not to be explained away as meaningless. Without entering into a discussion of the meaning of the several parts of the parable, it may be safely asserted that it proves the following points, the more clearly that they are not the prominent features of the parable.

(a) The existence and consciousness of angels, for they carried Lazarus to Abraham's bosom. If angels, who are sent to be ministering spirits unto the heirs of salvation, exist before the judgment, why may not the souls of men? (b) A place of torment and of happiness, the latter expressed by the term "Abraham's bosom," the former by the term *hades* or *hell*. (c) That the torment endured is unutterable. (d) That it can not be alleviated. (e) That there is no passing from one place or state to the other. (f) That there is no return to this world not even to warn others of the sufferings of "hell." (g) The justice of God, which finally rewards men according to their merits. Now if we remember that this parable represents the state of souls before the general judgment, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the souls of the wicked are in

conscious misery, while those of the righteous enjoy conscious bliss immediately after death.

(3) Stephen (Acts vii. 55, 56,) "looked up steadfastly into heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said, Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This language admits of only one interpretation and that the most obvious — that Stephen believed that he saw what he affirmed, and if put to death, as he evidently expected to be, that he would be admitted into the presence of God and of Christ. Hence his prayer when the multitude rushed upon him to stone him, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," and the certainty that the words of the historian, "he fell asleep," refer to bodily and not to spiritual death.

(4) Paul (2 Cor. v. 1—9) was willing to be absent from the body, i. e., to have his soul separated from his body, that he might be present with the Lord, and so much did he long to experience this change, that in Phil. i. 21—23, we find him affirming that "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if I live in the flesh, (implying that he could live away from it, in the spirit,) this is the fruit of my labor; yet what I shall choose, I wot not. For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ which is far better: nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you," language which requires us to suppose that the prospect of immediate joy excited in the apostle's mind a desire to enter upon it at once, though he knew that the feeble Christians to whom he was writing needed all his labors, and all the encouragements he could give them, to strengthen them in their faith, and to aid them in resisting their temptations.

Had Paul believed in an intermediate, unconscious state, would he have wished to die? Would he not rather have desired to live, that he might do the more for Christ, and that the period of his unconsciousness before the judgment might be the shorter? Compare the passages just quoted, with the revelation in 2 Cor. xii. 2—4, which brings to our knowledge the existence of such a place as heaven, into which one was caught up, most probably the apostle himself, a place of life and activity, for words unutterable were there heard, and we shall be

convinced that Paul expected when his bodily life was over, to enter into a state of conscious happiness in the presence of his Lord.

(5) Enoch and Elijah did not die. They were translated that they should not see death. Does the account of the transfiguration make it possible to suppose that Elijah was taken up into an unconscious state, and is it excusable to believe that the goodness of Enoch was rewarded by shortening his natural life, and by lengthening the period which he must pass in sleep, before he could enter into the anticipated joys of heaven!

And the victory which the worthies mentioned in Heb. xi. obtained through their faith, is not a victory which can be explained on the ground that an intermediate state of unconsciousness of uncertain duration must intervene between its acquisition and its enjoyment. (cf. Heb. xii. 1.)

Finally, in bringing this argument to a close, we should not fail to refer to the spirit of the New Testament as the strongest possible proof of the truth of the doctrine we defend.

The truth of this doctrine seems to be assumed throughout the New Testament. It is part of its texture, and it cannot be denied without weakening, and so taking away from the meaning of the word of inspiration.

Let one examine such portions of the Scriptures as the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v—vii :) the greater part of John; all in fact that relates to Christ's work — those passages which insist upon the necessity of preaching; which represent the loss of the whole world as nothing in comparison with the loss of the soul, those which are full of the earnestness of the apostles in the performance of their work: let one read the prayer of Paul in the beginning of nearly all his letters, for the spiritual welfare of those addressed, or the epistles of Peter, or the Revelation of John the Divine: let him see how little can be made of the sacred records on the theory that the righteous and the wicked pass into a state of unconsciousness, to continue till the judgment, after which the former are to be annihilated, or put into a state where penance is made: let him regard such terms as "devil," "Satan," "Beelzebub," "fallen angels," "everlasting punishment," as mere figurative expressions based upon the real foundations, and made use of only to influence men to seek for

immortality, rather than to suffer the endless nothingness of annihilation — and if not wholly carried away by the spirit of a false philosophy, which denies the truth of any part of the Scriptures, he will turn for relief to the ordinary evangelical doctrine of the soul's future, conscious, endless existence either in heaven or in hell. Without this doctrine there is no foundation on which to rest.

The spirit of the New Testament is a spirit of life eternal, never-ending life for all, for the righteous and the wicked, for the just and the unjust, a life of intimate union with Christ from henceforth forever, infinitely blessed, or a life of death, union with Satan, fellowship with the works of darkness, misery unutterable, in the torments of "unquenchable fire."

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ARTICLE VI.

THE ENGLISH DISSENTERS.

EVERY age and every country has its own special occasions for high moral daring. That the occasion has not more frequently been answered by men qualified to turn it to account, must be reckoned among the chiefest misfortunes of the human race. How vastly different would have been the present aspect of our world, if the Daniels, the Esthers, the Luthers and the Washingtons had always been at hand when the emergency arose which demanded their service. How cheering is the light which one such spirit has flung over the pathway of the nations through all following time; and how dismal the darkness which has ensued when, because no such spirit appeared, the occasion has been lost to truth and liberty, and the twilight of a glorious morning turned into the shadow of death.

It is a less dazzling spectacle when the providence of God assigns a high moral position to an entire community; but it is fraught with issues far more extensive, and the disastrous consequences of failure are great in proportion.

The application of these remarks to the religious dissenters of England will not be understood as prejudging their ecclesiastical polity ; nor yet their position relatively to the other Christian denominations ; much less the character of the men, and their influence upon the religious destinies of their country. These will be among the subjects of our inquiry.

Assuredly it will not be denied by churchman or cavalier, that some degree of magnanimity belongs to the position upon which the English dissenters have taken up their stand, as among the great religious parties of the day. Voluntary churchmen side by side with the wealthiest and most powerful ecclesiastical establishment in the world ; deliberately cutting themselves loose from all the advantages of university education, and political power, and the adhesion of the great, the mighty and the noble, in a country where all these things are of boundless regard ; content to be stamped as vulgar and excluded from the ordinary social intercourse of the class of the community most distinguished for refinement of manners and high and varied mental culture ; incurring, in many instances, large pecuniary sacrifices, by the loss of custom from those who, in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, can descend so low as to petty, pitiful persecution of a man for his religious belief ; taxed equally with the churchman for the support of the churchman's worship from which they conscientiously separate themselves, and, under all these manifold disadvantages, building their own churches, supporting their own ministers, and establishing their own schools and colleges ; yet steadfastly refusing all government patronage in every shape, and undertaking to demonstrate that Christianity has most of life and power when left to its own free action, unendowed and unrestricted ; and that the people will be better educated when the state leaves the matter entirely alone :—assuredly there is something in this of true magnanimity, of noble moral daring, even if it is not entirely free from presumption and mistake.

The English dissenters are magnanimous men. They are occupying worthily a position which should command the high admiration of every one that has a soul large enough to discern true moral greatness wherever found, and to value it for its own sake. They are not accomplishing all that they claim for

their principles. They are not accomplishing all that, with their principles and their position, they might do. But they are doing enough to earn for themselves an honorable place on the page of their country's history. They are nobly bearing a hand in every great religious and philanthropic movement of the age, at the same time that they are practically solving problems in ecclesiastical polity in which the universal church is deeply interested, thus contributing, in their full measure, to shape the destinies of the world.

They are at least men into whose character, position, principles and influence we of New England have cause carefully to inquire. Descendants of the Puritans who remained at home in spite of Star Chamber and Smithfield fires, as we are of those who, for "freedom to worship God," were content to brave the perils of the deep and of the wilderness, their principles are mainly coincident with those which laid the foundations of this great Republic.

In calling these men the religious dissenters of England it will be perceived that the terms are used in their restricted and conventional, not in their more comprehensive sense. All who separate themselves from the communion of the Established church are dissenters in fact: yet the papists are never spoken of as dissenters, nor are they so in theory, holding, as they do, the union of the church with the state, only claiming for the church absolute and uncontrolled freedom in matters ecclesiastical—the plain meaning of which is, the supremacy of the Pope; or, in other words, the state subject to the church.

The Wesleyans also might seem to be included, yet they utterly and proudly repudiate the name of dissenters, though they are the largest body of religious separatists in all England, with an ecclesiastical polity of their own which is altogether peculiar; and affect a special sympathy for the church of England, at the same time that no others are treated with such unmeasured contempt by that arrogant hierarchy. The secret at once of the sympathy and the scorn is found in the fact that the devout churchman, who laments the absence of evangelical doctrine in the sermons of his own minister, but has not courage enough to attend upon the ministrations of our avowed dissenters, finds a convenient half-way house in the chapel of the kind

hearted Wesleyans, who are willing to call themselves churchmen for his particular accommodation. Thus we have seen the regular attendance at a Wesleyan chapel half made up of way-faring members of the church of England.

The Wesleyans contribute more largely to the support of foreign missionary operations than any other denomination, though in wealth their rank is not higher than the third or fourth. They have their own high schools and theological seminaries, in which they exhibit an excellence every year increasing. They have chapels and denominational day schools throughout all the land, with an immense aggregate income, entirely under the control of Conference, whose powers, extending to the affairs of every congregation in the kingdom, come as near to absolutism as can well be conceived. Their Buntings, and Stanleys, and Punshons and Arthurs are worthy successors of Wesley and Watson and Adam Clarke. One of the most remarkable men of modern days was Jabez Bunting, who died a few years ago, at a very advanced age. A man of masterly intellect and great statesmanship, a power in the pulpit and on the platform, he was the acknowledged chieftain of the English Wesleyans for a lengthened period. In the grand struggle which convulsed the whole Wesleyan body, some fifteen years ago, he was the champion of the conservative portion, in other words, of "Conference," and carried it triumphantly against the reforming wing, who contended that Jabez Bunting and his coadjutors had departed widely from the more simple and scriptural platform of John Wesley, their illustrious founder. The reformers included not a few men of decided power, as administrators and orators, well fitted for popular leaders; and the result of the struggle was—not a reform of the evils complained of, of course, when did such a thing happen?—but a secession of a large aggregate body of lay members and preachers, and a new organization, which claimed to return to the original Wesleyanism in church polity and discipline. Some men of mark as preachers were lost entirely to the denomination, and are now the pastors of prominent churches among the Independents in London and elsewhere.

A critic of no mean power in another denomination, said of Jabez Bunting, that he would have made a noble Prime Min-

ister if politics had been his profession. An autocrat in disposition, a tory in politics, and the Nestor of his denomination, his influence acknowledged no bounds. That influence lives in the impregnable strength of Conference after an assault, from forces within, as formidable as any it is likely to suffer for the next hundred years. It is a grand spiritual centralization, "a wheel within a wheel," controlling with an absolute will everything included in the enormous organization, to the very outward circumference. So long as there is strict and unquestioning subordination everywhere, all runs smoothly and pleasantly; but if it happens that a preacher is endowed with too much genius, or too much power of thought, or too strong a will, and all with a disposition to be free, he is pretty sure to find out that Conference has its Botany Bays, in the shape of very small and obscure congregations, to one of which he may be sent for a term, as a means of spiritual health.

We have said that Jabez Bunting was a tory; so are the Wesleyan ministers, almost in a body. The exceptions are hardly sufficient to justify the supposition of free individual thought in the matter. Neither do they always content themselves with the quiet recording of their own votes in a popular election. We remember an illustration. Theophilus Lessey, one of their most distinguished ecclesiastical chiefs and popular orators, having been repeatedly President of Conference, was wasting rapidly away with consumption, his tall, massive frame attenuated and bowing like a reed. In this condition he came, for change of air, to a beautiful watering place in the south of England, where we had the pleasure to make his acquaintance. It happened that during his stay the general election took place, in which was fought the great battle for protection which resulted in the complete overthrow of the Melbourne Ministry, by Sir Robert Peel and his party. Noble hearted and devout Christian man as he was, and his majestic frame greatly emaciated by disease that was hurrying him to his grave, Theophilus Lessey expressed his profound regret that he was not in his full health and vigor, so that he might throw himself, heart and soul, into the struggle, and lend the weight of his influence to the triumph of the tories. "A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind." A son of Theophilus Lessey is now a successful preacher among the Independents in London.

Another religious sect comprised in the general body of the dissenters, is that of the Unitarians. They are a small and compact community, found chiefly in the large towns, and especially in the north of England. They are characterized by wealth, intelligence, great refinement of manners, and high social position. They display a princely munificence in philanthropic movements, particularly in charities for the poor immediately around them. Their reputation for commercial integrity is also high. They have several members in Parliament, and are treated with greater consideration by the leaders of the great aristocratic parties than any other religious body, except, perhaps, the Roman Catholics. They are earnest liberals in politics, yet it was the tory Lord Lyndhurst who concocted, a few years ago, the "Chapels' Trusts Bill," by which they were secured in perpetuity in the undisturbed possession of a goodly number of religious endowments in connection with places of worship which were originally orthodox, but, by some means, had passed into their hands. Their congregations, for the most part, are extremely small, though their ministers are men of good education, and accomplished manners, with no mean powers of oratory. In their ministrations they are quiet, little given to doctrinal discussions, dwelling rather on the great principles of Christian morality, with the not infrequent introduction into the pulpit of elegant literary essays, the repetition of which earns for them a high reputation as lecturers before Mechanic's Institutes. They are accustomed to hold on to the names of the denominations to which their chapels formerly belonged, as Presbyterian or Congregational. In religious creed they verge all the way from the earlier stage of lapse from orthodoxy to the dreary frozen waste of Theodore Parker and the *Westminster Review*.

The foremost place among their preachers must, unquestionably, be assigned to James Martineau, of Liverpool, the accomplished scholar, the elegant writer, and the singularly ornate pulpit orator. His audience "fit, though few," is of the élite of the great commercial emporium, cultivated, wealthy, and going to church in carriages of princely splendor. The Mercurius of the English Unitarians is W. J. Fox, Esq., the quondam Rev. W. J. Fox, preacher of Finsbury Chapel, city

of London, latterly member of Parliament for Oldham, and always a grand orator on occasions which draw the mixed multitude. We have not seen him of late ; but it was a rich treat to hear him ten years ago. He had a large frame and portly form, with massive head, well set on ample shoulders. His thick iron gray hair was parted in the centre, and fell in heavy ringlets on his shoulders. His voice, sweet, and of great power, was managed with consummate skill. His style was elegant, yet remarkably simple and clear, and his manner rather quiet than otherwise. He spoke like a man perfectly at ease, and conscious of possessing a much larger power than he was putting forth. We heard him address one of the largest audiences that Exeter Hall could contain, on capital punishment of which he advocated the total excision from the statute book. His speech—full of sophistries—was brilliant in the highest degree. It was delivered in his own peculiarly self-retained and quiet way, yet the audience was wrought up to the highest pitch, and greeted sentence after sentence with thunders of applause, amid which he stood still and calm, like a great rock in the sea, when the waters are surging and foaming and dashing all around.

Mr. Fox will not owe his best fame to his pulpit deliverances, or his history as a pastor. His prayers were oratorical rhapsodies, of which "Jehovah, Jove or Lord," might have been the object. His text was from the Bible, Poor Richard, Shakespeare, or an old almanac, and the sermon [?] classical, brilliant, witty, and intensely pagan, honoring the gods somewhat, but man a great deal more. We recall among his characteristic texts the popular proverb, "Honesty is the best policy." The particular aim of the discourse was to prove that the proverb is not true !

As relates to doctrinal creeds the English Unitarians seem more intent to undermine those of others than to make any very distinct assertion of their own. As elsewhere they allow large liberty of unbelief, and are illiberal only toward those who are positive and earnest in the profession of a well-defined religious faith. They have too little warmth and unction to attract the masses, while the established church carries it against them with polite and learned sceptics, who find it more comfortable

to send forth their attacks on Moses, and their "Essays and Reviews" from luxurious cloisters and bishops' palaces, than from the simple retreats of unendowed nonconformity. Hence Unitarianism can hardly be reckoned a power among the religious bodies of England.

The Quakers are rapidly waning in England, though they have still considerable numbers, and great wealth and respectability in the aggregate. Foremost in the march of philanthropy; able, earnest, untiring advocates of temperance, peace, and emancipation; in religious matters they are too quiet, not only to make proselytes from other denominations, but even to retain their own members: the consequence of which is that the children of the Frys and Gurneys and Buxtons pass frequently into other communions, and especially into the church of England. They are very intelligent, preëminent for their worldly wisdom, and universally respected for general worth and good citizenship. They have their extremely plain meeting houses and their places of burial connected with them. They are regular in their attendance on Sabbath worship, which is, for the most part silent of late years, no preachers of eminence having appeared among them recently. If a member of a congregation is moved to talk, whose gifts do not please nor edify, he is pretty sure to have a gentle hint to keep still, since they greatly prefer utter silence to poor preaching. If he pleads that the Spirit moves him to talk, the reply is that the Spirit must not move him to talk. In dress they eschew the world of course, yet none wear richer silks or finer broadcloths or more expensive beavers; while they manage to impart so much of elegance and grace to their peculiar bonnets that the beautiful young quakeresses need have no fear to fail of making conquests, even if they should be reduced to the necessity of looking across the border.

The English Quakers have not a single insane asylum, but under the milder name of "retreats," they have made excellent provision for such members of their community as require the care of others from any incompetency to take care of themselves; and it is said that the proportion of this class is larger among them than in any other religious denomination — a circumstance which some have attributed to their renunciation of music and

other social diversions which tend to the preservation of mental health.

John Bright is a Quaker, though his Quakerism is an easy fit. He does not appear in the broad brim, or employ the Quaker dialect, at least in his place in Parliament and in the great popular assemblies which he so frequently addresses. In his general character he represents pretty fairly the sentiments of his own religious communion. Intensely democratic, in favor of temperance, universal education and universal suffrage; opposed to slavery, capital punishment, state church and hereditary aristocracy, he is a firm believer in a millennium, moral and political, to be realized when the masses shall be supreme, and "lords and kings shall be no more."

The Baptists hold a strong position and exert a mighty influence among the great religious bodies in England. They have a history of which any religious denomination might be proud. Such names as Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall and John Foster and Carey and Judson and Havelock and John Bunyan are too large to be monopolized by a denomination, and belong rather to the modern history of Christianity in Great Britain. The Baptists have two members of parliament, one of whom is Sir A. Morton Peto, the great London builder, a man of immense wealth, and of a corresponding munificence; and who shows his munificence by building splendid stone chapels in the great metropolis at an expense of ten thousand pounds sterling, and putting earnest and eloquent preachers of the Gospel into them. These "chapels," as they are modestly called, lift up their massive towers among the proud old churches of London. Their pulpits are filled by men of unction and power; and crowded congregations and flourishing churches, active and untiring in every good work, attest the success of their faithful ministrations.

The first of the series built by Mr. Peto, was Bloomsbury chapel, in the neighborhood of the British Museum. This was some sixteen or seventeen years ago. As soon as it was finished the Rev. William Brock was brought up to London from Norwich, through Mr. Peto's influence, to fill it, which he speedily did, and has continued to preach to full houses ever since. We first knew Mr. Brock in the fine old city of Norwich, where he

was the successor of Kinghorn, the antagonist of Robert Hall in a grand discussion on close communion. Brock's influence was all put forth, and with great earnestness, on the side of open communion, speedily reversing, to a great extent, the condition of things as Kinghorn had left it. His chapel was soon filled to overflowing, and had to be enlarged, but was soon filled to overflowing again, and William Brock became one of the most popular and influential men in Norwich. He holds a high position in London, as an able and attractive preacher and a man of most genial spirit and great Christian heart. He was comparatively slender in form for an Englishman, when we first heard him in Norwich, but he has grown ample in physical proportions, as seems meet for such an ample soul. His voice has lost somewhat of its clarion character, but is still rich and powerful, with a peculiar unction of tone, most happy for a preacher, and singularly suited to melt and persuade. What a mighty power is the human voice! We once saw a London congregation set all a crying by the exceedingly rich and pathetic tones in which a young candidate for missionary labor related his religious experience, when it was extremely doubtful whether he ever had any religious experience; for he was afterward rejected and sent away from his post in the missionary field for malpractices.

Spurgeon is a Baptist, if not of "the most straitest sect," at least of sufficient zeal to save his great influence to his denomination. The ordinance of baptism as administered by him in his stupendous meeting house, is no mere simple act of immersion in the Jordan, but an imposing scene, a well arranged drama, with attendants and draperies and circumstances which have far more the appearance of a triumph and ovation than of taking up a cross. But these are very small matters in estimating such a man as Spurgeon. What is he as a preacher? is the grand point. That all the world goes after him is true; but what of that? We are assured by the critics that he is neither learned nor logical, nor an original thinker; that he has no imagination, no brilliancy, no refinement of soul, nor elegance of style nor gracefulness of manner; that he is gross in appearance, vulgar in his illustrations, and utterly intolerable in his egotism. What one good thing has he then? Why simply a certain plain way of preaching the old gospel of Bunyan and

Baxter and Paul, which has built the largest house to preach in ever built in London, and keeps it crowded every Sabbath, leaving a great multitude outside; and which has so far answered God's idea of a preacher that the Holy Ghost has borne constant witness in the conversion of large numbers to Christ, of all ages and descriptions; and which has caused his sermons to be published and republished, volume after volume, wherever the English language is spoken, and so universally read that it is very dangerous for a man who preaches borrowed sermons to borrow one of Spurgeon's.

Spurgeon is not a man cultivated in the schools, never went to college, was a plain country schoolmaster, who first exhibited his peculiar gifts in talking to a Sunday school and a simple village audience. What then? Shall we conclude that our schools and colleges and theological seminaries are of less value than we have supposed? Not at all. If Charles Haddon Spurgeon had all the severe cultivation of Harvard and Andover he would turn all to good account, and add immensely to his power as a pulpit orator. But Spurgeon is severely cultivated, has been cultivating himself constantly and intensely ever since he began to excite attention by his oratory. He is cultivated and is cultivating himself every day as an expounder and preacher of God's word; and his grand success is as much the legitimate result of severe and incessant self-discipline as it is of his singular natural powers. He is simply proving that for the great purposes of the Christian ministry a preacher is better than a classic, a logician, a Hebraist, a learned professor, a theologian according to the schools. The grand defect in all our training institutions for men whose professions will require them to address public audiences, is that they make almost no provision for the cultivation of the gift of oratory. It is assumed that if a man has natural powers of eloquence he will be sure to manifest them without any special training in that particular direction, while, if he has not, no training will avail. A greater mistake than is involved in the former part of this proposition there could not possibly be. How is it that we are continually referring to Demosthenes without laying hold of the great lesson which the history of Demosthenes teaches, namely, that a man may have great powers of oratory which never will and

never can be made available without great labor in training? The thing required is not a system under which all shall be formed after one model—destroying individuality and force and producing affectation and mannerism, or an eloquence, however ornate, yet artificial and cold; but a system which shall educate just that which each man possesses as a natural endowment: or, better still, which shall stimulate and guide every man to discipline and develop himself, for every man is mainly self-taught and self-made, and this will be found true just in proportion as his instructors are skilful and qualified for their work. And the result of the largest and severest training will be that the man will come back to the truest simplicity and naturalness, having perfect control of his voice, his thoughts, his subject, himself; and then yielding himself, unshackled and free, to his argument, his emotions, his audience, with never a thought of voice, gesture, or style, leaving all that to take care of itself.

To a considerable extent the English Baptists are in favor of open communion, and thus the way is prepared for co-operation with the Independents in religious matters. It is no uncommon thing to see both united under the same pastor in church fellowship. The Bunyan church at Bedford has had a Congregationalist for its pastor for the last fifteen years. The church is composed of both denominations. A popular Baptist minister in London a few years ago had a large number of Independents in his usual Sabbath congregation, and also in his church, under the name of "occasional members." It is a thing of constant occurrence for Independent churches to receive Baptists in the same way. Such membership includes all privileges except voting. One of the largest and most flourishing Independent churches in London had for many years a decided Baptist for its most beloved and active deacon. The *Eclectic Review* is the joint organ of the two denominations, and under the editorial direction of each in turn, as it may happen. The *London Patriot* newspaper is also a joint concern, or used to be, its editor being supplied by one denomination, and its sub-editor by the other. In all public religious exercises, except those which are connected with the peculiar observances of each, they constantly unite, and in their views of ecclesiastical polity are perfectly

agreed and occupy precisely the same ground in relation to the Established church. The Baptists have less aggregate strength than the Independents, in numbers, intelligence, distinguished men, and general influence. But considered as religious bodies relatively to other religious bodies in England, their views, aims and modes of action are substantially the same. Together they constitute mainly what are usually called "The Religious Dissenters." Our remarks will therefore be applicable in about an equal degree to both Baptists and Independents.

In their principles of church government the dissenters are at antipodes with the Establishment, the affairs of each church being managed entirely by its own members, and each church holding itself to be entirely independent of every other in all matters whatsoever. Synods and Councils in every shape they utterly abjure, professing to see in them distinctly the vital germ of diocesan Episcopacy, with all the manifold evils of prelatical assumption, if not the papacy itself. A preaching shoemaker or tailor or draper, with no license except the approval of the church of which he is a member, (and there are thousands of such among the dissenters) is fully competent to discharge all the offices of the Christian ministry, including the administration of the Lord's Supper. A church invites a man to become its pastor, and the call is accepted. Though a student fresh from the theological college, where, possibly, he has spent no more than one or two years, he may enter at once upon the discharge of his duties, and may go on for half a century without ordination, the approbation of the church to which he ministers being considered valid Scriptural sanction to all intents and purposes. In most instances, however, a public service is held, to which the neighboring ministers are invited, with some distinguished preacher from London or other city of renown, to give the charge to the pastor—that being the principal part, occupying most time, and taking the place of the sermon with us. There is no council and no examination of the candidate, except three or four questions which have been sent to him beforehand by a minister designated for that purpose, and now read to him from the pulpit and answered from manuscript. These questions will probably be, 1. His religious experience; 2. His reasons for entering the ministry; 3. His doctrinal belief; and 4. His

plans for the exercise of his ministry. This is a part of the public services in the great congregation; no second person is permitted to ask a question, and the ministerial brother to whom this duty has been assigned may not go beyond what is written. Do they not believe in creeds then? Most certainly they do; and, inasmuch as they have no councils to look after the matter, the churches reckon this their duty, and guard the purity of Christian doctrine with a most watchful and jealous care.

They care very little about old and new school; they are impatient of speculation and metaphysics and subtle philosophical distinctions in the pulpit; but they look for the Gospel, simply and earnestly presented. If they miss the great doctrines of the Bible—human sinfulness and its desert, the law of God and its obligation, the atonement, God's electing love, the Holy Spirit in regeneration, justification by faith and the perseverance of the saints, they take the alarm and make their voice heard. It requires peculiar gifts of eloquence to enable a preacher with doctrinal deficiencies to pass the ordeal of probation and reach the day of recognition. Has not the time already come when the churches of New England must use their utmost vigilance in reference to this matter of Scriptural soundness in the ministry, and rely less on councils than they have done? Has it not always been the ministers, and not the churches, that have led the way, first in diminishing sound doctrine, and then in disparaging and dispensing with creeds?

Such a religious service as we have described is regarded as a thing of order, rather than of validity, and is generally called "recognition." One of the greatest living preachers in London, Thomas Binney, refused to submit to the imposition of hands at his own recognition, because he thought it savored of apostolical assumption. His example has been very frequently followed by young ministers.

When a minister decides to bring his pastoral relation to a close, he sends a letter of resignation to the church, which is accepted, and the connection is sundered without any intervention of councils.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that their form of church government is the thing of chief importance in the estimation of the English dissenters. That place belongs rather

to the notion which they entertain touching the entire separation of the church from the state, in all possible or conceivable forms. In that connection they see, or think they do, the fruitful source and almost sole origin of all the multiplied evils by which the glory of Christianity is tarnished, its power crippled and its universal triumph delayed. They are very prone to believe, on the other hand, that the dissolution of that connection would be followed by the general prevalence of Christian union, a spiritual and earnest ministry, and a high order of personal piety — that it might even be the harbinger of the millennium. They object to the appointment of a fast-day or a day of thanksgiving by the civil power, and deny the right of the government to interfere at all in the matter of popular education; believing that all these things ought to be left to the action of the people themselves, and that when so left they are sure to be better attended to. Their conduct is in full harmony with their theories in these things; so that, however you may differ with their conclusions, you will find it impossible to withhold your high respect. The dissenters wield a mighty power in England, and statesmen of every party are compelled to treat them with consideration.

ARTICLE VII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.”—*Matt.* vii. 12.

THE efforts of the Redeemer for the good of our race were directed not so much to the treatment of individual cases, as to the introduction of great principles that lie at the basis of all radical and permanent reforms. These principles are adapted to remove the individual, social or national evils that may exist in any age or nation; and they are simple and easily understood and applied.

The text is the announcement of one of them, as a universal rule of moral obligation, and covering the whole range of moral conduct. It presupposes the existence of certain universal moral relations.

1. Our first remark, therefore, is that these relations must be as universal as the duty imposed. (a) The relations of subjects of the universal moral government of God. This refers to all primary moral obligations. (b) The relations of one common and universal brotherhood. This includes all civil, social and domestic relations.

2. The obligations that these relations impose are ; (a) The duty to render perfect and permanent obedience to God. This includes the perfect service of a perfect constitution. (b) The obligation to observe all the personal rights and privileges of all mankind. These are common to the race and similar in their nature, resulting from the fact that all are alike subjects of one moral government and have a common destiny of endless existence.

Inferences.

1. The moral obligations of man are based on the moral government of God, and hence are universal and permanent.

2. The essential rights of all men are of a moral nature and equal, such as the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

3. The positive authority of civil government is of a moral nature, connected with a moral constitution, and is to be used to sustain the rights of mankind agreeably to that constitution.

4. All true moral and social reforms must recognize and rest upon the moral law of God.

5. The obligation of every man to seek the good of his fellow-men is imperative.

"A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."—*Prov.* xxii. 1.

A GOOD name is a good reputation or character. It is more to be desired than riches as it has more intrinsic worth, more permanency and more power. It is something "to be chosen"; its possession is a matter of election. One may have it or not at his option, since one's character is a home manufacture. In its original import character means a marking, engraving, carving, painting, imprinting, (Greek, *χαρακτήρ, χάρασσω*.) So we say of the man of business, pleasure, passion, or Christian activities, he is a marked man. But he has done his own marking, engraving.

1. Our first remark therefore is, that every man engraves and imprints his own character. The blank space reserved for him on the canvas of public opinion he fills with his own hand.

2. This is done by his little daily acts, like the little impressions of the pencil, crayon, or chisel of the artist.

3. Then one's real character must be known. For his own acts transfer him as truly to the engraving or picture, as the rays of light the face in the photograph. The engraving is by himself and of himself and so true to himself. So concealment of character for any great length of time is impossible.

4. Then the formation of our character is spontaneous, involuntary, necessary. It is but the impression made by our acts while we are quite forgetful about forming a character; as we get the best picture when he sitting for it is diverted from the process and purpose.

Inferences.

1. It is folly to pretend to be what we are not. For reality is stronger than pretence, and in the run of time will engrave deeper.

2. Explanation of conduct and character is of little use. Every man's life is his best interpreter. If men doubt they will read the context.

3. There can be but little just ground for complaining of the public judgment of us. What we are is what we have done; our acts have sketched our portrait, chiselled out our statue, or impressed our photograph. If the public see warts, deficiencies and graceless lines, they are probably true to nature.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Miracles of Christ as attested by the Evangelists. By ALVAN HOVEY, D.D., Professor in the Newton Theological Institution. pp. 319. Boston: Graves & Young. 1864.

PROF. HOVEY has done well in turning attention to the study of the Miracles of Our Lord. As one of the foundation stones in evidence for our common Christianity, they can not be too often examined. A brief introduction to the volume disposes of three of the common objections to miracles: that there have been many spurious miracles; that they are inconsistent with the observed uniformity of nature; and that the laws of nature are divine, and therefore we

may not suppose God would repudiate his own institutions by disturbing them.

We think this part of the volume could have been profitably enlarged by speaking of the possibility and probability of miracles and by replying to some other popular and traditional objections. The power of the miraculous evidence for Christianity is becoming weakened among the unthinking masses by the pretensions of certain modern sciences, so called, and by the intrigues of pretenders to occult powers and the working of wonders. New investigations of the miracles should follow up these new impositions, *pari passu*. Answers to old objections will not meet the new phases of scepticism, and so we think the volume, already excellent, would have been more valuable if it had been cast in a more argumentative form to meet modern exigencies in the popular mind. The author most happily harmonizes the narratives of the same miracles given by the different Evangelists. His criticisms on such men as Strauss and Paulus are clear, terse and conclusive. The whole and strong impression of the work is that God has miraculously attested the divine origin of Christianity and the Christian Scriptures.

Intellectual Philosophy; Analytical, Synthetical and Practical. By HUBBARD WINSLOW, D.D., author of "Moral Philosophy," etc. Eighth edition. 12mo. pp. 442. Boston: Brewer & Tileston. 1863.

THIS work is adapted in style and general arrangement for a text-book in our higher schools; and that it has reached its eighth edition is good proof of its worth. Dr. Winslow has a clear and direct style, and as an author and teacher of repute he is well fitted to write on a topic not very attractive to youthful minds. In this volume he gives a very good outline of the history of philosophy, and notices of leading authors in it, and of their principal systems. Marking the distinction between vegetable and animal life, and between instinct and reason, he classifies and analyzes the mental powers in a happy manner.

The chapters on "Abnormal Mental States" have a peculiar interest, and partly from the new illustrations that the author has drawn from his own observations. We now refer to the chapters on Insanity, Mesmerism, Suspended Animation and Trance. The volume closes with a good summary view of the leading philosophical schools. What specially pleases us is the indirect and unobtrusive yet pertinent infusion of a proper religious thought through the book. Dr. Winslow has neither clouded nor ignored Christianity in his Philosophy.

Life of Archbishop Laud. By JOHN W. NORTON, Rector of Ascension Church, Frankfort, Ky., author of "Full Proof of the Ministry," "Short Sermons," "Life of Bishop Chase," etc. 16mo. pp. 269. E. P. Dutton & Co: Boston. 1864.

WE admire the contrast as seen in issuing the life of this Archbishop in the city of the Puritans, the first ever published in America. Thanks to puritan innovation, it can be done. The mechanical execution is in Houghton's best style. The author carries an easy, graceful pen, and from his high church point has given the Archbishop a good portrait. The one fronting the title page, after Vanduyck, is very good. As Boswells and Partons are mournfully scarce we, on the whole, like a thoroughly friendly partizan Memoir. A digest of this one with Neal's outlines of the prelate in his History of the Puritans will give a fair average. Undoubtedly Archbishop Laud has been much sinned against historically. Later Puritans have judged him too much as later churchmen have judged the Puritans of his day, that is, without sufficient allowance for the times when they lived. We can both gain in truth by revising our views. Mr. Norton gives Laud due credit for his eminent learning, the great service he did to Oxford as chancellor, his integrity, zeal as a churchman, and his intense energy, repressing the innovations and excesses of the Puritans. Due regrets are also expressed for his activity in state affairs, though to us quite natural in a church and state system. Mr. Norton glides too easily over the Archbishop's spirit and bearing toward the Puritans, his high tone and overbearing in ecclesiastical courts, his energy in the Star Chamber, his papal predilections and the like. His severe terms, characterizing the Puritans and puritanism, are not in good taste, nor have they an historical accuracy where only the so devout written prayers of the Archbishop are set forth as characterizing the church party.

We have deeply enjoyed the reading of the book, partly because the cause is overdone and undone against the Puritans, and partly because the author makes it so easy for us to put in a stout historical negative occasionally against his declarations. It is no fidelity to history or aid to his one noble branch of Christ's church, to praise William Laud of Reading, by slurring the clerical founders of New England, of whom Hubbard and Higginson speak as "men of great renown in the nation from whence the Laudian persecution exiled them. Their learning, their holiness, their gravity, struck all men that knew them, with admiration. They were Timothies in their houses, Chrysostoms in their pulpits, and Augustines in their disputations." And the attempt, here and there in Mr. Norton's book, to connect modern

Puritanism with its excesses and excrescences in those early days is no more ingenuous than it would be to attempt to connect modern and New England Episcopacy with the extremes and outrages of Laudian high churchism. Here is a leading deficiency of the book. In its bearing it much ignores the lapse and the modification of two centuries in the history of Puritanism. The tone of the work savors too much of the days of Charles the First, in prelatical assumption. Such writers as Mr. Norton, issuing their publications in this puritan city, should remember the reply of the late Rev. W. M. Rogers to an Episcopal acquaintance of ours, who was somewhat assuming on his connection with the church of Laud, and presumed connection with the church of St. Peter, and so slurred our New England churches: "Sir, you forget that in this country we are the Established church and you are the dissenters."

We like the book, as having a positive and a negative side, and if indicative of the ecclesiasticism and tone of any party in this branch of the church, we wish it may be extensively read, yet for historical purposes we would suggest that at the same time the reader peruse the Lives and Times of Laud's contemporaries and counter-workers, Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, and John Howe.

Christianity the Religion of Nature. Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, by A. P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1864. pp. 256.

THE able author of this attractive volume sets out with the conviction that the controversy between those who admit and those who deny a special authoritative revelation through Jesus Christ, is now to be waged on grounds of *a priori* probability. Hence his effort is to demonstrate that the religion of the Gospel is in all its parts, in all its apparatus, in all its history, natural religion.

From the necessary definition of religion, Dr. Peabody shows that there can be but one religion. The distinction between natural and revealed religion is defined to consist in the different methods in which religious truth becomes known to mankind; and both are regarded alike natural. Revelation is the unveiling of what previously existed. Hence revelation is a historical fact that was to be expected from the nature of God and the wants of man. Here the remarkable passage in one of Plato's dialogues, put into the mouth of one of the disciples of Socrates, is used with much power as showing the cravings of man's nature for something more sure and safe than reason, "such as some divine communication would be."

Dr. Peabody contends boldly for authoritative revelation con-

firmed by miracle; and that miracles belong to the religion of nature. He affirms that miracles are a "demand of human nature, because man is spirit as well as body, and gravitates toward the unseen future," craving "that the barrier between the material and the spiritual be at some point ruptured." Furthermore, each separate creative act of the Almighty is a miracle; and so the natural world is full of miracles. We are glad to see the distinction clearly made that, while the *fact* of revelation is in accord with nature, the *contents* of revelation must be in great part such as could not have been anticipated on the natural grounds; and also that the faculties which are inadequate for the *discovery* of truth may be amply sufficient for the attestation of it after it is discovered.

But we are extremely sorry to find the gravest errors broached in the carrying out of an argument so well begun. When Dr. Peabody comes to speak of probation as extending to the life to come, and of sinless generations yet to come in this world by the reclaiming process of religion, we are compelled to differ from him *toto cœlo*. We are amazed that so great a mind in working upwards towards the Gospel system should go so far on the right way, and then stop short and turn round, and reeling, fall over the precipice. Even Starr King admitted that if revelation and its facts be taken as real, a day of judgment upon the deeds and character of this life, with eternal punishment, could not be rejected. That we are not misrepresenting Dr. Peabody, we make the following quotations from pages 111, 112 and 113:

"I grant that, if this life be regarded as a period of probation and the only period for all men, as it is a probationary state and may be the only one for the fully privileged, the condition of the unprivileged would be irreconcilable with the Divine love. But, so far as these last are concerned, is it not reasonable to suppose this world simply a birthplace and conservatory of spirits that are to be trained and nurtured elsewhere?"

"Now the thronging ranks of the unprivileged can be compared only to these closely crowded trees planted on purpose to be transplanted. They do not get their moral training here. They do not get their moral training here. They do not fairly make their election between good and evil. They know so little of moral distinctions, that the wrong which they seem to choose is in no sense the choice of the soul, and may not unfitly be regarded as a mere habitude of the body."

"And when all the world shall have been all reclaimed, when the nursery shall all be fruitful orchard-ground, there will have been created in the veins of humanity, to be transmitted to sinless generations, and to be translated to its ultimate higher sphere of being, a vastly nobler, hardier, more energetic type of moral and spiritual character than could have come into existence, had the plan of Providence been that of equal privilege for all and always."

We commend the author to Professor Shedd's sermon on "The Guilt of the Pagan," published in the *National Preacher* for September last, in which it is demonstrated that if the light concerning God and the moral law, however small it be, in the intellect of any man in Pagan or Christian lands, is yet actually in advance of the inclination and affections of his heart, and the actions of his life, he deserves to be punished in proportion to his light, like any and every other creature under the Divine government, of whom the same thing is true.

From the quotation above it is easy to see how very defective Dr. Peabody's views must be in regard to several fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, such as distributive justice, the natural character of man, regeneration, atonement, etc. In the eighth chapter, entitled The Holiness of God—God in Christ, the most erroneous teachings and reasonings crop out on all these subjects. The proper divinity of Christ and vicarious expiatory atonement are substantially repudiated, and in one place he seems to represent the imprecatory Psalms as the result of the Jewish limited knowledge of the Supreme Being. And also, that from the same cause arose their idea of sacrifice. "Their God was the Sovereign, but not the Universal Father. He was angry, and needed to be appeased by sacrifice." How far does all this fall short of repudiating his own argument for authoritative revelation?

Poems. By JEAN INGELOW. pp. 256. 16mo. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1864.

OUR curiosity and admiration have been excited of late by the appearance in various public prints, of dainty first-fruits of song, over the signature of Jean Ingelow, bearing unmistakably the imprint of genius, and betokening an abundant harvest, into whose storehouse we have longed to penetrate. Our wish has at length been gratified, and we desire to share with our readers the good things we have found. We regret that of our author we know only that she is an Englishwoman, whose productions have obtained no notoriety in her own country till the year of their republication here.

The subjects which Miss Ingelow treats are mostly from daily life; but her poems are not therefore trite or commonplace. By their freshness, their fulness of life, their freedom from constraint, they captivate us at once, and seem to deprecate criticism as the song of a bird mocks the strict canons of the *Conservatoire*. Yet on looking more closely, we find evidence of thought and study, only concealed by the perfect naturalness of expression which at first attracts us. But as to the matter of criticism in general; we should much prefer,

with kindly Kit North, "lang, lang extracts," on which each reader might pass his own verdict, to the anatomical process in vogue. It is easy to say a writer cannot do this or that as well as another, but we hold such comparisons as ungracious among authors as among friends. Each, if he has a right to either sacred name, has his own peculiar characteristics, which constitutes his charm. Were he quite like any one else whom we esteem, his attraction for us would not be complete.

Miss Ingelow's chief failing seems to be a want of clearness, an involved sequence of thought, which in her longer poems makes her meaning sometimes obscure. She has not yet quite learned to proportion her poems; yet so charming are her digressions, and apt her illustrations, that one finds it difficult to complain of the length of either. A little song intercalated, in Tennysonian fashion, in a more serious poem, is a good illustration:

- "Coo, dove, to thy married mate,
She has two warm eggs in her nest,
Tell her the hours are few to wait
Ere life shall dawn on their rest;
And thy young shall peck at the shells, elate
With a dream of her brooding breast.
- "Coo, dove, for she counts the hours,
Her fair wings ache for flight:
By day the apple has grown in the flowers,
And the moon has grown by night.
And the white drift settled from hawthorn bowers,
Yet they will not seek the light.
- "Coo, dove, but what of the sky?
And what if the storm-wind swell,
And the reeling branch come down from on high
To the grass where daisies dwell,
And the brood beloved should with them lie
Or ever they break the shell.
- "Coo, dove; and yet black clouds lower
Like fate, on the far-off sea,
Thunder and wind they bear to thy bower
As on wings of destiny.
Ah, what if they break in an evil hour,
As they broke over mine and me!" pp. 194—5.

We are often reminded of Tennyson in reading these poems, not by any appearance of imitation, though we should imagine that Tennyson had had a strong influence upon Miss Ingelow's mind, but rather from a native similarity of thought and feeling and philosophy

tendency. She resembles him especially in her felicitous manner of treating things divine. There is no flippancy, no irreverent familiarity, no pious platitude in her writings; their piety is humble and heartfelt; they teach, we cannot help feeling, more lessons than the author thought. Take an example from the "Scholar and Carpenter," a poem full of beauties:

"Dread is the leisure up above
The while He sits whose name is Love,
And waits as Noah did, for the dove,
To wit if she would fly to him.

"He waits for us, while, houseless things,
We beat about with bruised wings
On the dark floods and water-springs
The ruined world, the desolate sea.
With open windows from the prime
All night, all day, he waits sublime,
Until the fulness of the time
Decreed from His eternity."

We have a strong desire for room to insert entire, "Supper at the Mill," pp. 49—59. It has a rare richness of heart in it, as well as true poetic genius in conception and expression. It is a passage in the "annals of the poor," that any heart may be envied for its ability to write. It is a homely scene, beautifully sketched, just as gifted painters sometimes choose a broken gate, a tumble-down cottage, or a ragged child for the most gifted services of their pencil.

This beautiful and rich volume goes forth, as is becoming, in the best style of the Riverside press.

We are glad to learn that another volume of Miss Ingelow's poems is already announced in England, yet we trust, in the words of a friendly critic, "that the new favorite will not be beguiled into hasty and imperfect productions." She can well afford to let her genius ripen; her place will be kept for her, and then, we venture to predict, kept by her permanently and nobly. Her rare powers of perception and expression, as seen in the first volume, promise the best things for herself and her readers. She is already gaining an appreciative patronage on this side the water; the entire first edition of poems being sold in Boston on the day of publication.

Biography of Self-Taught Men. With an Introductory Essay. By B. B. EDWARDS. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co.

THE name of the lamented B. B. Edwards is commendation enough for this elegant volume. He was one of the finest scholars and most beautiful characters that New England has produced. We

remember to have read the book with intense interest when it was first published, and have still our copy of the first edition.

The Introductory Essay is full of broad, Christian views in relation to our country and its great needs — some of which are peculiarly pertinent and valuable at the present time. The Biographical Sketches embrace a wide range and are well fitted to stimulate and encourage young men to make the most of themselves. They will read the book wrong, however, if they think the way to do this is to dispense with any educational advantages within their reach.

Excursions. By HENRY D. THOREAU, author of "Walden," and "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

THE author of these interesting papers was an original, not to say a genius. He graduated at Harvard without distinction, and then went his way through the world, loving intensely all that was simple and beautiful — trees, birds, flowers, rivers, mountains, clouds. He preferred walking to riding because he could better prosecute his acquaintance with the natural world. He made no use of wine, spirits or tobacco, because he did not like them, and was extremely simple in manners, dress, and food. The country was his paradise, while he eschewed the city, and thanked God that the builders of cities and levelers of forests could not "cut down the clouds."

The essays, as might be expected, are genial and sparkling, abounding with exquisite pictures from nature. They are not written from a Christian point of view, and ignore the great fact that man has more reason to be thoughtful and sad than crickets and birds.

Snow Flakes; A Chapter from the Book of Nature. pp. 146. Published by the American Tract Society. No. 28 Cornhill, Boston.

A BEAUTIFUL volume and just in time. This snow field is a new field of literature, almost untrodden, and the editor of this delightful miscellany is in it early. The illustrations of the various forms of the snow crystal are exquisite, nearly two hundred of them, thrown in white on a blue ground. The vast variety as well as most delicate structure of snow flakes, is marvellous to those who have never studied them under the microscope. We look in vain among these facsimiles before us for one peculiar crystal of the snow-flake, so penetrating, so deleterious to health and so much dreaded by good people — we mean the Sabbath snow-flake. These Snow-Flakes of the Tract Society are imbedded in a rich selection of prose and poetry. The entire book is a delight.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ROUND TABLE.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS.—Much has been said on the question of our publishing the names of our Writers in connection with their contributions. The question has two sides, and many things can be said on both. It would be gratifying to us personally, and complimentary to the *Review* to publish them, for it is a worthy list. With the close of the third volume we numbered more than forty writers of leading articles, and in our fourth volume we shall add many to this number. We already include contributors to our prominent *Quarterlies* and *Monthlies*. But we think we favor most the fair and full discussion of many topics, and send forth the discussions in the best hope of a candid judgment on them, to withhold the names of the authors. It leaves the articles to be read without preference or prejudice, to be judged on their own merits, and to carry an influence according to their own inherent worth.

THE WAR.—We enter again on our pages our hearty endorsement of “the powers that be” in the struggle to suppress the rebellion and sustain the government. Should we prove recreant or fail in this, we should be ashamed to die and go to our revolutionary fathers. It is with a thankful heart, as the year closes upon us, that we are able to make so happy a record of our progress in suppressing the huge national semi-organized mob. There is a majesty, an awful sublimity in that steady, irresistible pressure with which we are crowding, compressing and crushing the outbreak. The movement of our armies is like those vast ice floes of the Arctic of which Dr. Kane speaks, extending for hundreds of miles. To a careless observer there appears to be little motion or force, but wo to the object that stands in their way, or lies between them when their grinding edges come together. We see vast progress, and we have nothing but the fullest confidence in the success of our arms, and we think we can see almost to the end of battles. Then will arise questions for the profoundest statesmanship.

UNION AMONG CONGREGATIONALISTS.—Next to truth and purity, the Congregational denomination should labor to promote *union* above everything. We need union among ourselves far more than union with other evangelical denominations. We cannot enjoy the

peculiar excellences and advantages of our free and liberal form of polity without the constant danger of controversy and division. Hence it is the more important that charity and harmony be sedulously cultivated. We are to be bound together, not so much by bonds of government as by the cement of grace. If this becomes chilled and frost-bitten the whole frame breaks, crumbles and falls to pieces.

We need union among ourselves, and there is a firm, broad, basis on which it may be built and maintained, which it is the object of this *Review* to define and establish. That basis is kind, conciliatory, but careful and firm adherence to the substance of clearly revealed truth. It supports neither extreme. It is the high beaten road of those great positive truths which the church have found by experience to be in the highest degree promotive of piety. It turns not to the right to countenance any blind or obstinate adherence to narrow schools and fastidious distinctions; nor does it turn to the left to encourage or tolerate the radical changes, the new theories and presumptuous speculations of men claiming peculiar originality. Unity in substantial truth requires limits. The boundaries must somewhere be set. It is only indifference to truth that requires no limits.

It will be found that in a thinking and educated denomination like our own, union cannot be maintained where a high standard of truth is not firmly held, and where novelty and speculation in matters of faith and practice are allowed. The confidence of the right-minded will be shaken. If a company of singers allow some of their number to drop out or change any one of the notes of the scale, how soon trouble must arise. The careless singers, the lovers of noise may not be troubled. But the true lovers of music will be pained. Cultivated ears cannot tolerate the discords. Some simple tunes might be enjoyed, and for certain occasions and purposes they would be well. But not so for the main purposes of organization. The most valuable members will remonstrate earnestly for awhile; but they are not the kind that contend long, or clamor until they are heard. Tell us not that the way to broad and firm union lies in dropping, or being indifferent to a part of the notes, even those of the chromatic scale. Union is promoted only by adhering to the fixed laws of music. True, extreme taste, fastidiousness should not be allowed to divide on the one hand, nor neglect of the distinctions of the human ear on the other.

So is it in the system of the Gospel. The leading truths and distinctions are just as marked and just as inexorable as are the tones and semitones in the musical scale. The union of a denomination

can only be promoted by a common love of, and adherence to these divinely constituted distinctions. Undoubtedly there must be theological controversy. Our rights in the truth must be maintained, as in most other interests, by opposition to invaders. The many and diametrically opposite sects in doctrine make controversy as necessary as it is inevitable.

But while every sect feels compelled to it, each controversialist may and should set limits and a tone to his own action that he will sacredly preserve. Minor points of difference may and should be held much in abeyance for the sake of the greater good of a general unity. The broad Evangelical church has now enough of common interest under a common Master to make light of any internal divisions that lie somewhat in a different use of terms, and somewhat in a philosophical spirit that has risen up in the place of the Evangelists. It is perfectly proper to like just thirty-nine articles of faith, or one hundred and seven, or either of these two sets with the addition of a residence "in Ænon near to Salem." Yet while that held in common by all evangelical men is immeasurably more than that in which they differ, how eminently Christian that they make the less yield to the greater, and count it all as worthless for Christ's sake. Schools of philosophy have an important place, and they should confine themselves to it rather than institute schools in an Evangelical church. In the philosophy of our religion the profoundest, nicest distinctions should be made, but not in our religion itself. The former belongs to scholars, the latter to the people. These want what they need, religion. Those are set apart from the people to philosophize, analyze and synthesize, in the regions of the obscure.

The proper limits of religious controversy being observed, it is productive of good in proportion as its spirit is good. A cordial, genial controversy, full of fairness and gentleness, with a broad margin for mutual misunderstanding, a quick and appreciative perception of points of agreement, and a motive above all others that Christ and his Gospel may be honored, is one of the highest exercises of a Christian scholar. And the Evangelical church, that in the absence of revivals and in the presence of the war has become somewhat at variance within itself, needs much to be baptized with and bathed in the spirit of him who did "not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street," and who gave his back to the smiters and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair, while he went quietly forward with the great work of saving men.

CRITICS AND CRITICISM. Who should know the intention of any craft better than those initiated into its mysteries? And, knowing so many piquant things, it would be asking too much of human nature to expect the men of the quill to tell no tales out of school. On the whole, the critical art does not seem to suffer much through these disclosures of the weaknesses of its professors. One may be vexed at the collisions, and amused at the blunders, of the literary Rhadamanthuses; yet there is a singular power in judgments about books when dignified with types and printer's ink. And few are the authors or readers who are not more or less influenced in their feelings by the editorial verdicts, whether more or less elaborate, of the managers of the periodical press, albeit the satire of the poet may be oftener true than said managers might like to admit:

“ Like trout pursued, the critic in despair,
Darts to the mud, and finds his safety there.”

Professor Craik thinks that contemporary writers are hardly the proper subjects of the labors of the critical profession, as being too near in point of view for a correct estimate. One would be apt to extend to more than these the benefit of this opinion, remembering how saucily and savagely many famous wits have treated each others' productions. Cowley the artificial made sport of Chaucer the simple child of nature. Marivaux the exquisite despised the easy familiarities of Moliere. Fielding never had done laughing at Richardson's faultless proprieties of sentiment and expression; while the author of *Sir Charles Grandison* was sure that his rival's fame would be only another rocket. Johnson could see no merit in Gray's elaborate letters, and allowed his royalist narrowness to eclipse the radiance of Milton's great glory. Corneille is said to have advised Racine not to write tragedy after the appearance of one of the latter's noble dramas: and Fontenelle told Voltaire that he had no dramatic talent, when the *Brutus* of this versatile author was brought out in Paris. Johnson once said (his bile must have been badly disturbed) that he would hang a dog that read the *Lycidas* of Milton twice. Every one knows how long it took to teach the world that there was any special merit in the *Paradise Lost*. And the Vicar of Wakefield never had much success till Lord Holland, recovering from illness, read it accidentally, and commended it to his friends. So people differ. It is indeed difficult to account for these conflicting conclusions. One is almost ready to doubt if the critics have any better standard of judgment than Malherbe, who measured prose authorship by its effect in reducing the price of bread, and regarded a poet of the first class as no more to be lauded than a skilful player at ninepins.

It might be a question whether natural good sense and mother wit are not about as reliable judges of authorial excellence as that sort of bookish culture which is ordinarily relied on as a test of literary compositions. When Thomson's *Seasons* first came out, a Scottish laird handed a copy of it to his gardener, who at once discerned the genius which inspired its descriptions of nature, and pronounced it "a grand book." We would stake such a judgment against even the leviathan Rambler's dictum that if every other line of the "*Seasons*" were left out, the poem would be as good as it now is; that is, good for nothing, of course. This is a fine anecdote told concerning Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night*. A lady who much admired and kindly befriended the poet, had an old housekeeper to whom she, on a time, showed that perfect poem. When the mistress, a while after, asked the servant her opinion of the poem, she replied: "A weel, madam, that's vera weel." "Is that all you have to say in its favor?" asked the mistress. "'Deed, madam," she answered, "the like of your quality may see a vast deal in it; but I was aye used to the like o' all that the poet has written about in my ain father's house, and at weel I dinna ken how he could have described it ony other gate." That criticism was worth more than praise from the Edinburgh professor of belles lettres. Burns used to say that it was one of the highest compliments he ever received.

Critics and authors are not always the best of friends, which is not very surprising. Now and then a libel suit for damages, on account of too sharp a point to the reviewer's pen, diversifies the monotony of the bench and the bar—rather an evidence of weakness in judgment and temper on the part of the flayed book-maker, gathering our conclusion from the history of such appeals to Themis. We should not counsel the Irishman's resort to individual justice, though much more direct and effective undoubtedly. The incident occurs in the memorabilia of Robert Southey. He had severely cauterized a volume from the hand of a son of Erin. Soon after, while talking with a friend in a public resort respecting the ambitious Emerald's abortive attempt, the identical author walked into the circle. He was a powerful specimen of his race, and having just read his literary decapitation, was full of wrath. "If he could find the malicious reviewer, he would bate him sure, indade would he," swinging a huge fist unconsciously in perilous nearness to the offender's physiognomy. Southey kept close and dark, not fancying such a settlement of accounts, reserving his laugh over the adventure to a safer moment.

After all, the critics are not so far wrong as disappointed authors are prone to think. If they are justly chargeable with a large

amount of incompetency and unfairness, there is truth enough in the reviewing art as currently followed to make the institution respectable and useful. It is, in fact, a confessed necessity of the republic of letters. Writers who abuse the critics might perhaps profitably recollect an anecdote of an irritated quilldriver who was soundly berating a censor of some of his productions, as "without exception, the most superficial, self-sufficient, ignorant, shallow creature that ever made any pretensions to literature." "Gently, my dear Sir," interrupted a gentleman, "you quite forget yourself."

DENOMINATIONAL ACTIVITY. Our brethren of the Episcopal church are having a revival of this. We hear of them in various prominent and also obscure places, offering and pleading for, their doctrines and polity and forms of worship. Here, like good Nehemiah, they are rebuilding walls that had fallen down, and there, like Paul, they are laying new foundations "in the regions beyond" any church of their order. They are also making a generous offer to take other denominations in, if it be not a bid for them. For, as we understand, they intimate a willingness to throw off some of their peculiar forms of worship, and so constitute a basis on which all evangelical orders can unite. We do not commend the zeal so much when shown in localities where an evangelical faith is supplied in abundance and to popular satisfaction as when expended in places of real destitution. The need of labor in New England for home evangelization is preëminent. We mean that there is a large class, probably one-fourth of our population, who attend on no public worship through sheer indifference or hostility. Some places are wholly destitute of the public and saving means of grace. Any denominational activity that will stir others to preach the gospel to these, while the spirit of ecclesiasticism is kept under, we shall hail as a good omen; and we hope this late and marked and apparently widely concerted labor of our prelatical neighbors will provoke other evangelical denominations to good works in furnishing the means of grace to those who do not now enjoy them. And we hope that none of us will rejoice so much in the increase of churches of "our order" as we shall in the increase of men of Christ's order.

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ARTICLE I.

SOURCES OF OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS.

John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr, 1559 — 1593. By JOHN WADDINGTON, author of "Emmaus," &c. London: W. & F. G. Cash, 5, Bishopgate Street. Dublin: McGlashan & J. B. Gilpin. Edinburgh: John Menzies.

Track of the Hidden Church, or the Springs of the Pilgrim Movement, 1559 — 1620. By JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers, Southwark, England. With an Introduction by Rev. E. N. Kirk, D.D. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication.

WE offer no criticism upon these books. Dr. Waddington deserves well of all the friends of free institutions for beginning, in these volumes, a work which greatly needs to be done. Would that some Prescott or Motley would enter this field of historical research. A complete history of the Separatists and of their principles ought not much longer to be a desideratum. The publication of such a work, at this present juncture in our national history, would be most opportune. It would subserve not the interests of Congregationalism merely, but of the country. It would impart information in respect to the great truths and principles lying at the foundation of our

form of civil government, which our statesmen, our politicians and our countrymen generally greatly need.

The Hebrews, by divine requirement, were kept familiar with the historical origin of their civil and religious institutions. Parents were required to instruct their children in this regard. When the passover was kept, and the son inquired, why this institution, the father took him back to that great struggle in Egypt, in which God by visible and miraculous interposition, contended for the liberty of his people, and explained to him the historical facts out of which the passover sprang. There was great wisdom in this practice. It gave the institution a hold upon the affections of each succeeding generation which could not easily be unloosed. If every generation in our country could thus be instructed in respect to the origin of our free institutions, we are persuaded those institutions would become entrenched in the veneration and love of the people as they never yet have been. There has come at last to be a necessity for this kind of historical knowledge. A whole generation has grown up who know not the fathers. The people need to be taken back to that great conflict of ideas and principles which occurred in England, in the period immediately preceding the exile of our Pilgrim Fathers, in which conflict was born all our freedom. They need to know more of a class of men who lived then and there, of whom the world was not worthy, martyrs for our liberties, the fathers and teachers of the Pilgrims, the men, who, from the dungeon and the gallows pointed them to this distant land as the only place where their principles could have full scope and free development. What was that conflict in which they suffered martyrdom? What were the principles which then met in such a death-grapple?

It is proposed, in this Article, to attempt some answer to these questions. And, in doing so, we shall make free use of the material which Dr. Waddington has furnished us in his "Life of John Penry" and in his "Track of the Hidden Church."

The bloody reign of Mary, from 1553 to 1558, was over. Upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, the Puritans again took courage. They entertained high hopes, that, under the new queen, the reformation would be carried

forward speedily to completion. Many of them, who had fled to foreign lands to escape persecution, returned, expecting under a Protestant reign liberty for themselves and for their faith. But they were doomed to disappointment. Elizabeth, under what influences we will not now stop to explain, assumed supreme authority in all ecclesiastical matters. She determined that the Episcopal church, which her father had established, should be a kind of compromise between the Catholics and the Protestants; that both Catholics and Protestants, indeed, that all the people of the land irrespective of belief or character, irrespective of any conscience or choice of their own in the matter, should belong to one and the same church, should conform to all its ceremonies and requirements, and that there should be no other church and no other worship in the realm. Separation from this church, for any purpose, should be regarded as a crime worthy of death. Religious liberty there should be none. Episcopacy had now reached the position its form of government fits it to occupy. Its great repositories of despotic power were brought into immediate use. The bishops set to work with great alacrity and zeal to carry out this prelatial plan of church propagandism. Much leniency was used towards the Papists, but the most stringent measures were adopted to secure conformity on the part of all Puritan ministers and congregations. Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was required of all pastors under penalty. All preaching was forbidden, "except by the clergy who would engage on oath to comply with every part of the regulations with respect to ceremonies." Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal, on the 26th of March, 1565, summoned all the pastors and curates within the city of London, to the chapel in Lambeth, and called upon them to decide upon the spot, whether they would submit, or not submit, to the Episcopal mandate. If they would submit they could have position, influence, wealth, and some vague intimations of their being honored with the "sarcel tippet" were thrown out. If they would not submit they were to be suspended from the ministry, the fruits of their livings were to be sequestered, and finally, if they still persisted, they were to be deprived of their livings by due form of law. The scene in the chapel, notwithstanding the grave

perils of the hour, was decidedly comical. One Robert Cole, "just enriched with two benefices in London," was brought in by the prelates, clothed "with priestly habits according to the authorized patterns," and bedecked with the sarcenet tippet, and placed on exhibition before the Puritan ministers.

"My masters," cried one of the bishops, as he pointed to the priest flaming in his robes and tippet, "and ye ministers of London, the Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, and, in the church, a linen surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write *volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *nolo*. Make no words."

"Some of the ministers attempted to speak. 'Peace! peace!' cried the bishop, 'Apparitors! call over the churches. Ye masters, answer presently under the penalty of contempt.'

"John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, was first called. Taking his Greek Testament out of his pocket, he said, 'To this will I subscribe. I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you take it from me.'

"The majority succumbed; but notwithstanding the pressure upon them, many had courage to say, *nolo*. Some of them had been companions in exile for the faith, and to preserve a good conscience they were ready to suffer the loss of all things."

Sixty-one promised conformity. Thirty-seven refused, and were suspended from the ministry on the spot, their incomes were sequestered, and they were threatened with further and greater punishment, unless within three months they should submit.

"The struggle of the Puritans against their ecclesiastical opponents for a time was conducted with great energy and skill; but gradually they were broken, and so disheartened that they sank helplessly into the shoals;" and Bishop Horne was soon able to declare exultingly; "The mischievous men who draw the people into what they call purity are now silenced, skulk about, and are become of no importance."

This brief statement in respect to the politico-ecclesiastical state of England during the first years of the reign of Elizabeth, is sufficient to prepare us to understand the conflict which followed.

Who were the men whom God now raised up to rescue religious liberty, and as a consequence civil liberty, at their last gasp ; and to preserve for the world a free church and a free state ?

In 1583 an indigent young Welshman took his first degree at the University of Cambridge. His family was in humble circumstances, but his self-denying mother had contrived to assist him in meeting the expenses of his education. He was a young man of elegant scholarship, and wise beyond his years. His name was John Penry. When he entered the University his sympathies were with the Catholics. Puritanism was nearly crushed out, at this time, from this ancient seat of learning. Even the "discussion of subjects relating to ecclesiastical discipline was strictly prohibited." But young Penry by some means became acquainted with a few Puritan ministers, and won by the beauty of their spirit and the consistency of their example, he was led to examine with great care their religious principles. At the same time he was introduced to a small company of young men in the University who secretly met every week for united prayer and the careful perusal of the word of God. Penry was thus led to a knowledge of the truth, and to a cordial acceptance of Christ. It was evidently a genuine work of grace. He was converted as Paul and Augustine were before him, and as Brainerd and Mills were after him. The change was radical and thorough ; and one of the first fruits was a passionate desire to preach the Gospel, which had thus saved him, to every creature. He found a congenial friend in a pious fellow-student by the name of John Udall. They walked, talked and prayed together, and thus "strengthened each other for the days of trial and conflict that were yet before them." Two other young men of the University were bound together by similar ties of sympathy and friendship. These young men at Cambridge in the latter part of the sixteenth century, walking, talking and praying together, remind one of Mills and his associates at Williamstown, more than two centuries later.

Penry soon left his *Alma Mater* and repaired to Oxford with the design of pursuing his studies there, as, at that time, there was more liberty for those of Puritan sympathies at Oxford than at Cambridge. But he longed to preach the Gospel to his

benighted countrymen in Wales. Their moral degradation was constantly before his mind. They were entirely without the word of God. Priest-ridden, oppressed, and kept in ignorance on the principle that the less they were taught, the more easily could they be managed, their condition was truly deplorable. The chief burden which rested on the heart of Penry, was, that his countrymen were perishing with no knowledge of Christ. But what could he, a poor unknown student of Oxford do? Preaching, except in robes, and by Episcopal authority, was forbidden. But something he must do. He wrote and published an essay. The essay was immediately suppressed and the author seized and thrown into prison. Why? What had he done for which he deserved imprisonment? Read his essay, some extracts of which Dr. Waddington gives us in his biography of Penry. It was an earnest plea, coming from a true missionary heart, for the degraded, oppressed people of Wales. It was addressed "to all that mourn in Zion, until they see Jerusalem in perfect beauty, and to the fathers and brethren of the church of England." It contains, as we learn from the title page, "The Equity of our Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited to Her Gracious Majesty, and the High Court of Parliament, in behalf of the country of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospel among those people." He wrote this treatise because he was constrained to say something to the English nation, in the name of Christ, for a poor priest-ridden, down-trodden people. For doing this he was thrown into prison. There he lay, studying God's word, thinking, praying. After a short time his trial came on. The proposition of Penry to christianize the people of Wales was condemned as "intolerable." It seems to have awakened against its author the same spirit of intense hatred and wrath, which has so often been manifested towards those who have made any movement to instruct and elevate the oppressed in our own land. Penry had complained in his treatise that the clergy who oppressed the people of Wales were ignorant and corrupt men, who could not, and did not, preach the Gospel, and that consequently they were not ministers of Christ. This greatly exasperated Bishop Whitgift. The idea

“That no non-preaching clergyman was a true minister, the magisterial inquisitors,” we are told, “denounced as an execrable heresy. Dark, lustrous and vindictive, the eye of the primate flashed on the young reformer, as he uttered words of imperious menace and violent reproach; but, for a moment, the intrepid Penry never quailed. In a calm and impressive tone he rejoined, ‘I thank God that I ever knew such a heresy, as I will, by the grace of God, sooner lose my life than lose it.’ His grace of Winchester, who was present, replied, ‘I tell thee, it is a heresy, and thou shalt recant it as a heresy.’ ‘Never,’ replied Penry, ‘God willing, so long as I live.’ He was remanded for the time, and, after further imprisonment, liberated until his case should assume an aspect that might warrant, in the opinion of his judges, more decisive measures.”

Penry and a few associates of kindred sympathies now obtained possession of a printing press. They were obliged to conceal themselves and all the implements of their work. They moved frequently and rapidly from place to place to avoid the spies of the Episcopal bishops. Their printing press was hidden now here and now there. Thus they wrote and published tracts which the common people read gladly, and which produced no slight commotion in the land. This, of course, could not be allowed to go on. They were finally discovered; some of them were arrested, and their printing press was seized. Penry fled to Scotland, where he was received and cared for by Christians who had inherited the principles and spirit of Knox. Queen Elizabeth immediately wrote a letter to King James calling upon him to banish the radical and fanatical Penry from his dominions. The king issued the order, but kind-hearted Christians took care of the young reformer, and he could not be found. Under their protection, hid away somewhere among the glens of Scotland, he began again to write and to publish. There, for the present, we will leave him.

On the 16th of June, 1567, in the night, there is some kind of a gathering of men and women in a humble hall owned by some working men in London. The sheriffs discover the meeting, break into the hall, and find about one hundred persons present, most of whom they seize and hurry off to prison. Why? What were they doing there? They were met for prayer, and worship, and the study of God’s word. They

called themselves a church of Christ. Their pastor's name was Richard Fitz. They believed that a church of Christ should be composed of his disciples, that is, of regenerate persons; and not of all the people of the land irrespective of their character or faith, according to the Episcopal theory. They believed in a distinction between the church and the world, in a separation of God's people from the world, and that this separation should be made by constituting the church of such, and such only, as give evidence of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and of faith in Christ. They believed also that ministers of Christ should be Christian men, and men qualified by their gifts and graces to preach the Gospel, and not corrupt men, and "dumb ministers," who have neither the ability nor the grace to preach Christ. For believing these things, and for organizing a church in accordance with their belief, and for meeting as a church to pray, to worship God, and study his word, they were seized and thrown into prison. They were kept in the abominable dungeons of London, amidst filth and stench indescribable for years. The pastor pined away and died. Many others died. Some of them at last ended their sufferings on the gallows.

They were humble people, like the fishermen of Galilee; but they knew Jesus, and were mighty in the Scriptures. They had been instructed by able and learned men, and better than all, by men filled with the spirit of the Nazarene. They were persuaded that they had the truth and Christ on their side. They desired to reason with their oppressors. They appealed to Holy Writ. "We will be judged," they said, "by the word of God." But they were allowed no such defence. They were despised, hated and everywhere spoken against. About this time Bishop Grindal, speaking of this class of people, said:

"Some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers, remarkable neither for judgment nor learning, have openly separated from us, and sometimes in private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they have held their meetings and administered the sacraments. Besides this, they have ordained ministers and elders after their own way."

His lordship sneeringly adds, that the sect consists "of more women than men." Dr. Waddington happily observes, that:

“There is a singular coincidence between the expressions of the prelate and those of Celsus, the first writer against Christianity. That infidel opponent jeeringly says: ‘Wool-workers, cobblers, leather-dressers, the most illiterate and vulgar of mankind, were zealous preachers of the Gospel and addressed themselves particularly in the outset to women and children.’ ”

It is worthy of notice, that recently in our own country, ministers of Christ who have manifested much sympathy for the oppressed and degraded have been jeered at, not unfrequently, in public journals and elsewhere, as preaching a gospel fit only for women.

Not many noble are called when God has some great thing to do in this world’s history. He chooses “the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are.” In the case before us, the people whom he elected to restore to the world the apostolic form of the Christian church, and to preserve for the nations Christian and civil liberty, were mainly humble people. There were, however, some exceptions. Here and there appears one among them corresponding to Joseph of Arimathea, or Nicodemus of the Sanhedrim. One evening in 1580, there was a scene in the baronial hall in Rochford in Essex, not often witnessed in those days in the homes of the upper classes:

“Lord Rich,” as Dr. Waddington describes the scene, “and his family, with the servants of the household, are assembled for evening prayers. The company is somewhat larger than we usually find in a domestic establishment. Several of the poorer neighbors are present and sitting amongst them. We see Butler of Tooby, Lord Grey, and other members of aristocratic families in the vicinity. Prayer is offered by Mr. Wright, the Puritan chaplain, assisted by Mr. Greenwood, B. A. The servants are catechised, an expository lecture is given, and it is intimated by Lord Rich that all present, who are sincere believers in Christ, may have an opportunity to form themselves into a church under the pastoral care of Mr. Wright.”

All this soon comes to the ear of the Bishop of London, who is greatly exasperated because he cannot get hold of “Wright

sheltered in the house of Rich unless he send a power of men to pull him out by the ears." He soon finds a way, however, to vindicate the Episcopal authority. Wright is arrested; Lord Rich — his rank cannot shield him as he thought it could — is arrested; at the same time, or not long after, Greenwood, the same who is mentioned as the dear friend of Barrowe in the University of Cambridge, is arrested; all are seized and thrown into prison, to share the company and the fare of thieves and prostitutes and murderers, of all the lowest and vilest criminals of London.

Let us follow Greenwood, for a moment, to his prison.

"On the south bank of the Thames"—we quote from "The Hidden Church"—"and near the foot of London Bridge, stood the palace of the Bishop of Winchester, and at the end of an adjoining park was the prison, used by the bishop for the subjugation of persons of refractory consciences, as well as for other purposes. The kennel for his dogs was kept in a far less offensive condition. Enter through the iron gate and look into this wretched dungeon. The stench is odious, the air is pestilential, and the filthiness of every part of it most revolting; but all this is as nothing in comparison with the diseased and abandoned people who have been crammed within its walls. There they lie huddled together in litters of straw, felons, murderers, maniacs, men and women of the vilest character, without order and without discipline, and amongst them, though not of them, stands the scholar, the Christian, the faithful and devoted minister, John Greenwood.

"Will he then be forgotten and forsaken? Will none of his old college companions inquire after his welfare, or again recognize him as one of their fraternity? The Sabbath morn dawns upon the dreary cell (Nov. 19, 1586), and with it are connected associations sacred and delightful, notwithstanding the horrid spectacle around him, and Greenwood thinks of hours spent in earnest discourse and in more earnest prayer with his faithful brother, Henry Barrowe.

"A loud knock at the prison gate, followed by a message from the turnkey to announce that 'Barrowe is come to visit his friend,' awakens in the breast of the prisoner the joy that is caused only by such acts of constancy and kindness. The interview and mutual greeting, too touching for description, we pass over. . . . The faithful brethren were not suffered long to express to each other the sentiments of Christian affection, and, like David and Jonathan, to strengthen their hands in God. 'You are my prisoner, Mr. Barrowe,' said Shephard, the jailor."

Barrowe was immediately hurried off to the archbishop and his assistant commissioners for a brief examination, and then was thrown into prison for being the friend of Greenwood.

Let us gain another glimpse of this terrible struggle for religious liberty, as it was going on some twelve years later. Dr. Waddington tells us that in 1592, the brethren were assembled one night at a private house in Southwark to complete their church organization. They were obliged, at this time, to hold their meetings in the fields and woods about London, in garden houses, or wherever they could find a safe hiding place. But this night they are met at a private house.

“The doors are closed, and for a few moments there is a profound stillness. Greenwood is here, being out on bail for the night. The effects of his long imprisonment are too evident in his wasted frame and pallid countenance; but his eye gleams with interest and tenderness as he looks around, forgetting all the sufferings of the past in the gladness of the occasion. With him are two younger brethren of the University of Cambridge, Francis Johnson and John Penry, matured in experience beyond their years. The choice of the church, expressed by their open suffrage, falls on Greenwood for the office of ‘doctor,’ or teacher. He is prevented by the restraints of imprisonment from taking the pastoral office and its active duties; but it is thought he may instruct the church by his writings or by counsel even when in bonds. The brethren are not ashamed of his ‘chain;’ they look upon it as ‘the mark in his body of the Lord Jesus.’

“It is expected that Francis Johnson, prior to his call by the vote of the church, will give some account of his spiritual history and of his doctrinal views. The record of this confession is not before us, but from other sources of information we learn something of its outline.

“‘Brethren and companions in the faith and patience of our Lord Jesus, I greet you all in his blessed name. For a long time I was greatly opposed to this way. So much so, that when in Holland, I went to the printing office in Dort, at the instance of the English ambassador, to destroy the books written by our brethren, Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood. In my blind zeal against their cause, I destroyed all the copies, save two, one of which I gave to a friend, and the other I read to my own conviction. In obedience to that conviction I come to you from Holland to acknowledge my brethren in bonds, and to cast in my lot amongst you.’

“ Every heart is thrilled in listening to this simple statement, and to the declaration of faith given in addition. Johnson is chosen pastor.

“ The impression produced by Penry on the assembly, if possible, is still deeper. It is known that a price is set upon his head. For many months he sought shelter in the glens of Scotland ; but at the imperious demand of Queen Elizabeth, King James issued a decree forbidding any of his subjects to afford the fugitive either harbor or food on pain of death. Yet, knowing the wrath of the queen and the determination of the prelates to compass his death, he has journeyed from the extreme north of the island to London, in order to identify himself with this lowly band of confessors, now in the course of organization as a church of Christ. ‘ I can accept no office amongst you, brethren, except to be the servant of all ; for my purpose, if God shall give me opportunity, is to go before the queen, as with the halter round my neck, to plead that the Gospel may be preached to my countrymen of Wales.’ The brethren do not press official distinction or responsibility on their devoted brother, after this touching avowal of his sacred determination. They are content to appoint Christopher Bowman and Nicholas Lee as deacons, with Daniel Studley and George Kniston as elders.

“ Seven infants are now presented by their parents for the ordinance of Christian baptism.

“ Brought as within the verge of heaven by these hallowed solemnities, and conscious of oneness in faith, in affection, and in purpose, they close the religious exercises of the evening by the administration of the Lord’s Supper. How simple is the mode of preparation. A white cloth is spread upon the table. Five loaves are placed upon it, with the sacramental cup. The words of the institution, as given by our Lord Jesus on the night of the betrayal, are read. The pastor, with deep feeling, gives utterance to sentiments suited to the ordinance. The elements are distributed with becoming order, and a collection is made for the poor. Truly they sit together as Christ’s comrades, with the freedom of brethren, and yet with the reverence of disciples. In a low voice they sing the sacramental hymn, interrupted only by the outpouring sentiments which constrain them to weep aloud in their solemn joy. To some of them it is the first and the last service of communion with the church on earth. They will meet the brethren after this manner no more, until they sit down at the marriage supper of the Lamb. Well may they linger ; but the voice again is heard as in the guest chamber, ‘ Arise, let us go hence.’ ”

Now if we would understand the character of those Christian men and women, of what stuff they were made, and by what faith they were sustained, we must remember that they formed this church of Christ, and observed the sacraments in it, in full view of a London dungeon with all its horrors, and the gallows just beyond. They knew that the prisons of London were getting crowded with men and women who had been thrown into them for holding sentiments like theirs. Many of them had undoubtedly witnessed martyrdoms on the gallows and at the stake. We are told, for instance, that "on the 27th of June, 1566, twenty thousand persons stood around the blazing faggots which consumed thirteen brethren at Bow. The object of their coming to that appalling scene was 'to strengthen themselves in the profession of the Gospel, and to exhort and to comfort those who were to die.'" These Christian men and women knew what a London dungeon was, and what the stake and the gallows were; yet, in the face of all this suffering, exposing themselves to the worst forms of martyrdom, they calmly, with prayer and singing, for Christ's sake, organized their church, chose their pastor, and observed the Christian sacraments. We know of no sublimer heroism in history.

Persecution soon burst upon them. While they were holding a meeting in the woods of Islington, a few months after the organization of their church, they were discovered, and fifty-six of their number were taken prisoners, and sent "two by two" to the jails of London. The pastor, Johnson, and Penry both were of the number. The prison-plague soon after broke out in the filthy and overcrowded dungeons, and many of them perished. Some of them, however, survived, only to prolong their sufferings. Were they not now discouraged, heart-broken, and ready to give up their cause? Not at all. No words of loftier courage and hope ever came from men, than came from Penry and Johnson and Greenwood and Barrowe in the dungeons of London. They knew that the truth of God was mightier than all the hierarchies and kings of earth, and they wrought and suffered with the coming triumph constantly in view. Somehow — no man to this day knows how — while immured in prison, they obtained materials for writing, and they wrote, reasoning mightily out of the Scriptures, and their manuscripts were taken over

to the continent, and there printed, and then brought back and scattered over England. And these were the men, who, by their writings, and by their testimony sealed with their blood, made soldiers for Cromwell, and pilgrims for America, in the next century. These were the men, who, like the twelve fishermen of Galilee, inaugurated a revolution that changed the history of the world.

It was at their suggestion that their persecuted companions, who were still out of prison, soon began to turn their thoughts towards America; for it was to this country that they purposed to come before they decided to go to Holland. In 1593, Penry in prison, and while expecting every day to be taken out for execution, wrote a long communication to the brethren, saying, among other things :

“ Consult with the whole church, yea, with the brethren of other places, how the church may be kept together and built, whithersoever they go. Let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you.”

Again, speaking of “ the brethren in the west and north countries,” he says :

“ I would wish you and them to be together, if you may, whithersoever you may be banished ; and to this purpose, to bethink you beforehand where to be ; yea, to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting place ; and be all of you assured that He, who is your God in England, will be your God in any land under the whole heaven ; for the earth and the fulness thereof are His, and blessed are they, that for His cause, are bereaved of any part of the same.”

Acting upon this advice, these persecuted people soon petitioned the government, but without success, for permission to emigrate to “ a foreign and far country, which lieth to the west from hence, in the province of Canada.”

Thus fully believing in the coming triumph of their principles, and by their wise counsels preparing the brethren for their future work and trials, these Christian heroes awaited their martyrdom. They would not stultify their consciences. They would not say it was wrong to preach the Gospel to the poor ;

they would not say it was wrong to meet together for prayer and worship and to study the word of God ; they would not say that it was wrong for the people of Christ to separate themselves from the world ; and they would not say it was wrong for them to do this by organizing themselves into a church after the model described in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, even though it should give them the opprobrious name of Separatist. They were ready to suffer and die, rather than "break a good conscience" and betray the great truths and principles of the kingdom of Christ. Penry, just before his death, wrote out his confession of faith, and in regard to it, he says :

"That brief confession of my faith and allegiance unto the Lord and Her Majesty, written since my imprisonment, and delivered to the worshipful Mr. Justice Young, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal verity in it ; and, therefore, if my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same, my confession. Yet, if any error can be showed therein, that will I not maintain."

Noble words, worthy of the great martyr ! Soon after writing them, on the 29th of May, 1593,

"Penry was suddenly ordered, when at dinner, to prepare for death in the afternoon at four o'clock. He was led at five, from the prison in High Street borough, to the gallows erected at St. Thomas, a watering in the Old Kent road, Southwark. A small company of persons, seeing the workmen making preparations, had collected together. Penry would have spoken, but the sheriff insisted that neither in protestation of his loyalty, nor in the avowal of his innocence, should he utter a word. His life was taken, and the people were dispersed. The place of his burial is unknown."

Queen Elizabeth seems at times to have thought that the persecution was carried too far. She had some scruples about its being right to execute such men. She hesitated to give her consent that Barrowe and Greenwood should be hung. Twice they were led out to the place of execution, and twice she sent a pardon, which reached them only at the last moment. The wily bishops, however, at length outwitted her, and both, with-

out her consent, were executed. Great numbers of their companions also, either suffered public martyrdom or died in prison.

The question now arises, why all this rage and blood? Why all this hate and persecution on the one side, and this heroic suffering and martyrdom on the other? There is some explanation of this. There are certain ideas and principles in conflict here. What are they?

Here was a powerful hierarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, whatever it may be called, holding itself up by means of the ignorance, the servitude, and the general degradation of the people. It had the control of the church and the state; and the leading idea, the organic and controlling principle of this hierarchy, was, that the many are made for the few; and consequently, that the many must be kept in such a state of ignorance and degradation that they can be easily managed and used in the interest of the few. When, therefore, Penry proposed to teach the poor people of Wales how to read the word of God, to gather them into churches and schools, and to christianize and civilize them, he proposed to strike a blow at the foundation of all the powers of the hierarchy. Hence their alarm. Hence their indignation and rage against the young reformer.

Meetings for prayer and worship among the working classes also were regarded as fraught with great danger to the aristocracy. If the common people, if cobblers, weavers, plumbers, the vulgar and the illiterate, if the mudsills of society, were allowed to come together and exercise their gifts, study the word of God, form and express opinions of their own, and, above all, to vote in respect to matters in which they were interested, every one can see it would put in jeopardy the despotic power of the few. These conventicles, as they were called, would be like so many hidden fires, kindling here and there, which would soon burst forth, involving in one vast conflagration the whole complex edifice of church and state, and carrying down with it all the power of the Episcopal aristocracy. Hence the alacrity and rage with which the bishops set to work to destroy these free churches of the common people. They imprisoned and executed these humble Christians with a vindictiveness which we cannot understand, until we per-

ceive that they were acting in defence of all their aristocratic powers and privileges. What was the charge brought against these Christian people? Sedition, treason, in every instance. The charge was, that they were disturbing the present order of things in the state; that they were meddling with politics, preaching politics; that they were presumptuously dealing with the great political interests of the country; that they were plotting to overthrow the government of Her Majesty. When Penry proposed to preach the Gospel to the poor and oppressed people of Wales, he was interfering with the politics of the country. The bishops were indignant beyond measure that an unknown young student of Oxford should presume to teach them, and the High Court of Parliament, and Her Majesty the Queen, upon a great political question. Their feelings were evidently very much like those of Caiaphas and his associates when they learned that a certain Nazarene had called himself king.

At the first trial of Penry, his grace, Bishop Whitgift, was so enraged against the young reformer, that he was not able to control himself. But what of it? He could kill Penry, but he could not kill the truth which Penry advocated. And it is illustrative of the marvellous power of truth and right principles to win the victory at last, that within sixty years from this time, the very plan proposed by young Penry for christianizing Wales, was adopted by the High Court of Parliament. Those men of God could save others, millions of other people in the coming ages, themselves they could not save. They affirmed to the last, that they were not disloyal to Her Majesty the Queen, that they prayed for her in all their prayers and for the prosperity of her reign, and that they had no designs against her government; that on the contrary, there were no more faithful and obedient subjects, than were they, in England. But it was all in vain. They were despised and hated beyond measure, for agitating questions which endangered, not good government, but the power of the aristocracy. Humble and weak, however, as they were, they were set for the defence of certain great principles and elements of power in the kingdom of Christ. They stood in their places, did their work, and did it well; not for themselves merely, but for the coming ages.

All the religious and civil liberty of Great Britain and of the great Republic of America to-day, is simply the triumph of the principles of those poor, outcast, martyred Christians.

It is not certain that they fully understood the greatness of their cause, or the effect the revolution they were inaugurating was to have upon the world's history. They were not omniscient like Jesus of Nazareth. When he was accused of interfering with the politics of the country, and Pilate brought the charge before him, and asked him : "Art thou the king of the Jews?" he did not deny it. He was not king, in their sense of the term, and did not claim to be ; but he knew perfectly well, that the principles he had taught, would in the end, subdue all things unto himself, and make all the kingdoms of the world his own. He knew perfectly well that such principle as that which he taught, when he said, "All ye are brethren," when adopted by the people, would overthrow any despotism which man could rear. But these Christian heroes of England did not, of course, understand as clearly as their Master the tremendous revolutionary power of those principles of his kingdom which they had adopted. It was enough for them that they found them inculcated in the word of God. Finding them there, they knew it was their business to accept them, act upon them, and leave the consequences with God. In this faith they went boldly forward, and thus brought on the conflict ; a conflict of ideas and principles culminating in persecution and martyrdom.

It was a principle with these Christian martyrs that the Gospel should be preached to the poor. To do that was, in their view, "a mark of Christ." Not to preach the Gospel to the poor, and especially to forbid that it be preached to them was, in their view, "a mark of antichrist." It was a principle with them, that the masses of the people should be evangelized, that the common people should be educated and elevated. It was a principle with them that believers in Christ should be separated from the world by being gathered into churches modelled after the church-form left by Christ and the apostles. Consequently it was a principle with them to maintain, as far as they rightfully could, all liberty necessary for the doing of these things ; liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, liberty of

speech, liberty of the press, liberty of worship, all liberty necessary to obey God.

On the part of their enemies and persecutors, it was a principle that the many were made for the few, that the masses of the people should be used to subserve the interests, build up the power, and to aggrandize, in every possible way, the status of the hierarchy. Consequently it was a principle with them that all liberties inconsistent with this should be taken away from the common people, liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty of the pulpit, liberty to worship God except through Episcopal ceremonies — that all such liberties should be denied to the masses, and that, through their ignorance and degradation, they should be kept in subjection.

These are samples of those two great classes of principles which met in such terrible conflict in the latter part of the sixteenth century in England. On the one side was the principle of Christian love, or good will toward men, such as the angels shouted over the plains of Bethlehem, and on the other was the principle of human selfishness, such as actuated Herod, when, feeling his throne totter at the shouts of the angels, he ordered the massacre of all the little children of Bethlehem, that he might abate that nuisance of good will toward men from the face of the earth. On the one side were the great principles of religious and civil liberty, and on the other the aristocratic principles of ecclesiastical and civil despotism. On the one side were the principles of the kingdom of Christ; and on the other the principles of the kingdom of Satan.

Such was the conflict, and such were the antagonistic principles in that conflict, which may be regarded as the historical source of all our free institutions; for, a few years later, the representatives of one of these classes of ideas landed at Plymouth, and representatives of the other class landed at Jamestown, and these great antagonistic forces in history then began their work on the broader theatre of the New World. It was a question, as yet hidden in the purposes of God, whether the principles of Caiaphas, Grindal and Whitgift, or the principles of the Nazarene, of Penry, Barrowe and Greenwood, would gain the ascendancy and determine the form of the civil

government and of the institutions generally in the new country. The ideas represented at Plymouth, began at once, through the church, the school, the college, the mission, their legitimate work of evangelizing the masses, of educating and ennobling the common people, of giving dignity to labor, and of creating all institutions needful for promoting the highest well-being of all persons, even the humblest, in the community. The ideas represented at Jamestown also began at once their legitimate work of creating a powerful aristocracy; of keeping down the masses; of aggrandizing the few at the expense of the many; of rendering labor dishonorable; and lastly of creating a peculiar institution, the very name of which is the synonym of all that is revolting and degrading to humanity. The intense antagonism between the ideas, or the principles, of the North and those of the South, soon began to develop itself.

At the close of the first fifty years, Sir William Berkley, then Governor of Virginia, expressed himself to the Lords Commissioners in these words: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years! for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." The aristocratic arrogance of these words, and the fling they contain at the free institutions of New England, are specimens of what every generation in our country since has been made familiar with. Those who suppose that the present hatred of New England and of the free institutions of New England, on the part of the Southern oligarchy and those who sympathize with them throughout the land, and that the present great conflict in which our nation is plunged, are things of recent origin, have very little understanding of the long history and of the true nature of the struggle.

As a nation we cannot be sufficiently thankful that the principles represented at Plymouth, and not those represented at Jamestown, very early in our national history gained the ascendancy, took the lead and gave to the country a free government and so many free institutions. While the principles which wrought at Jamestown were busily employing themselves upon the children of Africa, the principles brought to Plymouth had

ample time to develop themselves, and to establish free institutions for America and the world. Satan was outwitted, and has waked up to the greatness of his mistake only in these later years. He now sees, when too late, that not one institution simply, but all the institutions of the country, should have been founded on the corner-stone of aristocratic despotism, and not upon the corner-stone of popular liberty.

But God is mightier than Satan; and in all this great conflict of the ages we can discover that the kingdom of Christ is hastening to its triumph. Look no farther back than to those small beginnings in the middle of the sixteenth century, and then look at the present results as seen in the magnificent spectacle of our free and prosperous country, summoning now all its power to rescue its free government from the corrupting influence and tyranny of the only institution which the principles of despotism have been able to rear in the land. No human counsel has devised this, no human power has wrought it out. God is in this history. His wisdom and power direct the conflict; and they prolong the conflict to-day, not in the interest of the proud and despotic who tread his people beneath their feet, but in the interest of the poor, the down-trodden, who call upon his name. All that lifts itself up against "good will toward men," towards the poorest, humblest men of earth, is to be swept away by the fiery wrath of the Almighty. The proud Babel of despotism, which the oppressors in our country thought to rear to the heavens, totters and reels to its base, and already we can hear the rattle and thunder of its falling columns. Let the friends of the kingdom of Christ take no praise to themselves for the coming triumph, but let them be ready to strike the cymbals, and to shout; "Sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously."

ARTICLE II.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

OUR object in this essay is to present an outline of the chronology of the Septuagint according to our most approved texts of that version of the Old Testament Scriptures. These texts are, (1), that of Cardinal Mai's edition, which is after the celebrated Vatican MS., and, (2), that of Tischendorf, which is from a collation of most ancient MSS., the Vatican being the basis.* We make Mai our basis, giving the various readings of Tischendorf.

It is not within our object to enter into any discussion in regard to the comparative claims of the Septuagint and Hebrew chronologies, though in order to afford the facility of comparing the two, we notice the points of difference between them, and give a parallel synopsis of both at the close.

PERIOD I. FROM THE CREATION OF ADAM TO THE FLOOD.

	Years before birth of a son.	Residue of Life.	Whole Life.
1. Adam	230	700	930
2. Seth	205	707	912
3. Enos	190	715	905
4. Cainan	170	740	910
5. Malaleel	165	730	895
6. Jared	162	800	962
7. Enoch	165	200	365
8. Methuselah . (167)	187	782	969
9. Lamech	188	565	753
10. Noah to the Flood .	600		
	(2242)	2262	

The above table differs from a corresponding one drawn from the Hebrew in this : The lives of the first five and the seventh patriarchs, before the birth of the son who succeeded in the

* Tischendorf says in his title-page : "Textum Vaticanum Romanun emendatius edidit, . . omnen lectionis varietatem Codicum Vetustimorum Alexandrini, Ephræmi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subiunxit." And Mai says, (title-page), "Ex antiquissimo Codice Vaticano." But as the first 46 chapters of Genesis are wanting in this MS., we can easily account for the difference between Tischendorf and Mai in regard to some of the patriarchal numbers hereafter noticed.

patriarchal line, in the Hebrew, are just a century shorter, which century is added to the residue of life, making the whole life precisely the same ; the years of Lamech before the birth of Noah are, in the Hebrew, 182, his residue 595, and his whole life 777 years, instead of as above. In the Hebrew, then, the duration of the period is 1656 years.

The various reading of 167, in the life of Methuselah, is edited by Tischendorf.

PERIOD II. FROM THE FLOOD TO THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM.

	years.
Shem, after the Flood to the birth of Arphaxad	2
1. Arphaxad, to the birth of a son	135
2. Cainan	130
3. Sala	130
4. Eber	134
5. Peleg	130
6. Reu	132
7. Serug	130
8. Nahor	(79) 179
9. Terah	70
10. Abraham born	(1072) 1172

According to the Hebrew, the lives of the first seven patriarchs (excluding Cainan) are just a hundred years shorter before the birth of a son, Cainan is entirely omitted, and the years of Nahor previous to the birth of Terah are only 29, making the period 292 years.*

The reading 79, in the life of Nahor, is found in many MSS. and is edited by Grabe, and by Field in an edition of the LXX recently published by the Society for Propagating the Gospel. But 179 is edited by both Mai and Tischendorf, and in fact, by almost all editors of the LXX.

PERIOD III. FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS.

In regard to the duration of this period there is no difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew. By a wonderful agreement of almost all chronologers, both ancient and modern,

* Usher and some others — Hebraists — make this period 352 years. This is done by making Abraham to be born in the 130th year of Terah, comparing Gen. xi. 32 with xii. 4.

this duration is estimated at 505 years. The texts upon which this estimate is based are the same in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew. These texts are, Gen. xii. 4 and Ex. xii. 40, 41.

Abraham was 75 years old at the "call," and the exodus was 430 years after. For by the consent of all the chronologers, the 430 years began when the patriarch, at the divine call, left his land and kindred. And Paul corroborates this in his statement, that the law came 430 years after the promise. (Gal. iii. 17). This interpretation is strengthened by the particular reading of the Septuagint in Ex. xii. 40, this translation adding, after the words, "who dwelt in Egypt," the words, "and in Canaan."

The chronology of this period, then, according to the Septuagint is the same as in the Hebrew, viz. :

Abraham to the "Call"	75
From the Call to the Exodus	430
Total	<hr/> 505

PERIOD IV. FROM THE EXODUS TO THE FOUNDATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

This period is shorter according to the Septuagint than it is according to the Hebrew, and that, whether we determine the duration by the single text, 1 Kings vi. 1, or by the details of the current history. In 1 Kings vi. 1, it is said that the Temple was begun 440 years * after the children of Israel came out of Egypt, and in the current history only 20 years are assigned to Eli instead of 40 as in the Hebrew. In all other respects the details are the same in both. † And both are alike indefinite in regard to the time of Joshua and the Elders, and that of Samuel and Saul.

The duration of this period, then, according to the Septuagint, if we adopt the present reading of 1 Kings vi. 1, is 440

* Five MSS. collated by Holmes and the Compl. Ed. have 480 in 1 Kings vi. 1.

† Clinton, (*Fasti Romani*, vol. II., Append. p. 226,) says the details from which the chronology of the period is determined, are precisely the same in the LXX as in the Hebrew; and he presents the details in parallel columns in which 40 years are assigned to Eli in the LXX. Parker, (in a recent elaborate work on Chronology), says the same. See next note.

years ; but if we adopt the details in the current history, giving to Joshua 27 years according to the ancient chronologers generally, and to Samuel and Saul 40, according to Paul (Acts xiii. 18—21), it is 600 years, as follows :

	years.
Moses in the Desert	40
Joshua	27
1st Servitude (Mesop.) Judges iii. 8	8
Othniel “ iii. 11	40
2d Servitude (Moab.) “ iii. 14	18
Ehud and Shamgar “ iii. 30	80
3d Servitude (Canaan.) “ iv. 3	20
Deborah and Barak “ v. 31	40
4th Servitude (Midian.) “ vi. 1	7
Gideon “ viii. 28	40
Abimelech “ ix. 22	3
Tola “ x. 2	23
Jair “ x. 3	22
5th Servitude (Philist.) “ x. 8	18
Jepthah “ xii. 7	6
Ibzan “ xii. 9	7
Elon “ xii. 11	10
Abdon “ xii. 14	8
6th Servitude (Philist.) “ xiii. 1	40
Samson xv. 20 and xvi. 31	20
Eli 1 Sam. iv. 18	20*
Samuel and Saul	40
David	40
Solomon to Foundation of the Temple.	3
Total	580

Or, according to 1 Kings vi. 1, 440.

PERIOD V. FROM THE FOUNDATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE TO ITS DESTRUCTION BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

There are some difficulties in the chronology of this period on account of discrepancies in the sacred text ; but these discrepancies are the same in the Septuagint as in the Hebrew, and the details in regard to numbers upon which the duration of the period rests, are precisely the same in both, as follows :

* This is 40 in the Complut. Aldine and Georg. Slav. editions of the LXX and some two or three MSS. as noted by Holmes. But all our present editions have 20.

	yra.	mos.
1. Solomon	37	
2. Rehoboam	17	
3. Abijam, current 3, complete	2	
4. Asa	41	
5. Jehoshaphat	25	
6. Joram, current 8, complete	7	
7. Ahaziah	1	
8. Athaliah,	6	
9. Joash	40	
10. Amaziah	29	
11. Azariah or Uzziah	52	
12. Jotham	16	
13. Ahaz, current 16, complete	15	
14. Hezekiah	29	
15t Manasseh	55	
16. Amon	2	
17. Josiah	31	
18. Jehoahaz		3
19. Jehoiakim	11	
20. Jehoiachin		3
21. Zedekiah	11	
Total		427 6

Or, as we may say, 427 years.

A close examination of the history of the period shows that the numbers of some of the reigns should be reduced by one to denote complete years. Such we regard the 3d, 6th, and 13th reigns. The grounds for this conclusion will be seen on comparing 1 Kings i. 1 and i. 10; 2 Kings viii. 16 and viii. 25; and xvi. 1 and xvii. 1. We have put down the time of those reigns accordingly.

PERIOD VI. FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE BY NEBUCHAD-NEZZAR TO THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

The duration of this period cannot be determined by any scriptural data alone. For its commencement and chronological details, we have to resort to profane history. In reference to this point, the Septuagint and the Hebrew occupy the same ground. For, as we have before intimated, all essential difference between the two is confined to the first two periods, or the patriarchal ages, there being only a slight discrepancy afterwards, viz., in the 4th period, the years of Eli or the statement in 1 Kings, vi. 1. Since, then, our object is to give the chronology of the Septuagint, we, without discussion, remark

that the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar has been fixed by means of Ptolemy's canon at about B. C. 586, by the ablest chronologers,* some varying two or three years on one side or the other of that date. Waiving the discussion of that point to another place, we assume that as the date of the destruction of the temple.

The chronology of the Septuagint presented in tabular form, stands thus :—(that of the Hebrew being added for convenience of comparison).

	THE SEPTUAGINT.				HEBREW.	
	Mal's Ed.		Tischen. Ed.		Yrs.	B.C.
	Yrs.	B.C.	Yrs.	B.C.		
1. Creation	2262	5532	2242	5512	1656	4066
2. Flood	1172	3270	1172	3270	292	2410
3. Birth of Abraham . . .	505	2098	505	2098	505	2118
4. Exodus	580	1593	580	1593	600	1613
5. Founding of the Temple	427	1013	427	1013	427	1013
6. Destruction of Temple	586	586	586	586	586	586

The first column of figures in each system denotes the length of the periods, and the second, the date of the epochs beginning them. It should be remarked in regard to the Hebrew computation in the above table, that Hebraists generally make the second interval 352 years, by regarding Abraham as the youngest son of Terah, and born when his father was 130 years old, instead of 70, and the fourth period, 480, from 1 Kings, vi. 1, instead of 600, making the time from the creation to Christ 60 years less than it is in our table, placing the creation at B. C. 4006. The sum 4004, as indicating the date of the creation in our received chronology, is made up, in addition to the above modifications, by shortening the fifth period. But our table presents what we regard as the correct Hebrew chronology.

It should be further remarked, that most Septuagintarian chronologers make the first period 2256, out of deference to Josephus; they likewise make the second period only 1072† by putting the years of Nahor at 79 instead of 179; or 942‡ by leav-

* The author of "The History of the World," Part I. of which has just appeared, Phillip Smith, B.A., one of the principal contributors to Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, in his Note on Chronology, p. 10, says: "The Epoch of the Destruction of the Temple is fixed by a concurrence of proofs from sacred and profane history with only a variation of one, or at the most, two years, between B.C. 588 and 586. Clinton's date is June B.C. 587." This margin should be extended a little on each side of 586, as some, as Bede, have 589, and some as low as 583.

† As Jackson. ‡ As Eusebius.

ing out the second Cainan with his generation of 130 years ; or 1002,* by giving Terah 130 years to the birth of Abraham. We simply remark that our object is to present the chronology of the Septuagint according to the most approved texts. This we have done. We would state, however, that we think this version should be corrected to make it harmonize with Josephus in the length of the first period, since, by giving Methuselah only 167 years before the birth of Lamech, we make him survive the flood 14 years ; and the 188 years of Lamech should doubtless be corrected by the Hebrew and Josephus and made 182 ; we would likewise give to Eli 40 instead of 20 years.

Thus it appears, that the highest date of the creation of man according to the Septuagint, and that is according to Mai's edition, is B. C. 5532, and the lowest, (arrived at by taking the lowest numbers, found in any text, of Methuselah (viz. 167) and Nahor (viz. 79), and the 440 of 1 Kings vi. 1, for the fourth period,) is 260 years less, i. e., B. C. 5272.

The difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew, according to our computation, is 1466 or 1446. This difference, by taking other numbers of the various readings, might be increased to 1620. It may be remarked, however, that the amount of difference, which is to be set down as the probable result of designed alteration in one or the other, is 1300 years, or, if we include Cainan's generation in this class, 1430 † viz. : 600 in the period before, and 700, or 830 in the period after the flood, the lives of 13 patriarchs before the birth of the son who succeeded being shortened or lengthened a century each, and the second Cainan being interpolated or left out. Other differences are probably the result of mistakes by copyists.

* As Hales. Hales, a Septuagintarian in chronology, gives Nahor 79, leaves out the second Cainan, and makes Terah 130 at the birth of Abraham.

† We are inclined to the opinion, however that the interpolation or omission of the 2d Cainan, whichever is adopted, is the result of mistake of copyists.

ARTICLE III.

BAYNE'S "TESTIMONY OF CHRIST TO CHRISTIANITY."

The Testimony of Christ to Christianity. By PETER BAYNE, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

By all who have become acquainted with Mr. Bayne through his previously published works, this volume will be opened with pleasure. In his "Christian Life, Social and Individual," and his two volumes of "Essays, Critical and Biographical," we find a style vigorous and clear, and a soul appreciating the realities of the Christian religion as he portrays it in the lives of representative men in its theological, philosophical, and philanthropic departments; and also a mind alive to merit of every kind, as seen in his masterly delineations of poets, essayists and warriors. We are not surprised when we read in the life of Rufus Choate that he said, "I read every word of Bayne."

The title of this book first struck our attention as being somewhat strange and open to criticism; for what, we asked ourselves, is Christianity but what Christ taught? and what is the testimony of Christ to what he himself taught?

We look upon Christianity as the teachings of Christ, as really as the Baconian philosophy is that system taught by Bacon, or the Mohammedan religion as that taught by Mohammed, or the Copernican system of astronomy as that taught by Copernicus.

But when we look at the author's meaning, we see that he is pointing out a proof of the truth of Christianity which has been too little insisted upon, but which is massively strong, viz: That there are in the person of Christ, and in what he said and did, those qualities which command belief from every fair and candid mind, and make it as absolutely certain as testimony ever can be made, that Jesus Christ was a "faithful and true witness."

In his introduction, he refers to the common habit of Christians to rest satisfied with the proof afforded them by their own

experience of the truth of the gospel, and the recommendation which their lives give of it to others, without preparing themselves to answer the inquiries which the "robust and searching intellect of the age" may reasonably put to the believer in Christianity, as to the proofs of its truth.

While the common mind cannot be expected to spend much time in laborious investigations into its evidences, by a comparatively easy process, the Christian may arm himself with sufficient means of defence, by attention to one of a cloud of witnesses, and "He the centre of that cloud, the chief witness to the Divine Religion, both ethically and historically, Jesus Christ of Nazareth."

The argument he states thus: The conjunction of celestially pure, moral teaching, with the exercise of creative or miraculous powers, in the case of a religious teacher, demonstrates his mission to be divine. The personal testimony of Christ renders it indubitable that his teaching was pure, and that he wielded creative might; therefore, the mission of Jesus Christ was divine, and what he said of himself and of his religion is true.

Mr. Bayne examines the subject of the miracles of Christ, and treats of such events as walking on the sea, changing water into wine, and raising the dead to life. While Hume maintained that no conceivable testimony could prove the raising of the dead, Mr. Bayne accepts the position that "It is experience only which gives authority to human testimony; and it is the same experience which assures us of the laws of nature. When, therefore, these two kinds of experience are contrary, we have nothing to do but to subtract the one from the other, and embrace an opinion either on one side or the other, with that assurance which arises from the remainder." Also with regard to testimony about raising the dead, "If the falsehood of his testimony would be more miraculous than the event which he relates, then, and not till then, can he pretend to demand my belief or opinion."

We need have no fears of the application of these principles to Christian evidence, for "the Christian has to produce testimony to miracle whose falsehood would be a mightier wonder than the miracle attested." Hume was bound by his own principles to take up the Christian miracles and examine them on their

evidence, and pronounce upon them. But he does no such thing. He examines several pretended miracles outside of the Bible, pronounces them false, and concludes that the Christian miracles are also unfounded. Baden Powell also argues against miracles on the ground of the constancy of nature's laws, and says that the mere dictate of reason requires and empowers a man to disbelieve in a miracle. He allows that a miracle may be regarded as a physical event, and its evidence examined in the light of the theory that the fact is referable to physical causes.

Mr. Bayne attempts to show Hume that the testimony of Jesus Christ demands his belief because its falsehood would be a greater miracle than the fact to which he testifies; and make clear to Powell that a miracle can be examined without any theory at all, but merely on the question whether the event took place. And after proving the event, does it follow as a matter of course, that it must be in harmony with the known laws of nature, rather than an abnormal event caused by the power of God?

Our author enlarges upon the physical theory of Powell, and the enthusiasm "arid as a desert, hot as a brick-kiln," with which he describes the immutable laws of the universe. "Out of the far eternity, guided by no hand, rattles the chariot of the universe; into the far eternity, bearing no rider, rolls that chariot away; no God in the past, no God in the present, no God in the future."

J. Stuart Mill represents a class of materialists who maintain that we are unable to detect connection between nature's causes and effects. It is only by observation that we discover that any power exists to produce certain results. Observation reveals an order in phenomena; that order is called a law; but they stand ready to change their idea of the law when any new fact requires it. Should two facts be observed, apparently irreconcilable, then both facts would be believed, for each would rest on its own evidence. This is Baconian philosophy. "That philosophy concerns itself comparatively little with laws. Its ordinances are directed to fact, and the observation of fact; and the first of its precepts is to honor with implicit confidence the seeing eye, the hearing ear, the touching hand, the truth-speak-

ing tongue." The knowledge of mankind is aggregated by testimony. Facts ascertained by individuals build up the experience of the race. Well sifted testimony commands the same respect as accurately made observation.

Now, Mr. Bayne claims that the alleged facts concerning Christ should be treated as any other attested facts. Dropping the word "miracle" let the question be; "Did Christ do this and that?" And in proportion as these facts are startling, let the evidence be rigidly scrutinized. If the facts are proved, let them be believed, for philosophy's sake, if for no other reason.

Mr. Bayne next inquires whether, if miracles are established as matters of fact, they are proof of the divine origin of a religion.

He holds that natural religion teaches two things: That God is omnipotent; and that he is holy. At first he is felt to be, among savage tribes, a force in nature, against which it is useless to contend; then he is seen to possess a personality and human qualities, and working in nature by an intelligent plan. But the unassisted human mind has failed of the steady conception of one creating, all-powerful God. But what it could not discover or retain, it sees the ground of, and discovers when once this disclosure of Deity is made. Though purity in God has been less firmly apprehended, yet among many nations the gods were honored more or less on account of a belief in their sympathy with virtue. It was so in the old Roman Commonwealth; and the influence of Socrates and Plato tended to exalt the moral element in the divine, making him "infinite rightness, as well as boundless power."

Miracles attest God's infinite power, primarily, but Mr. Bayne believes that mere mechanical exhibition of power can not afford valid grounds for believing a religion divine. It is the association of moral perfection with supernatural power that accomplishes the object. A god of mere power, if not just and good, a heathen, whose conscience pressed him with a sense of justice and duty, might defy, and feel himself superior to him in this respect; but the God of Christianity is not open to this criticism. Bishop Butler held that immorality in a professed revelation would prove it false. Paley proved the historical facts, leaving very much out of view the character of *the actor*, and the purity of the doctrines.

Mr. Bayne defines a miracle to be, "an occasional display of divine power, independently of those sequences of natural law through which God commonly acts." "Mighty instincts, intellectual and moral," compel us to trace back nature's causes and effects to an almighty One who created and sustains.

The constancy of nature is but the mode of the divine working, and for certain purposes of his own he can vary that mode, and by some surprising act, call more immediate attention to himself. By this stepping out into full view at times, during the ages past, he has compelled depraved men to retain the faith in his existence and cognizance of them. And by presenting himself in the person of Jesus Christ, clothed with divine powers, he established Christianity as the light of the world.

J. Stuart Mill holds that, the governing power of the universe being in the hand of a wise and almighty God, a miracle is quite within the reach of proof. John Locke concludes, with Nicodemus, that miracles prove the divine mission of Christ. Lord Bacon held that Christ was "a Lord of nations in his miracles."

Mr. Bayne admits that he can see no way of authenticating statements concerning things beyond the reach of human knowledge but by miraculous powers, and that the highest excellence without it, is insufficient. Locke affirms that the divine religion alone appeals to miracles. Paganism and polytheism could not be based upon them, because the exhibitions they had were not exclusive. Numberless gods, each doing something in human affairs, lacked the elements of a miracle performed by the one God, who claimed an undivided throne. The logic of miracle was held by the Jew, and not by the Greek. Miraculous energy scattered the superstition "which peopled every wood and valley with gods"; and now, when science is tending to materialism, the same interpositions of divine power we must insist upon to prove a personal and spiritual God to be at the head of affairs.

We think that Mr. Bayne's points are strong and well put. For our part, we have never been troubled with the intellectual difficulties, which to so many, surround the subject of miracles. Given, the existence of a Creator, and the question of what he

does, and what he can do, we willingly and fearlessly leave to well observed and well attested facts.

It is an interesting inquiry whether God ever intrusts what is generally termed miraculous power to wicked spirits; and what powers the higher orders of fallen spirits have to work mischief in, and among, the ordinary laws of nature. It is interesting to ask, if no answer comes, whether Satan wrought through the magicians of Egypt; in the false prophets among the Jews, who, though "the sign or the wonder came to pass," was to be rejected, if he led the people after other gods; in the witch of Endor; in the false Christs and false prophets of the new dispensation; in those who in Christ's name cast out devils and did many wonderful works, whom he rejects at last; and in the "Beast" of the Revelation, who deceived men by "those miracles which he had power to do"; or whether these phenomena were only signs and lying wonders, and not accomplished facts, beyond the power of man to perform.

But however this may be, we claim that it is natural to expect, and imperative to demand of a professed messenger from heaven, proof that he can not only say things, but do things above the reach of men. If he would be considered divine, and be treated accordingly, he must show his credentials, and act divinely, and make men feel his divinity, whether they acknowledge it or not. As we unroll the parchment, we wish to see the sign-manual of the Almighty, and a seal differing from that which any ambitious and powerful man might exhibit to impose his assumptions upon us.

Without claiming that God, as God, can do an impossibility, we do claim that he who established the laws of nature, may reverse them altogether, or interrupt them temporarily, without the return of chaos. Rivers may run up hill; water may burn; the earth may be stationary, or revolve from east to west; man may subsist without food; poisons may be innocent, and bread poison. If Christ be God he must have power over nature. Olshausen says: "He himself was the wonder: his wonderful works were but the natural acts of his being."

Mr. Bayne next inquires what history has to say about Christ. He cautions Christians to avoid assuming with an unbeliever what he should prove; and calls upon them to begin at

the humanity of Christ, and argue up to his divinity ; well saying : " In the assembly of Christians we shall sing hymns to Christ : on Mar's Hill we must start from an unknown God." In examining the character of Jesus Christ, and trying to account for him as an historical personage, a virtue will go out from him to heal the unbelieving.

What says history on this subject? In the second, third, and fourth centuries, Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, assailed Christianity ; but all agreed that Christ professed to work miracles. These they considered to be by magical arts ; but that Christ claimed them to be supernatural they had no doubt.

Jewish accounts of Christ are to the same effect. The Talmudical literature gives prominence to his alleged miracles. The Jews disbelieved because, admitting the miracles, they did not suffer themselves to be convinced of his Messiahship by them.

Tacitus, in a passage whose correctness is endorsed by Gibbon, informs us that in the time of Nero, there was a very numerous sect, originating in Judea ; that they were called Christians, after Christ, who suffered death by command of Pontius Pilate ; that this sect were hated, but had such attachment for their head, that they endured persecutions and death in every horrid form for his sake. This took place A.D. 64—5. Christ was put to death but little more than thirty years before, and this " vast multitude " had risen up since that time.

In an age when there was no periodical literature, and almost no books, memory was chiefly relied on, and by constant use it became strong and retained current events with the distinctness of the printed page. At this time, every man among the Christians over thirty-five years of age was a contemporary of Christ. With memory fresh, and death in form of slow torture before them, imagination would not color a dim reverence for a malefactor, so as to make such torture bearable, and death welcome. But what Christ said and did might reconcile the mind to such a work as this.

At a time when the contemporaries of Christ were being reduced in numbers, four narratives appear, containing just what eye and ear witnesses would observe and their memories retain, with just variation enough to prove their honest and indepen-

dent accounts. These narratives were endorsed by the early Christians ; and though possessing no preëminent literary merit, they bear the unmistakable impress of truth. Their simple, uncolored tale, presents a portraiture of a "majestic, marvellous, Godlike Personality, compared with whom all other historical characters flit swiftly back into insignificance."

But what proof does Christ offer that he was divine? His reply to the messenger of John is conclusive that he claimed miraculous power, and that this was evidence of divine power. "He claimed divine authority, because armed with divine power, and preaching a gospel of divine mercy and holiness."

But is there no other possible hypothesis than that Christianity is true? Paine's theory that Christ was an impostor, deceiver, and enthusiast, insults the intelligence and education of our time. Paley's possible theories cannot be received ; for time has revealed the subtle influences at work in individual minds, and the mysterious power of one mind over another, not suspected once. A theory something like the following, is that adopted by most modern sceptics, to explain the records of Christ's history :

A Jewish peasant is born of somewhat superstitious parents, at a period when prophecies directed attention to a deliverer from Roman despotism : the family of the house of David has a pride of being heir to kings, and fancies and portents attend the birth of Jesus ; of a meditative and enthusiastic disposition, and growing up under peculiar influences, he develops a strength and intensity of character which makes him a marked man ; he is announced as a mysterious personage, the maniac feels the power of his eye, and by mingled knowledge of medicine and powers to call out a superstitious reverence from men he cures diseases ; he gradually admits the belief that he has miraculous powers, and encourages this belief in himself and others by some deceit ; he speaks in parables and poetry, and draws around him the common people, while those in power rise up against him and put him to death.

By an examination of the moral and intellectual character of Christ, this plausible theory may be tested. As Christ asserted that he possessed supernatural powers, would it, in view of his moral character, be a greater miracle than the performance of

acts ascribed to him, to have uttered a lie in claiming creative powers?

It is a point not to be overlooked that for two thousand years the character of Christ has been searched as no other has been, and the conclusion has been direct and clear that he was "honest and pure." No other name in history has challenged the examination of friend and foe with the certainty that moral perfection would be ascribed to it. The proudest names of ancient and modern times in philosophy and morals, have been known by their admirers to be either corrupt or preëminently defective. Those who do not receive him as the Messiah, pay him the homage which an immaculate character demands. Rosseau, Fichte, Goethe, and Carlyle, are among the number who bear strong testimony to the point under consideration. Can one who thus impressed all classes of men be guilty of deliberate lying? Yet he says he possessed miraculous powers, and exercised them.

The portrait of Christ as drawn in the four gospels is a powerful attestation of his moral excellence. In opposition to the circumstances of his time and nation, and the prevailing religious ideas, Christ's conception of his Messiahship was of a moral and spiritual work. His sermon on the mount reveals the heart of his system. False religions turn on ceremonies and observances, but his was spirit and truth; and the two sacraments would be nothing without their moral significance. He strongly insisted on sincerity, and wished no external allegiance if the heart was not in it. No external goodness would stand for a moment before him who gazed on the heart and found it wicked; and no outward circumstances of sin and guilt were sufficient to exclude his love and help when the heart was tender and penitent. His life exhausted the catalogue of human virtues, and no vice that has a name can be thought of in connection with him. Was Jesus Christ condemned by his own severely moral principles? This would have been a more stupendous miracle than all the actual ones.

Was Christ then mistaken? An examination of his intellectual character will aid in solving this question. In this department of the subject Mr. Bayne claims that while religious im-

posters have usually been self-deceived, and religious enthusiasm is strange and subtle, yet, such men as Cagliostro and the Mormon prophets were doubtless dishonest men, though having a sort of conviction that they had wonderful powers. Mohammed was a vehement enthusiast, but disclaimed miraculous powers. Edward Irving was carried away with enthusiasm, but he was upright, and never imagined that he possessed supernatural powers. Christ was morally sound; but was his mind so clouded that he was left to believe a lie in regard to himself, while Mohammed and Irving were preserved by virtue and common sense from such a delusion?

The temperament of Christ was pure and passionless, specially opposed to enthusiasm; neither sensual nor ascetic, but preserving a happy medium between the two extremes which false religions always take. His manner of life was "genial, sociable, broadly and healthily human." Mingling in common life, he sympathized in all its phases, and saw things as clearly as the most sensible and practical man that ever walked the earth. "When he told the messengers of John that he raised the dead, he knew what he was saying as well as the most scientific head of the nineteenth century."

Christ, in contrast with his disciples, stands forth as an example of intellectual superiority and discernment concerning his own kingdom, not favoring their narrow views and expectations, but gently drawing them up, by instruction and reproof, into the wide fields of thought where his own mind serenely reposed. In his peculiar circumstances of poverty, and with followers as lowly as himself, the spirituality of his mission, and the ultimate spiritual results of his religion, were plainly manifest in his whole demeanor, and lifted him up to be an object inspiring awe in the intellectual, as well as the common beholder.

This sublimity and spirituality of Christ, was what amazed Napoleon in his retirement at St. Helena. There, in his meditations, surrounded by the solemn sea, the world's great warriors passed in review before him, and compared with Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and his own fading glory, Jesus Christ was infinitely more sublime and glorious, and bore the irrefragible proofs of divinity.

This intellectual superiority of Christ was fitted to shield him from delusion, and it is impossible for a candid mind to conceive of his being mistaken as to his miraculous works, which were so interwoven with his daily life, public and private.

Mr. Bayne shows that there were in Christ those qualities which in the world pass for good sense, and coolness of mind. This was so prominent in him that it effectually cuts off the aversion we feel towards a mere sentimentalist. Some of his parables were severe, but just. His fine discrimination of different minds, and the masterly skill with which he laid bare the hidden motive, made a man almost start back at a revelation of his real self. We are surprised at the wisdom with which he deals with the variety of cases that came before him, with severity or tenderness; and even in cases brought for the purpose of confusing him, no enemy went away feeling that he had gained any advantage over one who was as profound as he was kind, and as discerning as he was powerful. The honest inquirer had his doubts resolved in the clearest and gentlest manner; while the inquisitive sceptic, and malignant enemy, found their questions turned upon themselves, and driven home by a mind before which they quailed.

Mr. Bayne thinks the most wonderful answer given by Christ was in reply to the question whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or no. His comprehensiveness and tranquillity of mind, as he discoursed of truths in their many-sided aspects, and applied them to men in the sublime paradoxes which he used so often, mark him as holding the supremacy in the domain of mind.

What is admitted as a concomitant of true genius, that openness, freshness, and delicacy of soul, which appreciates nature in all her various forms, was preëminently a characteristic of Christ. Not only viewing nature with an appreciative eye, but drawing largely his illustrations from its mystery, its beauty and its power, he made all things, from the lily of the valley to the sun in the heavens, suggestive of spiritual things, and vocal with lessons concerning God.

Christ not only had the highest moral and intellectual qualities by themselves, but such a union of the two, as produced a character which must stand alone in human history. The

want of this union in a high degree of perfection, is what makes so many weak good men, and strong bad men. Hence we find in Christ self-command, repose, God-like majesty ; all excellences alike conspicuous ; " a serene perfection for which we can find no name, unless it be that ineffable ' Wisdom,' by which the crowned sage designated Christ of old."

Would such a being be likely to be a victim to delusion, or falsely claim to work miracles in attestation of the truth of his teachings, and the divinity of his mission ?

Christ sealed his testimony with his death : not an accidental one or unexpected, but one present from the beginning, and provided for by his scheme, and necessary to the completeness of his mission. The manner of his departure was as remarkable as his life. The four evangelists narrate what can never be repeated in history. Multitudes of his disciples have met death for him with heroic firmness, and sometimes with extatic joy ; but elements enter into the death of Christ which lift him up out of the world's experience, and compel the readers, as it did some of the spectators, to exclaim ; " Truly this was the Son of God."

At death, the " honest hours," nothing was taken back that he had affirmed ; no claims that he had firmly held through life, were given up when the chill of death crept over him. Dying, between the trembling earth and darkened heavens, he was a greater marvel than ever, and then and there was sealed as " God manifest in the flesh."

Never since the first historian took up his pen, has there such a being passed across the stage of human life, and disappeared into the adjoining eternity. Fresh from the " glory which he had with the Father before the world was," yet a man in all the appointments of human nature ; having a visage " marred more than the sons of men," yet beaming with heavenly light ; a " man of sorrows," yet lifting grief from human hearts by his inspiring presence and words of comfort ; pressed with the deep, solemn purpose of his life to die, hastening on with firm and rapid step, " straitened until it be accomplished," yet coining his love stronger than death into words of kindness and instruction, deeds of love and power, and in view of the garden and the cross, scattering his gifts to all, from the little chil-

dren whom he blessed to the aged widow whose son he restored to her heart and home. Rising from the dead, he reappears for a little time, then rises from earth, and hides himself away in the distant heavens like a fleecy cloud on a summer's day.

Having shown what was the moral and intellectual character of Christ, Mr. Bayne returns to Hume, and examines the reputed miracles whose evidence he declared to be superior to that of the Christian miracles.

Tacitus reports that Vespasian in Alexandria cured a blind man with spittle, and a lame man by the touch of a foot, in obedience to a vision of the god Serapis, who directed the sufferers to apply to the emperor for aid. Hume pronounces these among "the best attested miracles in all profane history." Our author thinks it was a deception originated by the priests of the false god, and does not call in question the veracity of Tacitus, or the fact of a wonderful transaction.

The god Serapis was a bull; its worship in Rome had become so abominable that it was put down by the Senate; the manner of curing the reputed blind man was remarkably like one performed by Christ; Christianity was getting troublesome at the time Vespasian passed through Egypt, and if the priests of this god-bull could secure the services of the emperor to work such apparently wonderful miracles, it would prove powerful against the religion of Christ.

Cardinal de Ritz, fleeing into Spain from his enemies, passed through Saragossa, and found in the cathedral a man with an impotent leg. He rubbed upon the stump some holy oil, and the leg was restored.

Now, supposing the facts to be as stated, the theory of rubbing the oil upon the shrunken or paralyzed limb, restoring its use, would account for all the facts; and the oil being holy, it would seem to have been a miracle to the ignorant. Mr. Bayne suggests that "persons with stiff legs might do worse than try rubbing with Saragossa oil, holy or profane."

Hume's third case is as follows: Upon the tomb of Abbé Paris, a famous Jansenist, in France, it is said wonderful cures were wrought in virtue of the sanctity of that reputed holy man. The sick, the deaf, the blind, were cured in the presence of credible witnesses, which their enemies the Jesuits could not

disprove. Hume considers this the result of deliberate lying ; but Mr. Bayne comes to the rescue of human nature, and claims that cool, deliberate lying is less common than Hume would make it out, in this, and his other two cases. He claims that the testimony in the main, even in this case, is to be received, and the results effected on the visitors to the wonderful tomb are to be accounted for, without a miracle. He thinks it supposable that by faith in this departed man, such strong mental emotions were excited in visiting his tomb, that it acted upon the physical condition, and for a time, if not permanently, effected results which are claimed.

These are the miracles which are set over against those of Christ, wrought not on rare and peculiar occasions, but incidentally, from day to day, as he visited and taught. Can any man, even for a moment, admit the comparison, much less fear that the comparison will sweep away the claims of Christ, and demolish the superstructure of Christianity?

Mr. Bayne claims that the works of Christ are beyond the reach of natural causes. His raising the dead, and feeding the multitudes with a few loaves and fishes, stand as types. Four men testify of these facts, and two of them quote the very words of Christ, declaring that he performed them. That he claimed this power is as clear as that he existed. He said he raised the dead, and fed the multitude, and in view of what his character has been shown to be, did he utter deliberate falsehood?

Mr. Powell dwells upon the difficulty of obtaining evidence of events of a striking and wonderful kind, on account of uncertainty in the transmission of testimony, and the liability to mistakes in observing such events, and claims that we must recognize the certainty that every sensible fact has a physical explanation. But however liable an eye-witness may be to mistake, it must be admitted that when the man working the miracle asserts the fact, it narrows the possibility of falsehood or mistake, and in the cases referred to, makes the possibility dwindle into an impossibility. And as to the physical cause which Mr. Powell demands shall be placed behind every such event, he is at perfect liberty to find two, adequate to the raising of the dead, and feeding five thousand without food ; but if he fails in his search, he is bound to believe the facts on the

testimony of honest men. If he denies this, difficulties confront him more formidable, even the conviction of the witnesses of a deliberate and persistent lying which the history of fallen human nature has never yet matched.

It is a suggestive fact that, after a lapse of near two thousand years, the rejecters of Christ have failed to solve the enigma of his life. The recent labored and learned attempt of M. Renan is a most signal failure. No theory prevails in the essence of which infidels agree. Many such have been formed and scattered to the winds. But Christianity demands a solution from every intelligent mind. It has done too much for the world to be summarily dismissed. If it be true, let it be confessed by all who teach men morals; and if not true, let it be openly rejected.

The claims of Christ are based, not only on miracles, but on the character of the doctrines taught. Here is an inner line of defence which is impregnable. He reasserted the moral law, condensing it into two commands. Justice, mercy, reverence, and truth, were insisted on; complete submission to the divine will required. Pride was dethroned, and humility exalted in her place. Loyalty to human government, and fellow-feeling toward all men, destroying the artificial castes of society, were lived out in his daily life. In return for his interest in them, the common people heard him gladly, and often prevented the rulers from taking him early into their power. While thus simple, broad, and practical, in his teachings, he "opened wells of spiritual truth to which the sounding line of antiquity never reached." Christ stands before us a "divine moralist."

He required belief in himself as Messiah, as the condition of salvation; and called upon all men to come and receive life from him, an atoning Saviour, one with the Father, the way, the truth, the life. "Sublime and convincing as were the credentials of Christ, in that he caused the blind to see, the lame to walk, and the dead to rise; still more sublime, still more convincing, were they, in that they embraced such preaching to the poor."

This personage arose from the dead, commissioned his disciples to speak and act for him, and spread his words over the earth. These words have been transmitted to us in records

which, while inspiredly correct, are as calm, placid, and unimpassioned as any historical documents extant.

The New Testament casts its light over the Old. We see on the back of the ancient scripture the broad endorsement of Jesus Christ, and on its face we see the theme of the New begun and carried on, from the first gray dawn to the reddening east; the very things to which he himself alluded on that wonderful walk to Emmaus, "the things concerning himself."

Mr. Bayne has done a work for the Christian as well as for the unbeliever, and has done it well. He has impressed us with a vivid portraiture of Christ, which well accords with the effect of a recent study of the Gospel of John. The argument from the general effect of the life of Christ as seen and read we felt as we never have felt it before.

For a man to claim to be the "light of the world," the "resurrection and the life"; to wield creative and restorative power, and demand of all men supreme love to him as the only condition of salvation, and yet, in all his language, conduct and bearing, command the love of many, and the respect of all classes of mind, is indubitable evidence of his Messiahship.

He spake with authority, and awed even his enemies by his presence, so that while they denied his claims, they felt his supernatural power. Expression was given to this wide-spread feeling by those officers sent by the rulers to arrest him, who found him speaking. They listened, and were powerless to execute their office, and returned to those who sent them, and to the question why their duty was not done, their only reply was, "Never man spake like this man."

This impression is deepened by the book before us, and its author has done a work which should awaken the gratitude of every lover of Christ and of truth.

ARTICLE IV.

RITUALISM NOT REFORMATORY.

TRUE Christianity is a regenerative power. It is thus unfolded in the gospel, in all its revelations of doctrine and duty, in all its annals of progress. John the Baptist called men to repentance, and to works meet for repentance. He laid the axe at the root of existing wrongs. He was, in the better sense of the term, a radical, and his life paid the forfeit of being so. Jesus was no less distinguished as a reformer. He insisted on the practical virtues of a pure faith as proof of it, whatever they might cost of worldly sacrifice. Sinners were offended because he told them the truth. The traditions of the elders met his unsparing rebuke because of their mischievous tendency. The proselyte, gained by their zeal that compassed sea and land, was an object of his compassion because made tenfold more the child of perdition.

In the like spirit the apostles preached "the truth as in Jesus," showing that the real believer was one that put off the old man with his deeds. The faith as delivered to the saints they taught not as a cold, impractical adherence to forms or to tenets, but as an inward, living spirit, which in sturdy fidelity to God and truth would have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, or even with the appearance of evil. Hence, their converts were not mere perverts from heathenism or Judaism, but reformed sinners. Such at Ephesus were "many that believed who came and confessed and showed their deeds; many also of them which used curious arts that brought their books together and burned them before all."

Following Christianity beyond the apostolic age, we find that as long as it retained its simplicity of organic form it is marked with the like spirituality of aim and true practical results. In wicked, sensual Rome it proved itself to be "the power of God unto salvation" so effectually that the very foundations of idolatry were made to tremble. Tacitus might well call it "a

destructive superstition," and very naturally reproach it as *odium generi humani*, if through its influence "the temples were almost deserted," and the victims brought for its altars "found almost no purchasers." To such reformatory power Origen referred in saying, "The Christian communities are composed of men reclaimed from a thousand vices; compared with those among whom they dwell they are as lights in the world."

But when the prurient phariseism which from the first had so bitterly opposed Christianity succeeded in overlaying its simple externals with the rudiments of ritualism, and changed at last Pagan only to Papal Rome, having its

"Eremites and friars

White, black and gray, with all their trumpery,"

their glory was departed. The chief reform attempted was but the giving of Christian names to heathenish rites and localities. Faith first encumbered with formalism was at last supplanted by it, and the Christianity that Paul preached was turned out of its own doors.

Wherever Romanism has had sway, though allied ever with the strong arm of civil authority, it has evinced no power or even purpose to elevate mankind above the moral level of the past. The contrast between a Catholic and Protestant country in this particular is everywhere the same. The whole continent of Europe has, certainly during several entire centuries, afforded scope enough to test the capacity of ritualism for producing among the people whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, true, lovely and of good report. But the testimony of all observers is not only to the failure of this result, but on the contrary to the corruption of the church itself from the worldly and wicked lusts which Christianity was meant to eradicate. While its absurdities have served to degrade and vitiate the humble poor, they have no less effectually disgusted the more intelligent classes with the very names of religion, church and Jesus; for them all making the holy Sabbath a regular gala-day, and denying absolution from any vicious or criminal excess to none willing to pay for it.

It was this deep degeneracy reached at last in

"reliques, beads,

Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,"

which has made the Reformation a distinguished way-mark in history, a deliverance from ignorance, corruption, priestly abuses and civil oppression, which the intelligent of all parties acknowledge as a grand turning point in the world's progress, scarcely second to the first triumph of Christianity over the traditions and ritualism of degenerate Judaism. But how was this eventful change initiated? Was it by the church itself, the dignitaries and officials bearing this abused appellation, using their learning and leisure in self-inquiries, and comparing their faith and forms with apostolic days, in order to weed out errors liable to creep in with the progress of time? So far from this, the church barred every gate to inquiry, assuming that it did God service by crushing the few noble spirits whom God raised up within its folds for this same purpose. The Reformers were men acting in opposition to the polity of the church, in defiance of its authority; and the one grand lever for the mighty change desired they found not in any tradition, usage or canon of the church, but in the bare word of God. The copy of the holy scriptures which Luther incidentally discovered in the library at Erfurth, in which "he saw so many pages, so many chapters, so many books of which he had had no idea," was the light that made his darkness visible, and the instrument of his whole success.

It is quite certain, however, that the potency of the great reform did not inhere in mere Protestantism, but in the principles and spirit of Christianity itself, irrespective of the ceremonies that still encumbered Lutheranism, and from which it has sunk into a system well nigh as hopeless for the world's progress as that from which it emanated. Henry the Eighth too was a Protestant, no less notorious for his secession from the Pope and as the head of the church of England and defender of its faith, than for his unbridled dissoluteness. In this capacity and character he changed the church Papal to Episcopal, making and unmaking bishops at his pleasure, to the great discomfort and perplexity of all subsequent sticklers for the "apostolic succession." Down to the time of Cromwell, Episcopacy was essentially Romanism, having but little sympathy with the grand underlying doctrine of the Reformation, justification by faith. Elizabeth, though known only as a Protestant sovereign,

was so rather in name. She protested, not against Popery, but against the efforts of good men to reform its uniformity in unscriptural and ridiculous rituals. She lamented "the confused varieties that divers ministers used in the service of God, and the habits which they wore." She thought that "ceremonial diversities must needs provoke the displeasure of Almighty God and bring danger and ruin to the people and the country."

In short it was only the Protestantism that became puritanic, following the lead of Calvin and adopting fully Chillingworth's maxim, "The Bible and the Bible only," which was really reformatory. Hence its perpetual collision with Episcopacy, that adhered only and always to the existing order of things. Hence the tears and blood so frequently wrung from the holiest men of the times, not excepting many in the church itself who were led by their puritanic idea of the supremacy of the scriptures to protest against remaining popish abuses, and to insist on toleration to individual dissent. Baxter and his numerous godly companions in tribulation would have been saved to the parishes from which they were ejected, where the perishing multitudes never more needed their zealous ministrations, by the most trivial concessions, and on points of which the Bible said nothing, but which Popery has made essential to fellowship.

All through the English Reformation the puritan element aimed at progress, but found in ritualism an invariable and unscrupulous adversary. Cromwell's administration, confessedly the most prosperous, the most religious and hopeful of any preceding it, gave it the freedom which showed ample proof of its vital, evangelical, saving power. But the return of Episcopal ascendancy with the return of monarchy under the second Charles and James, was the return of infidelity and profligacy notorious beyond parallel.

The Book of Sports again publicly read on the Sabbath made the leisure of the holy day, which Puritan preachers had turned to so good account in saving the people, the means of deeper corruption. It was the ascendancy of ritualism rankly grown and fully flowered, which the accession of the Prince of Orange, of entirely different religious sympathies, alone by his vigorous and manly policy prevented seeding a more fearful harvest. All the political difficulties, indeed, of that gloomiest

period in English history, strike the reader as owing almost entirely to the inveterate churchism which fretted at the idea of progress and scrupled at no injustice or intrigue in proscribing the growing Puritan party. Under the unprincipled James II., its retrograde towards Rome and ruin was but its natural direction.

During the entire struggle of centuries for English liberty and Protestantism, the facts are patent beyond dispute, that ritualism had no tendency upward, and to a better destination. It could conserve, but could not reform. It could go on to perfection in Puseyism, while the Puritan element was working against slavery, popular ignorance, inhumane laws and general wickedness, and while educating also to the same ideas within the church such men as Jay and Cecil, John Newton and Rowland Hill, as well as many more without it, like Watts, Doddridge, Wilberforce and Clarkson. The Wesleys and their coadjutors, much as they loved the time-honored formularies of their fathers, were obliged to leave them and become dissenters, as have Baptist Noel and others of later times, in order to find liberty and scope for their earnest evangelical proclivities. The several large Christian denominations now distinguished by this appellation from the state sect, have shown under all their disabilities and disadvantages a rapidity of increase and a measure of practical usefulness that will demonstrate the vitality, the vigorous, benevolent workings of the gospel when unincumbered with the ordinances of men.

Allowing a wide margin for such particulars in a comparison on the point which Episcopacy might claim in her own favor, it will hardly be questioned that her form and fashion in worship and practical appliance have had much less influence on the population. Notwithstanding her reliance on the national purse, her wide vantage ground in wealth and learning, outside of the aristocratic class she has been "dying amid her worshippers," as the ignorant and impoverished masses around her consecrated, costly edifices well testify. At the same time the boasted safeguards in her liturgy against diversities and heresies among those once brought into her fold, are as well illustrated in the lucubrations of men like Pusey and Colenso, who are known to

fame only by their denials of the faith which is in Christ Jesus ; not, however, cast out from their place and pay in the church, but the more fitting subjects for an unctuous dispensation.

ARTICLE V.

VESTIGES OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH IN FALSE RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

Christ and other Masters: An Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World. By CHARLES HARDWICK, M. A., University of Cambridge. 4 vols. 8vo. Cambridge, [England.] Macmillan & Co. 1859. The Christian Advocate's Publication.

The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity. By F. D. MAURICE, M. A. Boyle Lectures. From the Third revised London Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

THE visitor to the mosque of St. Sophia can see, from the extreme end of the right hand gallery, wrought in the finest mosaic upon the lofty ceiling, a full length figure of Christ spreading his hands in benediction directly above what anciently was the chancel of this once Christian church. There, for the four centuries since the city of Constantine has been in the false prophet's power, that benign countenance has been looking down in undisturbed silence upon the crowds of fanatical Moslems prostrating themselves beneath ; and the unspoken language of that divine presence has ever been a prophecy and a promise of the restoration of the gospel in its purity to that venerable home of its early triumphs. Another of these " holy places " of the Seraglio Point is also a Greek church of the imperial times, now used for the national armory, piled full of every variety of grim weaponry known to the ancient or modern Turks ; but in

the same place at the eastern end, high up above where once the sacred altar bore its eucharistic symbols, the painting of a large cross retains its position, breathing over this display of hostile armament the message of peace on earth and glory to God, through the ever living Spirit of Jesus the Crucified. Musing in those dim hiding-places of defiant delusion, the Christian traveller sees, in such relics of a truer faith, a lively emblem of another noteworthy fact—that the grossest systems of religious imposture hold imbedded within their corrupt mass some of the most important of moral and spiritual ideas. “Nulla falsa doctrina est,” wrote Augustine, “quæ non aliquid veri permisceat.” Archdeacon Hare has a paragraph on this subject, in the second series of *Guesses at Truth*, which is full of good, strong sense.

“Many learned men, Grotius, for instance, and Wetstein, have taken pains to illustrate the New Testament by quoting all the passages they could collect from the writers of classical antiquity, expressing sentiments in any way analogous to the doctrines and precepts of the gospel. This some persons regard as a disparagement to the honor of the gospel, which they would fain suppose to have come down all at once from heaven, like a meteoric stone from a volcano in the moon, consisting of elements wholly different from anything found upon earth. But surely it is no disparagement to the wisdom of God, or to the dignity of reason, that the development of reason should be preceded by corresponding instincts, and that something analogous to it should be found even in inferior animals. It is no disparagement to the sun, that he should be preceded by the dawn. On the contrary this is his glory, as it was also that of the Messiah, that, in the words with which Milton describes his approach to battle, ‘far off his coming shone.’ If there had been no instincts in man leading him to Christianity, no yearnings and cravings, no stings of conscience and aspirations for it to quiet and satisfy, it would have been no religion for man. Therefore, instead of shrinking from the notion that anything at all similar to any of the doctrines of Christianity may be found in heathen forms of religion, let us seek out all such resemblances diligently, giving thanks to God that he has never left himself wholly without a witness. When we have found them all, they will only be single rays darting up here and there, forerunners of the sunrise. Subtract the whole amount of them from the gospel, and quite enough will remain to bless God for, even the whole gospel.”

We have prefixed to our essay the titles of two or three volumes, not to characterize or to criticise their contents, but to indicate where this subject has been treated with more or less elaboration ; with not a little of fanciful and pedantic scholarship, and some doubtful reasonings and conclusions, though a vein of truth runs through all these investigations. Other references upon this general topic are Gale's "Court of the Gentiles," and Trench's Hulsean Lectures.

It is an inadequate theory which ascribes the false religious systems of our world to a mere desire and determination to deny the government of a holy God. We trace throughout their structures most obviously the presence and influence of depraved purposes and affections. And as a whole, each one of these is a monstrous deformity. They are nevertheless the proofs, as they are the monuments, of what may be called the native religiosity of man ; that is, his capability of faith and worship. No scheme of either of these has been the product of a sheer spiritual perversity, of an "unmitigated diabolism." They all show marks of painful, intense concern in quest of satisfactory conclusions, of reliable and consolatory beliefs. They have been, for the most part, the slow accretions of many generations inquiring after the highest knowledge, often under guidance of strong and far-reaching intellects, but radically vitiated by unsound elementary principles, and by fallacious methods and laws of investigation. While not failing to grasp some very weighty facts of universal religious science, they have held even these truths in so much of theoretic and practical unrighteousness, that the issues of their labors have been evil and destructive. "The world by wisdom knew not God," may be inscribed over the portal of all the temples of heathenism, from the marble fanes of Athens to the mud-hovel of an African necromancer ; over the magnificent entrance of the mosque of Omar, and above the lecture-desks of our own Positivists and Parkerites. But all these have shelved some fragments from the precious mine, not altogether by accident, nor because they could not help it. There is in men's souls a consciousness of want which sweeps on like a deep river in the same general course from age to age ; which drifts the thoughts and studies of the reflective towards certain common points ; the conse-

quence of which is this intermingling of truth with falsehood, of solid realities with the most fanciful and foolish speculation, whenever man has explored his relations to God and futurity, in the light of fires of his own kindling. Then, traditions from a primeval and purer past have left their deposits in the mental structure of nations, much like the silver and the miry clay of the Babylonian image — the latter and baser element immeasurably preponderating. Where, for example, if not thus, did the old Saxons get their Balder, the son of Odin, the Christ of the Scandinavian mythology; connected with whose touching death the belief went abroad through all that northern wild, "that a time would come, 'after the twilight of the gods,' when Balder would rise from the dead, and when his rising would be a signal for the ending of all sin, and sorrow and death." * Doubtless the main cause of the disguising and perverting of truth from whatever sources suggested, by the rubbish of Pagan and anti-Christian errors, has been "an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God." That is the primal lie lying back of all the culpable mistakes of the race, operating ceaselessly to distort and corrupt, thwarting unconsciously, perhaps, but effectually, many a severe struggle to get beyond the cloud-land of spiritual fogs and falsehoods into regions of plainer sight. Man never will have done with these contradictions until he accepts the guidance of Heaven to lead him where 'the powers of nature can no farther go.'

Our position will be understood. It is not that, because some truths may be common to all religions, therefore all religions so far forth are equally good. The premise, if held, does not carry the conclusion. On the contrary, the truths in question, while absolutely priceless, may be relatively powerless through association with deadly untruth and superstition. Marah's fountain flowed with water, but neither man nor beast could drink it until Moses cast into it the branch of healing wood and made it fit for use. So do all other inspirations need to be rectified, perfected, by the inspiration of God's Holy

* Vaughan's *Revolutions in English History* (from Mallet and Kemble) Vol I., p. 174. As the better faith has left its traces in the heathen myths, so they in turn have given us some memorials: e. g. "Our familiar expression, 'Old Nick,' comes from Nicor, the name given to a species of elfe, or water-devil, found planning his mischief along the shores of lakes, rivers and seas." *Vaughan*. New York Ed. 1862.

Spirit as embodied in the Christian Scriptures. This is the true mission among men of "the word of the Lord" which "endureth forever." This is the express work of the Holy Spirit regenerating the human heart. It is to be constantly remembered that, though God leaves no man or people without a witness in the soul, in favor of truth and duty, this can never avail to salvation, individually or collectively, without the special grace of God making men new creatures in Christ Jesus. We are speaking not of moral qualities in the heathen, but simply of intellectual perceptions and the wants of conscience. We shall place this in a clearer light.

Glancing over the world with an eye to its evangelization, (we have a practical purpose in this outlook,) our eye is arrested by the idolatrous systems of eastern and southern Asia, as prominent among the spiritual delusions to be subverted. Their devotees are numerable by hundreds of millions. Unlike in many of their details, they have general resemblances which indicate a family origin and growth. Viewing the doctrines and rituals of Brahma and Buddh, as their works reveal them to the ordinary beholder, we might very justly conclude them to be mere masses of festering abominations, in which it were as vain to search for a sound opinion, a right aspiration, as it would be to look for a pulse in a decaying corpse. At their mention there start upon us the memories of the strangely complicated barbarities of Hindu superstition, the self-inflicted tortures of blind fanaticism, the unfathomed vileness of oriental society, its almost total want of truthfulness, benevolence, purity, and whatever else is of fair repute among men. Mainly under a vicious moral culture, oriental character has run down generally into a depth of degeneracy which it is not possible to describe to a western mind; to exaggerate it is beyond the force of language. Our missionary reports have made all this familiar even to childhood. But a close examination will discover traces of better thinking and feeling amidst these miserable wanderings; will detect the points in the experimental development of these systems, where a reliable voice from heaven alone was needed to save a really good idea and tendency from a wrong outgrowth. Thus: one of the fundamental principles of these beliefs is, that "there is in man that which is meant to

converse with an unseen, spiritual Being; that this is the vocation of the highest, wisest man, of him who is properly *the* man, who is alone able to guide and rule his fellows." This just conception stands in immediate contact with another as indisputable fact which is woven through all their theology — that the spontaneous inclination of human nature is to the sensual, the brutal, the base; away from the godlike, and the communion with God to which duty summons it. Hinduism, at its inception, may then be taken as representing quite nearly the spiritual attitude which Nicodemus occupied when he came to Christ, in the night, to ask the way into the kingdom of God; that is, how the soul may rise freely, joyously, triumphantly, above the earthly into the divine life. But Hinduism had no Christ to go to with that supreme inquiry, as had the Jewish rabbi. So it set forth to construct its own methods of victory to the higher over the lower man. It talks about its 'twice-born man' — a noticeable coincidence with gospel terms. But it had no knowledge of the new birth of Christian regeneration. Yet it saw that humanity must be born again to achieve its ideal. What was and what is the answer to this mystery of the profound, the astute, the most patient meditation of ages of these trained and learned religionists? Nothing more to the purpose than the cleansing virtues of endless physical purifications; the expiatory value of life-long and most cruel self-tortures; the sanctifying power of habitual, personal mortifications.

"The idea of a separation between the twice-born man and the merely animal man, is the fundamental one; all the arrangements are for the purpose of giving effect to this idea—all other distinctions are secondary to it. The twice-born man must, by certain services or sacraments, the principal of which is reading the Vedas, maintain his relation to the unseen object. He must practise certain plans for lessening his dependence on mere material gratifications; he must cultivate rather the passive than the active qualities."—*Religions of the World, &c.*, p. 64.

The Brahmin and the Buddhist devotee recognizes the supreme excellence of the Infinite One as his proper object of aspiration. He perceives an antagonism between the flesh and the spirit in himself calling to a conflict which he is willing, in some sort, to maintain. He undertakes it after the counsel of

his own wisdom. We do not find, in modern unchristianized philosophies, a deeper veneration for the human soul, a larger estimate of its capabilities, a more earnest resolve to reach its proper ends of existence, than are discoverable in these most abortive efforts to lift the spiritual out of the animal life, to re-join it to God of whom it holds the finite spirit to be a part or emanation; to whom it would return in unbroken fellowship. Despairing of its own ability to effect this object, it has brought the deity down to earth, in not one but many incarnations, to assist this struggle of the soul back to its natal source, by entering the lists for it in this battle of heaven against hell, to try the prowess of the Preserver against the Destroyer. So does the doctrine of sacrifice for the propitiation of heaven pervade these forms of faith; and how closely the idea of a Trinity in deity is interwoven through their whole texture has long been a familiar idea among scholars. These are root-thoughts of delusions which enthrall whole empires of mind. It is very easy to see where they approach, and where they recede from, the Christian's Bible. None of them are held in proper sympathy with their correlated truths of the divine revelation. But they are held nevertheless with a tenacious grasp, widely as they have deflected from the straight path of moral and spiritual progress. So, in the same company, the expectation of immortality is seen struggling, in incongruous and fantastic shapes, through their notions of the transmigration of souls. We catch the shine of golden grains at the bottom of this deep river of polluted waters. Let us turn to another point of observation.

The Mohammedan imposture has organized a remorseless system of spiritual oppression. Under its colossal curse, vast regions and most lovely of three quarters of our globe are groaning. It is needless to depict to what degradation it has reduced human nature and society. Yet in the very centre of its creed, and the strongest pillar of its structure, stands the sublime avowal of the being and unity of God, and of his personal, most efficient government of his creation. This truth, derived from Hebrew institutions and history, lay, in the thoughts of the Arabian prophet, as an indignant protest against the effete polytheisms, the soulless Judaism, the debauched Christianity of the times. But the spirit of that protest was

vindictive, its objects were ambitious, its methods were utterly estranged from divine and human charity. It made no place for the workings of a deep and pervasive love. Hence, its God is the impersonation of simple, severe, absolute will. No interchange of sympathies binds the creature to him in affection. His jurisdiction is awful, inexorable fate. His adoration is servile, not filial. Every other conception of his nature is swallowed up in this — of the sovereignty of power. The Musselman's deity is a cold-hearted, far-distant monarch, respectable in dignified qualities beside the swarms of pagan idols ; but he is not "Our Father" nor "our God." His nature is neither holiness nor mercy. His name is neither benevolence nor grace. Nor has he any manifestation in the flesh, for the instruction of man in duty, or for his redemption from sin. Islamism abhors our Christ with even more than Jewish hate. Jesus it owns as a wise and blameless teacher ; but Christ as a Mediator with God, as king of an empire of souls restored to heavenly allegiance through his sufferings, it scornfully rejects. It has fragments of religious doctrine, but it leaves out what is essential to a universal religion. It is suggestive to notice how this exclusive view of absolute, unmanifested, unpropitiated deity — a God without a Christ — runs down into blankest fatalism. It is worth asking whether man can, at heart, be any thing else, under such a theory of God, than an utter necessitarian, realizing no proper responsibility over his salvation, over the settlement of his own endless destiny? Looking about then to see what this form of error needs to salt and to save it, we should say that it is not the right hand of fellowship held out to it by any occidental sect which can stand with it on the single plank of the acceptance of the unity of God ; but an infusion into its heart of the revelation of the Christ-Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit-Regenerator, of our evangel. It has the one God ; it needs the Emmanuel — God with us. Its religion has frozen itself into an icy inhumanity ; has rotted itself into a putrid sensualism ; has steeled itself into an iron fatalism. It does not want to throw away its God and turn atheist. It needs to embrace Jesus and become Christian. That Christ must come down from the vaulted roof of its St. Sophia, and re-consecrate its altar of the peace-offering.

Taking now our stand within the circle of nominal but apostate Christian churches, we, of course, shall find a much larger presence of positive, correct belief; for our canonical books have professedly furnished the basis of their creeds. Their sin is not so much the taking away from 'the words of this prophecy' as the unauthorized adding thereunto. The Greek and Latin churches, with the Armenian, Syriac, and other sects of western Asia, have suffered the sure penalties of a dead ecclesiasticism, as, losing the vital power of grace, they have undertaken to make good that loss by multiplying sacraments and inventing new dogmas to sustain them. To make room for additional inmates of their temple, they have not found it necessary to throw out the old and rightful occupants, at least, ostensibly: it has answered the necessities of the pressure to pack them away quite snugly in obscure attics and out of the way corners, leaving all the best central area for these modern favorites. Thus, they would not be thought to drive over the threshold of their faith the God declared to Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, or the apostles. The decalogue and the sermon on the mount retain their position and their rehearsal. The cross is still erect on Calvary; the pentecostal Spirit is sung in cathedral hymns; the doctrines generally of an orthodox system have an embalmed perpetuation. The bones of Joseph are still carried about in his Egyptian coffin. But what rubbish is also marched in endless procession—as of their "Mary, mother of God," virgin immaculate, impeccable, superior to aught else that is called God in her power of spiritual help, and in the sensuous love of her admiring worshippers; as of their saintly intercessions and works of supererogation, and the efficacy of priestly absolutions, and the pledges of baptismal regeneration, and the impieties of a sacrificial mass, and a thousand other demoralizing, delusive contrivances gotten of the forbidden marriage of statecraft and churchcraft, the name of which alliance is Antichrist! Our gospel is, notwithstanding, their gospel, as theirs was penned by its divine Author. They have written it all over with another gospel, which being erased, the old Scripture will again come to light. Theirs is like some glorious old painting which a Leonardo put on the walls of an oratory, but, by and bye, some stupid pretender to the seraphic art came along with

his coarse brush and pallet, and daubed the living canvas with disgusting shapes out of his own muddy and unclean brain ; yet here and there the lines and colors of that first inspiration of genius show through a little in damaged beauty. The divine chemistry is experimenting its way to full success, by which this foul overlaying of truth and grace shall in time be cleansed away to a grand restoration of the great Master's work.

The position which our survey has taken equally includes the speculations of Infidelity. With all their crudeness and impiety, these do not wholly miss of the truth. They have opened not a few correct and important views. Defective as their idea of God universally is, wide as they go of the right understanding of his government, they enunciate many good sentiments concerning man and society ; they have studied nature to conclusions, oftentimes, of much moral beauty and value. How much of this result is fairly assignable to the light of that revelation which infidelity discards avowedly yet uses covertly, is a very interesting question which sceptics are rather averse to entertain. It is not just to say that the sceptical mind is always consciously dishonest, no more than it is to say that it is always superficial and weak in its reasonings. Weakness and dishonesty are chargeable upon its methods of research as the common fact ; but with some clear exceptions. Most of its demands are unreasonable, most of its tendencies are wrong and ruinous. Still, it sometimes strongly arrests our sympathies as the manifest struggling of a sincere and vigorous spirit toward the light and freedom of religious truth. It makes far too much of its own intuitions which are but little reliable, and anything but harmonious ; nevertheless, it has glimpses of that divine order and symmetry to which all finite things should grow. It ever has asked countless more questions than it has answered, so much greater has been its sense of need than of its wisdom to supply that need. Infidelity calls for a faith which shall secure a practical philanthropy : this is a true idea, though a Christless humanitarianism never worked it out — the "good Samaritan" does not belong to its ethics, much as every infidel platform claims that compassionate stranger as its private property. It demands a re-adjustment of social relations into a happy and prosperous secularism ; it cares not much about the

future life, but would ensure the well being of the present, according to the innate dignity and worth of man its subject. Its plea is legitimate, though it has no real power to grant it. God does design that men that shall live together in this world as they ought to. The benevolence of antichristian *progressivism* it dwarfed into a pigmy size beside that of the gospel projecting and preparing the millennial age. It would be diverting were it not so spiritually sad, to listen to the self-gratulations of our social *illuminati* over the triumphs of their philosophy in lifting the masses into a true manly freedom, which triumphs are always, like some others of the day, just agoing to come off. Poor Buckle thought that he was the general who should infallibly lead the conquering cohorts to the centre of the other camp, and take it with a Waterloo defeat. But his task got no nearer a completion than his predecessors in the same ill-starred campaign. There is only One who has said, in the fullness of promise and provision for the grand accomplishment — “It is finished !” But although the scepticism of mankind from the beginning has been a demolition rather than a reconstruction, it is not to be denied that it has held much truth in a firm and earnest grasp.

Our gleanings from this wide and varied field are instructive. They might be greatly extended ; but we have indicated enough for present purposes. Truth recognizes all echoes, even the faintest, of its own ancient intonings. It waits and works to catch a distinct response. It will not work and wait in vain. The renewing Spirit is converting men from their ancient errors and follies. Mark the prophecy and the symbol of this assured consummation.

“ Walking by early light on yonder terrace,
I saw the sun yet crimson smite the mist
Surging up from the valley ; fold on fold
Rose the thick vapor threatening to obscure
The golden dawn ; yet, see the laughing day !
So shall Truth mount, and pour its blazing shafts
Thro' Error's mist, changing each murky cloud
To a white wreath of glory.”

ARTICLE VI.

THE ENGLISH DISSENTERS.

WE may say generally and summarily of the English dissenters, that they aim to demonstrate two main points, namely, Christian institutions sustained by the voluntary contributions of the churches, and the means of education provided by the people themselves. These are noble aims, though their realization were admitted to be impracticable. It is evident that if they devote themselves with any good degree of earnestness and energy to the demonstration of these great points, their moral position in the community is one which ought to command unbounded respect. And their position is a noble one, their enemies themselves being judges. Comparatively, and in the aggregate they are poor, as it is in the nature of things for a proud and wealthy ecclesiastical establishment to draw wealth and pride to itself. It is true, accordingly, almost as a general rule, that just as fast as the dissenters become rich and proud they forsake the chapel and go to church. Thus an aged and very successful dissenting minister in the south of England told us that, in a single generation, he had seen every chapel in the vicinity, his own included, stripped of nearly all its leading families. They had grown rich and respectable, and the younger branches had gone to church.

This drain upon their resources has been incessant, with small compensation in the shape of seceders from the Church of England to their communion; they have suffered exclusion from the great universities of Cambridge and Oxford; yet they have given to their own ministry a free education in colleges sustained, for the most part, by annual subscriptions and contributions. In addition to their ministers' salaries, which are larger on the average than in our country, they maintain, very extensively, admirable day schools for the children of the poor. They have also comprehensive missionary operations of their own at home and abroad, and are generous supporters, in coöperation with churchmen, of the Bible and Tract Societies;

besides which every church has a variety of local charities, the absolute, imperative demand for such things in England being great beyond all that we can understand.

You would naturally expect, from the peculiar position of the dissenters, as well as from their past history, that some diversity should be found among them, in regard both to principles and measures. The Congregational Union of England and Wales embraces those ministers and churches among the Independents who believe that many valuable ends may be gained by associated action which cannot be gained in any other way, and that without infringing at all any single principle of Independency. This they have very abundantly demonstrated; yet, strange to say, nearly one half their ministers — certainly not in every instance the most intelligent — stand wholly aloof from this organization, being firmly persuaded that such a Union is the first step toward a spiritual despotism, and that it is hardly consistent with the scriptural liberty of the churches, even if it should never proceed any farther.

Again as regards the peculiar position of the dissenters among the religious parties of the day, and their duty in relation to their own principles, many believe that the one thing especially demanded of them is, to exhibit a high order of Christian character and a large measure of spiritual prosperity, in their own communion, that such an argument will tell with most power upon the community, and thus subserve most effectually the prevalence of their own distinctive views. Others believe that they are called in the providence of God to act on the aggressive. These, in alliance with good men like minded among the Baptists, and a portion of the Unitarians, organized about a quarter of a century since the "Anti-State Church Association," the avowed object being to promote the separation of the Church of England from the State. Their organ, the *Nonconformist*, is under the direction of Edward Miall, Esq., a man of consummate ability as a writer and debater, who resigned the pastorate of an Independent church and the work of the ministry altogether in order to assume the editorial chair. The name of the association has been changed, and it is now called "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State control."

It would not be correct to pronounce this society and the

Congregational Union antagonistic organizations ; as some leading men, with not a few of inferior mark, are found in both. To the Congregational Union, however, belongs by far the greater strength of distinguished names, while, to a very considerable extent, the men who are found in the one are not found in the other.

There is also a party, small in numbers, but highly intelligent, of which Manchester is the headquarters, which avows its belief in the safety and urgent necessity of some kind of action on the part of the Government in relation to general education. This party makes its appeal, of course, to the common school system of New England and its successful working. How this argument is sometimes met, and how intelligently educated and philosophic Englishmen occasionally discourse about matters and things in the United States, we remember to have seen illustrated in a grand educational Conference held in Crosby Hall, London, in the spring of 1848. Edward Miall, Esq., in a really masterly speech, met the appeal to the public school system in our country by the startling assertion that in this system was found one of the strong pillars of American slavery ! The proof was extremely simple, direct and clear ; to wit : the government of the United States supports the schools, the government is in favor of slavery ; therefore, as a thing of course, the government schools diligently instil into the minds of the children its own pro-slavery sentiments !

There has been no day since the era of John Robinson when English nonconformity has lacked distinguished names to grace the page of its history. Some whom it was our privilege to know have been gathered to the fathers, and their names will be remembered with the names of Howe and Owen and Caryl and Isaac Watts. Dr. Pye Smith, whose work on the Messiah is sufficient to guarantee his immortality as a scholar and a theologian, held an honorable place among the first English geologists, the Lyells and Powells and Bucklands. His child-like simplicity of manners was a beautiful foil to his intellectual greatness, while the peculiar affability of his disposition charmed all who enjoyed the pleasure of his intercourse, and the sweetness of his temper and the Christian courtesy of his bearing never failed him, even in the most exciting controversies and under the most ill-natured provocations.

It is most pleasant to remember the venerable Dr. Henderson, now passed away, most amiable and dignified of Christian gentlemen, adorned with the richest spoils of varied learning, and admitted by the Church of England even to stand in the very first rank of Oriental scholars. It was the learned churchman, Dr. Bloomfield, who said that his work on Inspiration reminded the reader of the days when there were giants.

A pupil of Dr. Henderson at Highbury College, London, where he was educated for the ministry among the Independents, was Dr. William Smith, now so widely and well known as a classical and biblical editor. His four great dictionaries, of the Bible, Roman Biography, Antiquities, and Geography, embody an amount of labor which it is permitted to few men to accomplish in a life time. Yet he has accomplished all this, giving to scholars a standard work in each of these departments, in addition to important duties as Professor in the New College, St. John's Wood, London. That the republic of letters may yet expect other and valuable contributions from the labors of Dr. William Smith we feel assured, if his life is prolonged, since he cannot be much above fifty years of age.

Seldom has there been deeper mourning through an entire Christian denomination, or with better reason, than when the same college in which Dr. Smith occupies a chair was deprived of its President by the death of the Rev. Dr. John Harris. A poor Sunday-school boy among the dissenters in Bristol, deriving nearly all his literary and theological advantages from a four years' training at Hoxton Academy, he was first settled as the pastor of a small Independent church in the quiet village of Epsom. It was impossible that he should long remain unknown. The publication of his prize essay on "Mammon," of which more than 30,000 volumes were sold, first brought him into notice as an able and eloquent Christian writer. Other volumes followed, as "The Great Teacher" had preceded the prize essay, and he rose rapidly into popular favor and influence, as an able writer, an eloquent preacher, and withal as a man of sound scriptural theology and eminently exalted and beautiful Christian character. His later works were "The Pre-Adamite Earth," "Man Primæval," and "Patriarchy." These were only instalments of what he was intending to do, and

when it is remembered that they were prepared amid the pressing labors of President and Theological Professor, first of Cheshunt College and then of New College, London; that his health was always feeble, and that he died at the early age of fifty-two, it will be evident that he was a man of no ordinary powers, and that his death at a time when a loose theology was stealthily creeping in, captivating not a few of the younger ministers as if it was a higher illumination, and seriously threatening the old doctrinal foundations, was a heavy calamity to English nonconformists.

There was a peculiar fascination in Dr. Harris' social character. A countenance of blended intelligence and benignity, a voice of much sweetness, a most radiant cheerfulness with manners full of sweet repose, a wit keen but harmless, a rich fund of anecdote, and a heart genial and overflowing with kindness — such were the qualities which made him equally admired and beloved by all who knew him, and caused him to be mourned with an unwonted tenderness of sorrow when he died.

The ablest contributor to the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, and the prince of modern reviewers is Henry Rogers, first settled as an Independent minister in the village of Totteridge, near London, then as co-pastor with the Rev. Thomas Durant, at Poole, Dorset; since which he has been successively tutor in Highbury College, London, professor of the English language and literature in University College, London, professor of philosophy in Spring Hill Independent College, Birmingham, and president of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, where he still continues. We shall sufficiently indicate the great strength and brilliancy of Mr. Rogers as a writer if we refer to two articles which will be remembered by every reader of the *Edinburgh Review* for the last twenty years. These are, "The Glory and Vanity of Literature," and "Faith and Reason." The latter was a most damaging blow to the great Tractarian heresy which was causing no little uneasiness in the Church of England at the time; and the impression it made may be judged from the fact that two Bishops, never once dreaming that such an article could be the production of any but a true son of the church, signified their readiness to confer upon the writer the best living in their gift if he was a clergyman. The govern-

ment, too, knowing who he was, conveyed a hint that "preference" — which could mean no less than a bishop's mitre — would be the consequence of his conforming. He preferred to be plain Henry Rogers.

Besides several octavo volumes of his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, his most important works are, "The Eclipse of Faith," a "Defence," in reply to Prof. Newman's attack, and "The Greyson Letters." Mr. Rogers is still in the full vigor of his powers, and will yet be heard from in the republic of letters, and in the discussion of the great questions of the day.

Another name of which the English dissenters have reason to be proud, is the Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D., the accomplished editor of the *British Quarterly Review*, a journal established some twenty years ago, and which speedily took rank with the very best English quarterlies. Dr. Vaughan's attainments are as varied as they are extensive. Historian, quarter-reviewer, theological professor, preacher, platform orator — every one of these he has achieved a high reputation. The quality of his pulpit eloquence may be estimated by the fact that when he was preacher to a congregation of Independents in a particularly puritanic looking place, called Horndon Chapel, at the west end of London, the Duchess of Sutherland, who was mistress of the robes to the Queen at the time, was attracted to hear him, with several other nobles, and continued her attendance regularly until the outcry which so vulgar a habit excites in high places compelled her to desist. Dr. Vaughan is too courtly in his manners, and too conservative in his views to be in highest favor with the dissenters generally.

The great strength of the Independents, from Philip Nye and John Howe, and George Whitefield downward, is in the pulpit. They occupy, in this respect, the first rank among the religious denominations of England. Preaching is the one thing which they most assiduously cultivate, and on the success in which they especially plume themselves. To us, with our fixed notions of the nine years' course, it is truly surprising to perceive how much of power they have in the pulpit, in proportion to their classical and theological attainments. It is a maxim often repeated among them, that *it is not so much what a man says that produces the impression*

as his manner of saying it. Without intending the very smallest disparagement to the matter of their sermons, we may say that they fully demonstrate the truth of the maxim. The training of their ministers has, until recently, been decidedly meagre as regards both classics and divinity. In the great majority of cases a term of four years at one of their colleges has comprised the entire classical and theological course; and the scholastic advantages of even this brief period have been considerably abridged in most instances by the practice of sending the young men out to preach frequently, almost from its commencement quite to its close. It does not altogether comport with the New England notions of order, to say nothing of validity, to see a smooth-faced youth, hardly a twelvemonth absent from the draper's shop or some mechanical employment, styled Reverend, and mounting a pulpit, preaching to a large congregation, and then descending and administering the Lord's Supper. Yet such was William Jay when he first attracted crowds to hear him, and such was Thomas Spencer, whose eloquence charmed the most intelligent audiences in London. This practice of early and frequent preaching the English dissenters still regard as among the indispensable means of successful ministerial training.

A most important step was taken in London in the year 1850, in the junction of Coward, Highbury and Homerton colleges, forming a greatly enlarged institution under the name of New College. The Faculty is very able, and the term of study extends through five years; two years being devoted to the literary course, and three to the theological. It is also much the custom latterly for theological students among the dissenters to graduate as Bachelors and Masters at the London University, which is open to all alike without distinction of religious belief.

It is extensively believed that the improvement already visible in the younger ministers in literary and theological attainments, is attended with no corresponding increase of power in the pulpit. It is said that, while the younger ministers have more of classical elegance and scholarship, they exhibit less of evangelical unction and warmth and earnestness than their predecessors. There are not wanting among the dissenters those who put this entirely to the account of the increase of knowledge, believing,

not exactly that ignorance is the mother of devotion and eloquence, but that a little learning is a less dangerous thing than a good deal for a minister of the gospel. Others attribute it to the too familiar acquaintance of the young men with the theologians of Germany. Must we not rather class it among the too sure signs of a generation drifting unconsciously toward the dead sea of mechanisms and self-glorying and forms beautiful, but lifeless ; cleaving, as one of these, to a spiritual terminology, but apprehending little of the deep and awful meaning which was in that terminology when it was the medium of the earnestness of the old Christian heroes, whose sepulchres they take delight to garnish when they have built them.

We love to think of the English pulpit as it was quarter of a century ago. What a noble generation of preachers the dissenters had then. Jay and James and Hamilton and Ely and Fletcher and Blackburn and Reed and Parsons and Raffles and McAll and Stratten and Harris and Leifchild and Bennett and Burnet and Campbell and Binney — each one how unlike all the rest, and yet each name was a power in all England. Only four — Binney and Parsons and Stratten and Campbell — are left, and who shall fill the places of the others ? Only one of them read his sermons, though they all wrote more or less, while some of them wrote all that they preached to the end of their course. John Angell James lamented during the last years of his life, that the habit of reading was stealthily coming in with the younger ministers, and did not hesitate to avow his belief that the pulpit was waning among the dissenters, as an inevitable consequence of this fact. It used to be demanded, as a first and indispensable condition of being heard with favor, that a man should not read his sermons. He might write and commit, or he might preach without committing if he could, only he must not falter or hesitate. English congregations are exceedingly impatient and even irritable at anything of the sort. It is fatal to a man's success. And they show him no pity. He may be a very good man, but God never meant him for a preacher, they say. This circumstance imposed on all young ministers a great amount of exceedingly irksome labor in their pulpit preparations, the fact being that, with scarcely an exception, they wrote their sermons fully and committed them *during the first years of their ministry.* A popular preacher

told us when he had been settled five years in Leeds, that he had never preached a single sermon to his people on the Sabbath without having written and committed every word. John Leifchild preached to a London congregation of more than two thousand till he was above seventy years of age without a sign of waning power or popularity, and kept up the habit of writing and committing to the last. Yet how impossible it was to believe, as you listened to him, that he had written anything at all; such perfect simplicity of thought and style and illustration and delivery — a mere plain talk — till toward the conclusion, when he invariably became excited, his majestic form rose to a perfectly erect attitude, his noble countenance glowing and flashing with the fires of earnest feeling, and he wound up with a most animated and stirring peroration, including, frequently, several verses of some popular hymn, leaving his great audience fastened to their seats in dead silence for a little space, followed soon by an explosion of mingled sounds — the rustling of silk dresses, a general cough in concert, merely for the occasion, and the slight movement of innumerable feet, like a sudden and simultaneous escape from nightmare — a characteristic performance, which only a London congregation accomplishes in perfection. It has been said by critics that such a winding up will make a very indifferent sermon pass for very good, as clean collar and boots secure immunity for a coat not the newest.

There was no more effective preacher in England twenty-five years ago than John Angell James, although he was neither a scholar nor an original thinker. He had a warm emotional nature, a deep rich voice, which he modulated and commanded to perfection, a never failing fluency, great pathos and an exceeding beauty and variety of illustration; all commended by a massive form (a great thing with the English, they have a special dislike of a lean orator) and a countenance, though far from handsome, yet capable of unusual diversity and force of expression. Mr. James preached without manuscript, yet never trusted to his extemporaneous powers, but carefully wrote and committed all. He once preached the annual sermon before the London Missionary Society, to a congregation of three thousand in Rowland Hill's chapel, London. It is a great occasion, to which a popular preacher is called but once in his lifetime.

Mr. James preached an hour and a half, and preached without manuscript, yet did not hesitate nor falter in a single instance; and preached precisely that which he had written, "even to every and, if and but," as the friend who sat behind him in the pulpit, with the manuscript in hand, assured us. The sermons of Mr. James were full of gospel truth, and he was eminently successful as a preacher and pastor, having been ordained before the completion of his twentieth year, over the church and congregation to which he ministered during the long period of fifty-four years, till his death in 1859.

The quaint William Jay of Bath, literally spent his life, from sixteen till eighty-three years of age, in writing sermons and committing them to memory, having never been much addicted to pastoral visiting among his large flock. Praised by such critics as Sheridan and John Foster in his prime, he continued to be a grand attraction, drawing crowds to Argyle chapel, when a very old man. His eloquence, which was never of the thundering order, was less abated at eighty than might have been expected. His appearance—as all portraits of him show—was very striking. An unusually robust form, even for an Englishman, large head on broad shoulders and ample countenance beaming with intelligence and goodness. His quaint thoughts flowed from him in a style so simple and beautiful, and in a voice of such wondrous sweetness, that his audience was charmed from the beginning to the close, though never wrought up to any high excitement.

Mr. Jay had in the drawer of his study table an American Doctor's degree, which he never used, except in the way of an occasional good natured joke at the expense of Doctor's degrees in general. He was much gratified, however, with his trans-Atlantic reputation; told us with evident pleasure that the first complete edition of his works had been published in the United States, and showed us a copy that had been sent to him across the water elegantly bound in morocco and gilt.

Most ministers among the English dissenters greatly modify their methods of pulpit preparation after the first few years, writing out fully and elaborately, perhaps, one sermon each week, and for the rest doing as they can, every man having his own particular way—writing in part, or a mere skeleton, or

nothing at all. One of the most able and eloquent preachers in London has the faculty of precomposing his sermons almost literally without committing a word to paper. This has always been very much his mode of preparation.

There is here and there an instance of a preacher achieving success almost without writing at all for the pulpit. The late John Blackburn of London told us, when at the height of his popularity and influence as the pastor of a large and unusually intelligent congregation, that he had written out very few sermons in the whole course of his ministry. He used a full and carefully prepared brief.

The theory which the practice of the great majority of dissenting preachers goes to sustain is, that, in order to acquire the power of preaching well without manuscript, it is indispensable, not only to write a great deal, but to commit to memory. He who speaks what he has written, soon discovers that for natural and effective speaking quite another style is required than that which does very well in reading. He will find himself in the delivery of his sermons, inclining to modify extensively what he has written, making it more direct and familiar, more a plain Saxon talk, like Shakspeare and John Bunyan. He perceives that he gains immensely in power over his audience by such a modification. The common people hear him gladly, although they fail to discover the secret of his power. The most illiterate member of his congregation will pay him the compliment to say that she likes him very much, but that she guesses he has never been to college, as she can understand every word he says. The most intelligent and critical of his hearers, on the contrary, fully appreciate such plainness of speech, knowing that it belongs to the very best and highest style of oratory. This pulpit experience, in speaking what has been written, will go with him into the study. He will see the eyes of his last Sabbath's congregation upon him while he is writing, and so will gradually acquire a speaking style in his written sermons. His habit of careful writing in such a style will impart a character of precision and elegance to that which he delivers without having written it, and in this way he may come to make his written and unwritten sermons so much alike that he may defy

the most critical of his hearers to distinguish the one from the other.

But is not the committing of a whole sermon to memory, so as to preach it with fluency and ease, a great labor, consuming much time? Undoubtedly it is to most men, and especially in the first trial, not to mention that a man is very likely to suffer the mortification of finding that he has not accomplished the thing when he thought he had, and of having to read the sermon which he had hid between the leaves of his Bible for fear of what might possibly happen. His second experiment however will not cost him half as much toil as the first, and will be more than twice as successful, and he will be astonished to find how rapidly the difficulty diminishes. It will not be long before he will half commit a sermon in the act of writing it, and that without any conscious effort, as if the memory, aware of what would be demanded of it on the following Sabbath, was on hand betimes.

Is it not well worth any amount of hard labor to acquire the power of addressing an intelligent audience without manuscript; and especially when the object is to preach the gospel to perishing men? Those who have given the toil must be the best judges; and we venture to affirm that any man who has done it will say that the achievement is worth many times the labor it has cost. Will it be said that preaching memoriter is constrained and stiff and precise? The answer is that the greater part of the best English preachers of the last half century have learned to preach in this way, and that the pulpit of the Established Church, with all the splendid advantages of the two great Universities, has, confessedly, fallen decidedly behind the pulpit of the dissenters with only the slender advantages furnished by their academies and colleges.

Probably no living English preacher supplies a better illustration of the combination of the different methods of training and of pulpit preparation than Thomas Binney of London. He passed painfully through the writing and committing stage in the first years of his ministry in the Isle of Wight, and since he has been in the great metropolis he has shown himself a master of every method. We have heard him preach with great power to his usual Sabbath congregation at the Weigh

House, which is always a crowd, from brief notes fastened into a pocket Bible. We have heard him when his audience was largely made up of ministers and theological students from all parts of England and filled to overflowing one of the most capacious chapels in London; and he preached without any notes, and what had not been written; and his discourse was so original in conception, so profound in thought, so masterly in the exposition of fundamental Bible doctrine, and delivered with such marvellous eloquence, that the densely packed congregation was moved as we have seldom seen men moved by the power of oratory. We have also heard him preach from his manuscript on a great public occasion, to a mass of three thousand, and he was Thomas Binney still — profound, brilliant, original, impassioned, overpowering; swaying the multitude before him as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind.

His usual method is to make careful preparation without writing, and then go into the pulpit and deliver himself. Now and then he writes out a sermon fully and very elaborately, when he wishes to say some very particular thing, and to say it in a very particular way. In such a case he invariably reads — committing to memory was always exceedingly irksome to him — and so reads that his audience will be likely to think they never heard him do so good a thing before.

Thomas Binney is one of those men who do all things in a certain grand and regal manner, commanding a sentiment very much akin to homage in the breasts of other men. He is a regal man. When we first saw him, in the year 1836, he reminded us, more than any other man we ever saw, of Daniel Webster. His appearance, as the *London Quarterly* said of our great statesman, was striking, and even grand. A tall, athletic frame, with portly form, forehead broad and high, eyes deep set, mouth large and singularly expressive, with a noble majestic bearing; all making one feel that a great intellect was there. His voice, not remarkable for strength or richness, or musical cadence, is yet most effective, and adapts itself with equal facility and with a surprising suddenness of transition, to every variety of sentiment and emotion. His action, like his voice and style, is inimitable, and much is the need of pity for

the foolish wight who assays to preach like him, as not a few do ; yet for him, Thomas Binney, it is admirable, his own, and no one who hears him wishes it changed.

Like all great preachers, Mr. Binney does his best things in his own pulpit when addressing his usual Sabbath congregation. He commences his sermon by a few extremely simple remarks, in a quiet, conversational tone, yet striking and fitted to arrest attention. His introduction is apt to be somewhat extended, from an apprehension, it is said, that he may not be able to fill up the usual time. For the same reason he is very much in the habit, in announcing his plan, which is commonly in the form of one or two simple propositions drawn directly and obviously from the text, of saying that he will treat his subject "very briefly." He then marches on, in the unfolding of his theme, with singular clearness and force, and in a style of the utmost simplicity and directness, settling every point as he goes, and gathering strength at every step, till he mounts to the height of some great argument, investing truth in forms of wondrous majesty, or pouring new floods of light upon some first principle, which everybody admits and nobody regards, so that his inevitable conclusion seizes the consciences of his hearers with the grasp of a giant, making their very loins to tremble, and the hair of their flesh to stand up.

It is not the custom in England to prefer youth and inexperience to the wisdom of years, or to consider a minister old at sixty. Many strong men have risen up by his side since he passed his prime, but Thomas Binney is still called "the prince of English preachers."

We have already spoken of the Rev. Dr. John Harris as a distinguished author and theologian. He was not less distinguished as a preacher, and the singular fact in his case was, that he furnished an exception, and a very brilliant one, to the prevailing practice of popular preachers among the dissenters, to dispense with notes. Dr. Harris always read every word. Yet he was much sought after on great public occasions ; and, in one instance at least, he preached for more than two hours to a highly select and intelligent audience drawn together to hear him in London, and that without apparent weariness to others or himself. Dr. Harris read as few men can read. His re-

markably pleasing personal appearance, the sweet music of his voice, the originality and exquisite beauty of his thoughts, and the Ciceronian purity and elegance of his style, combined to fix his rank among the foremost pulpit orators of his time.

The English dissenters are very partial to sermons drawn directly and obviously from the text; and they will not be satisfied with a discourse that is not formally and distinctively evangelical. It must not be an essay, nor the discussion of a great principle in the ethics of Christianity; it must be bodily and prominently Christianity itself. It has happened more than once that an American preacher of reputation has delivered a brilliant discourse before the most intellectual congregation in London, and there was loud complaint that there was very little gospel in it. A simple, evangelical sermon, delivered in an earnest, off-hand manner, without notes, carries it against all competition. Whitefield and young Spencer, who was drowned at Liverpool, are still much in vogue as models in this style of preaching. With any considerable departure from this method the chances are decidedly against a man's success. Robert Philip, of Maberly chapel, London, well known among us as the author of the "Guides," and other valuable works, was accustomed to preach every Sabbath sermons of a high order, both as to thought and style. The composition of his morning sermon cost him seventeen hours of hard work; and when finished it was ready for the hands of the printer, all his published works having been prepared in this way, and preached, in the first instance, to his own people. But Robert Philip read, and this was fatal to his success. His chapel, though small, was never full. About a quarter of a century ago the Rev. Thomas Aveling, a young student who had just completed his course at Highbury College, succeeded the Rev. John Campbell, the African traveller, as the minister at Kingsland chapel, a little way off from Maberly. Mr. Aveling is one of the most unambitious preachers, makes no show of scholarship, affects no profound argument, or originality of treatment, seems to take no thought for his own reputation; but with a melodious voice, a fluent utterance, a fervid manner and very simple and direct gospel sermons, preached without notes, his place was filled to overflowing in a short time, and kept always full, notwith-

standing repeated enlargements, until at length his enterprising flock erected for him, on a more eligible site, a beautiful gothic church of stone, with fifteen hundred sittings, in which he is still preaching with unabated power and popularity and success, one of the most useful and beloved of living London pastors.

The main strength of the dissenting ministers, who, as a general rule, are close students, and addict themselves wholly to their work, is devoted to their weekly preparations for the pulpit. England lies so much in a nutshell that there are few of them who have not opportunities, more or less, of hearing the best living models. It is also much the custom for popular preachers to large congregations to introduce the younger brethren to their pulpits by way of encouraging them and giving them confidence in the presence of a large assembly. Many a man remembers well the time when, being still a student in a metropolitan college, he stood up for the first time to preach to a London congregation of fifteen hundred people or more. Most painful had been his preparation, his sermon had been preached several times to his half-filled book-shelves in his little study; and yet he felt his knees weak as he ascended the pulpit stairs, and wondered why the sexton had thrown so brilliant a gaslight on the faces of that compact audience on that particular Sabbath evening, and thought they stared at him as he had never seen an audience stare at a preacher before, and was quite sure he should break down unless God helped him. And when he had got through without breaking down, he felt that God had helped him; and as he passed out and overheard some one saying "Pretty well for a student," he was relieved, was willing to accept it as great praise, albeit he saw the half-suppressed sneer at students, and felt very much as a young sailor feels when he has taken his first ship from New York to Liverpool, to wit, that now he is not afraid to venture to sea again. To his dying day he will remember with profoundest gratitude that father in the ministry who introduced him to his great congregation on that memorable Sabbath evening; and if he was a poor student he will recall, as a grateful conclusion of the whole business, the delicacy with which one of the deacons, in the pastor's little vestry after the service, in the act of bidding him good night, slipped a golden guinea into his hand, neatly wrapped in clean

white paper, thanking him at the same time in a very kind and pleasant voice. May we commend this last to the attention of deacons, all and sundry.

Among the preachers whom we knew and admired and loved, and who have passed away, was Algernon Wells. Although he has been dead now nearly fourteen years, there are thousands of breasts in England in which his voice still echoes, awakening emotions such as few voices ever could. He was preëminent among the men of influence in his denomination, although he lacked some of the personal attributes which men are prone to admire, and was far from seeking great things for himself. Of mean personal appearance, small in stature, his large head set awkwardly upon his shoulders, face long and bony, very homely features, with solemn expression, his voice deep and sepulchral and drawling, he yet produced an impression by his eloquence such as no other man could. His mind was comprehensive and clear, his style as classical as it was simple and pure, a man of unbounded patriotism and expansive Christian sympathies, of singular self-devotion, full of great thoughts and noble purposes; he was a prince among his brethren for the power of his influence. In the great annual meetings of the Congregational Union, which brought together large numbers of ministers and leading men from all parts of England, when such masters as John Angell James and Thomas Binney had electrified the assembly by their magnificent orations, making the great hall resound with applause, plain Algernon Wells would rise and all would be hushed and still, as, with a soul filled with the loftiest Christian patriotism, and a heart oppressed with the burden of its own sympathies, he poured upon them a stream of mingled thought and feeling, about his country, its dangers and responsibilities and destiny, whose power, far too overmastering for shouts and clapping, was answered by tears. His much lamented death, at the full maturity of all his powers, and the zenith of his great influence, was the taking away from his denomination of a tower of strength. Mr. Wells had uncommonly rich gifts as a preacher and pastor, and was the much loved minister of a large metropolitan congregation at the time of his death.

Still more prominent as a leading man among the dissenters

for the last twenty-five years, and at the present time, is the Rev. Dr. John Campbell, editor in chief of the London *British Standard*, and bold champion of the North in the great war which is convulsing our country. Himself a stalworth son of the North, for he was born and bred beyond the Tweed, he was brought up to London when comparatively young, to be pastor at Whitefield's Tabernacle. His broad, muscular frame, short, square face, shaggy brow, thick, black hair, piercing, dark eye, and deep, resolute voice, with an easy self-command on all occasions, marked him as a man to make an impression. He has a clear, strong intellect, with the severe discipline and training of Glasgow; has accumulated great stores of varied knowledge by extensive reading, and has ready command of all; is an indefatigable worker; has positive opinions in theology and on almost every other subject; as a writer has keen critical power, great affluence of thought and language, with a force of argument and a living energy of style which secures for him a more extensive and attentive reading than falls to the share of most men; loves contention for the truth's sake, has an iron will and knows neither fear nor self-distrust. If the law had been his profession he would have been illustrious as a barrister, and especially in criminal cases. Every man who deserved hanging would have despaired at once on learning that John Campbell was counsel for the crown. As a politician he would have been a formidable champion as the advocate of a sharply defined policy. As a military commander he might have led the assault on the Redan.

Dr. Campbell has done a good deal of hard fighting in his day, without ever having compromised his character as a Christian and a Christian minister. He has been engaged in several severe contests with corporations, monopolies, proprietaries and the public defamers of his character, where great principles were involved and great interests at stake, and has been uniformly victorious. He is an able defender of the old theology, and nowhere does he contend more earnestly or fearlessly than when crafty efforts are made to dilute or explain it away. His weapons are not Minie rifles nor Damascus blades, but battle-axes and battering rams; and he spars neither carved work nor goodly stones. Once enlisted in a contest, he thinks only

of victory, and dashes on like a furious steam engine or a pitiless storm. He has been for a good while the editor of the magazines of the Congregational Union. There have been times when some of the great leaders and eminently Christian fathers in that body have thought that he was too aggressive and too violent in certain directions, and they have sought warily and with great forethought and preparation, to impose restrictions upon him; but he has escaped from such efforts, like Samson when the Philistines bound him with green withes; has openly and with set phrase, yet with a most provoking good nature, set them all at defiance, telling them to their face that he could do without them, and challenging them to try the experiment of doing without him. When the *British Banner* was established, nearly twenty years ago, he became sole editor, and raised it in a few years to a vast circulation and great influence, all by his consummate ability. At length dissatisfaction arose on the part of the proprietary, and certain conditions were proposed and made imperative. Dr. Campbell took his hat and stick, and walked straight out of the concern, leaving the swollen subscription list and the good name he had made for the *Banner* for whoever might come after him. Having no thought of resting from his warfare so soon, he speedily flung to the breeze his *British Standard*. This was, perhaps, the boldest thing he ever did, as the hazard was large, and many watched anxiously for the result. It was a perfect success. The circulation soon guaranteed all expenses, and the *British Standard* became, as it still continues to be, a great and acknowledged power.

We have alluded to Dr. Campbell's course in regard to our war. No man in England has done more to correct misapprehension, to put down calumny, and to create a correct public sentiment among the masses. This is not a small matter, for, if the great middle class of Englishmen are right we have little need to trouble ourselves as to what the aristocracy may think, or how they may feel. From their sympathy or uprightness or honor we have nothing to hope. "Put not your trust in princes." But there is not an English statesman living who, as Prime Minister, would dare to plunge into a war with the United States if the masses were against him. Dr. Campbell

speaks to the masses, and wields an immense influence with them. It is true he was under some strange misapprehension at the outset in relation to the origin and purpose of the war, and so took his stand, in his accustomed armor, on the wrong side. The encounter between him and the late Dr. Cooke, in the *Standard* and *Recorder*, was characteristic on both sides. It was Greek met Greek, and the clashing of their glistening weapons was heard afar. It was not Dr. Campbell's fault that, for once in his life, he did not retire from the field with the laurel on his brow. He has not erred or faltered since. When the *London Patriot*, with its feeble strength and infirmity of temper, has drivelled, and even the intelligent *British Quarterly* has floundered on in a surprising ignorance, and hardly with the comity demanded by its own self-respect, Dr. Campbell has stood up boldly on the side of the Federal Government, wielding his trenchant arms for the right, hurling back the malignant lies of the *Times*, *et id genus omne*, and, with a keen insight, and hearty, generous good will, keeping his large circle of readers posted as to the character of measures, and the true progress of events. We bespeak a statue for Dr. John Campbell when the time shall come to reckon up our benefactors.

We would gladly add one or two portraits; but we could not do justice, either to the subjects or to our own sentiment of admiration for them, without transcending the limits allowed us. We may find another opportunity in another connection.

The dissenting ministers of England, as a rule, are not from the best families of their own communions. Few of the sons of their first families are willing to enter the ranks of the ministry among themselves. It is no very uncommon thing for them to become clergymen of the Establishment. Two of the prominent ministers in London had sons ordained by the Bishop some years ago. One of them, while still a young man, was successively a clergyman, a Puseyite, a Roman Catholic priest, and a monk. The remark is true which you will often hear made by dissenters, that the majority of the young men who enter the ministry among them rise in social position by that circumstance. It will be remembered, too, that they have been excluded from Cambridge and Oxford, which, with all

their acknowledged imperfections and evils, are the resort of scholars and gentlemen, and give to a man preparing for professional life what he can find nowhere else. The clergy everywhere take very decided precedence of them when they condescend to a seeming coöperation in connection with comprehensive Christian enterprises. Much more frequently they treat them with a studied neglect or with undisguised contempt.

Is it strange, in view of all these circumstances, if they do not always exhibit the truest delicacy and refinement, or the highest courtesy of bearing? Should it excite surprise if sometimes they are found oracular and dogmatic upon matters of minor import, or even in the maintenance of a narrow misconception or downright blunder? When, therefore, the sons of the Pilgrims visit the fatherland with yearning sympathies and in anticipation of a cordial reciprocity of their own feelings on the part of their English brethren, let them draw no unkind or ungenerous conclusions if they are treated with greater courtesy, puritans as they are, at the hands of the clergy of the Church of England than by the ministers of the Congregational dissenters. Should it happen that, in a particularly pleasant social circle, perhaps a dinner party, sharp questions are shot at them, in relation to American revivals for instance, and that not with the most distant view of being instructed, evidently, but rather of coming down upon them, then and there, with all the force of an English deliverance, let them make brief and indirect answer, leaving that particular British brother in the supreme bliss of his ignorance and sufficiency, and the company to an undisturbed digestion.

When such British brothers come to see us we shall make no reprisals, shall never ask them if it is true, as we have heard, that many of their ministers smoke, and take snuff, and drink wine, and that regular Sabbath trains are run on all their railroads. We will rather take pleasure to remind them of the many things which we love and admire in the land of our fathers and theirs. We will receive them as brethren, faithful and beloved, believing that if there is anything in our institutions or our customs worthy their imitation they will be quite as likely to take the impression of it if our hospitalities are

blended with a delicate respect ; and that, on the other hand, if they have faults at home which need to be abated, however competent we may be for the undertaking, we should not expect the largest measure of success if the thing were enterprised when they were our guests.

ARTICLE VII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“ For the work of a man shall he render unto him, and cause every man to find according to his ways ”—*Job. xxxiv. 11,*

IF this were not his character and his method of proceeding you could not honor him as God. He would be less entitled to respect than human governments. Above the entrance to human courts of law, men suspend a pair of scales, the symbol of most exact justice. Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?

I. Every man shall receive of God according to his true character. This is in harmony with a law of the human mind. When a man murders the innocent at noonday, or under cover of the dark night ; when grasping cupidity takes away the clothing of the widow and the fatherless, and leaves them shivering and hungry, we execrate the wrongdoer, and imprecate wrath upon his head, not from a feeling of revenge, but from an eternal sense of right. As God is true it will come to pass.

II. It is not so done in the present life.

The world is full of confusion, of unadjusted accounts. It has always been. “ Wherefore do the wicked prosper ? ” “ Therefore his people return hither, and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them.”

III. There must be a future judgment.

Otherwise either God is unjust, or his administration a failure. But he will vindicate his own character and make his administration harmonize with the universal sentiment of the human heart : for “ He hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world.” For whom, and for what shall it be ?—enormous crimes, gigantic evil doers, Ahithopel, Judas, Herod, Caligula ? “ For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ.” “ But I say unto you,

that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof at the day of judgment."

1. The value of the atonement.

"Without the shedding of blood is no remission." Every soul of mankind is cursed with guilt which only the blood of Christ can wash away.

2. The importance of speedy repentance and faith in his name. There is no time to be lost, for "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this" — what? renewed offers of mercy? another call to repentance? an extended probation? — "after this the judgment."

"Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee."—*Gen. xii. 1.*

OUR world had been destroyed by the flood, and it was the infancy of the second. Noah had not been very long dead. Shem was still living, and probably Ham and Japheth. Though saved by the ark from dreadful destruction, men had grown wicked with frightful rapidity; had provoked God by their impious pride at the tower of Babel, were scattered abroad in confusion of tongues, and everywhere abandoned to all the abominations of idolatry. What will God do? Will he come in vengeance, or in love; in wrath, or in mercy? The text furnishes the answer. We see it in

I. The call of Abram.

Not a righteous man in this instance, as Noah. Abram too was an idolater, with his generation and his father's house. (*Josh. xxiv. 2.*) It was God's "effectual calling." Abram obeyed without hesitation. It was the taking up of a heavy cross. We see in it the path to immortal renown — the father of a great nation, the friend of God, the illustrious exemplar of faith, and exponent of justification to the church in all ages. To Abram it was the breaking up of his pleasant and luxurious home in the beautiful country of Mesopotamia, well watered and fruitful, and wandering he knew not whither, far away through many a desert region, with his aged father in charge, to endure homesickness, privation and sorrow of undefined and fearful magnitude.

II. The meaning of the call.

It was the institution of the church of God, chosen out of a race estranged and rebellious, separated from the world lying in wickedness, and saved, not by works of righteousness, but by grace. The

church to-day is the same, in unbroken succession, by everlasting covenant, well ordered, and scaled, and sure. Mark.

1. The utter and universal corruption of the race.

“By nature all are gone astray.” “There is none that doeth good.” “The carnal mind is enmity against God.”

2. Salvation is by grace.

God calls those in whose heart there is not one good thing.

3. The importance of faith.

By faith alone we obey God, forsake our country and our father's house, are righteous before God, and embrace a heaven which we have not seen.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

A History of Christian Doctrine. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., in Two Vols. 8vo. pp. 408, 508. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864.

MANY things united to beget an earnest waiting for the publication of this work. The theological student had nothing on the subject of English origin. Dr. Murdock's translation of Münscher's compend gave us a small work at the best, and too ancient for the student in modern theology. Hagenbach's History of Doctrines, coming in English dress in 1846, was a great advance, and indeed was an indispensable hand-book, though marked by some weighty defects. His plan required him to carry forward all the doctrines by stages, from era to era. The genesis and continuous development, and as it were biography of any one doctrine, was thus broken up, and its vitality, struggles, glow and growth, were given out in fractions, so that research in doctrinal study by its aid, was rewarded rather by obtaining portions of skeletons than living and vigorous truths, like persons coming down to us through the centuries. Indeed no work in theology was more needed than a “History of Christian Doctrine.” The broad, accurate and genial scholarship of Dr. Shedd, as conceded by all, led all to expect a work that would need no second for a long time. His well known views and previous experiences added also a liveliness to the anticipation of his work.

Dr. Shedd first sketches the systems of ancient philosophy, and

shows their moulding influence on the leading doctrines of the church. The hundred pages of this survey is a rare synopsis and the farthest possible from a dry and scholastic disquisition. Another hundred pages is given to the History of Apologies. In reading it we are struck with the thought that there is very little original and new in the deism, rationalism and varied scepticism of to-day.

After this broad foundation has been laid the author proceeds to give the history of the rise, growth, assaults on and defenses of particular doctrines, with a statement of the various changes through which each has passed. Here the excellence of the author's general plan reveals itself in the continuous history of each doctrine to its completion. The discussion on each is enriched by an affluence of learning, and yet so modestly and unconsciously used as to redound to the honor and advantage of the truth only, and not of the author. The work rejoices in abundant references, wherein we also rejoice.

We know of no treatise issued in English during the last quarter century that can be of so much real worth to the student in divinity. During the eighteen hundred years, covered by this work, truth and error, standing around the evangelical system, have assumed nearly all the forms and attitudes possible, of statement, attack and defence. Heresies that are being constantly repeated and abandoned are here shown in their simple or covert origin and departure. A man now with any novelty, in theology, be it right or wrong, may here easily find his views, and perhaps better stated and defended than he can do it. One lesson specially presses itself on us by the reading of these volumes ; that slight deviations from truth at certain cardinal points are momentous movements, even though Gibbon does ridicule earnest controversy over an iota. We are more and more persuaded that there is very little that is new of truth or error in theology. It is an interesting and fascinating study, and we have followed it up in these pages as we do sometimes the fortunes of a hero, to see how a truth will battle along through cloisters and councils and centuries, and finally taken position, as in a castle, in the creed-words of some formula of faith. So like a picture by one of the old masters, never to be improved by a touch, it goes to the wall and looks down on all intermeddlers with a kind of *noli me tangere* air. This work must beget a better appreciation of the ancient "Confessions of Faith" as truths cast into crystal by the slow process of the ages. And for them in such clear and compact creed forms we are indebted almost as much to the enemies as to the friends of Christianity. For after long struggles with error these Confessions have been framed as expressions of the œcumenical mind of the church. Hence Dr. Shedd's seventy-five concluding pages on the History of

Symbols, passing in review the thirty and more leading ones of the church, are full of compressed thought and germinant suggestions for the reader.

We are happy to see the author giving credit to a class of scholars much abused, the Schoolmen of the mediæval church. He calls that period one of "more intense philosophical activity than any in the history of the church. Even the speculative movement of the German mind for the last half-century . . . is inferior in energy, subtlety and depth to mediæval scholasticism." Vol. 1, p. 74.

We are also pleased to notice the deserved preëminence that our author gives to the Calvinistic English divines. They have been towers of strength for the truth, and he who writes the History of Christian Doctrine in English must mark them well. An unmerited fascination has been thrown around German and French authors to the disparagement of volumes in our mother tongue that are not surpassed in any language for their evangelical truth and rich, powerful style.

In the few passages in which Dr. Shedd allows himself as a historian to be suggestive and practical in his remarks, he uncovers in few words a mine of thought and leaves the reader to work it. We have a good illustration of this where on page 178, Vol. 1, he takes occasion to speak of unconscious and unintentional scepticism.

"This latter species of scepticism, which is a very interesting form of unbelief, and exists more generally than appears at first sight in all ages of the church, springs out of an unsuccessful endeavor to fathom the depths of theology, and to construct a true philosophy of Christianity. The thinker sometimes supposes himself to have solved the problem when he has in reality only undermined the doctrine. In attempting with perfect seriousness and good faith to rationalize religion, he has in reality annihilated it."

If Dr. Shedd's personal views can be inferred from these volumes, for he nowhere states them dogmatically, it must be seen that this is both natural and necessary. He is not writing an historical obituary, but the doctrinal history of the living church of God, and this he must write as a friend, while he is faithful to facts. Affection is not inconsistent with fidelity in a writer. His material compels him to treat of the four great doctrinal topics of the church: Christology, anthropology, soteriology and eschatology. A man can write on such themes without showing a bias only when all practical discussions, views and uses of them have ceased and the themes themselves have become antiquated and historical, a state of things impossible in this world.

The Poems of Robert Lowell. A new Edition, with many new Poems. Boston : E. P. Dutton & Co. 1864.

MR. LOWELL is one of the sons of the Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., for more than fifty years pastor of the West (Unitarian) church of Boston. He comes of a family remarkable for genius, being a brother of James Russell Lowell and Mrs. Putnam. In 1842 he took orders in the Episcopal church under ordination by the Bishop of Newfoundland and Bermuda ; and soon after accompanied that prelate to Newfoundland, as rector of one of its parishes. There he collected the materials of the strikingly powerful, pathetic and original novel which he published in this city in 1858, under the title of "The New Priest in Conception Bay." In 1860 he published a volume of poems with the title, "Fresh Hearts that failed 3,000 Years Ago." He is now, we believe, a parish clergyman in the diocese of New York.

The present volume is a gem of modest beauty. It is chiefly religious in its character, deepening in not a few of its pages into the tenderness and fervor of the true devotional spirit. The writer has pierced the surface of life and of man, and has discovered the essential needs of each and their supply. He has studied the working of sin and temptation, as one set in charge of souls that are perishing ; and his hand sweeps the chords of this dirge-like music with a strong, clear touch. He has a tender sympathy with human sorrows and wrongs ; loves nature and children with a quick, unperverted sensibility to their attractive aspects. He breathes a noble spirit of patriotic ardor through the "Songs of our Holy War" which conclude the collection.

We would advise our readers to make their own quotations from this book. It is genuine poetry which they will find here, not green fruit, but ripe and delicious in the pure, rich flavor of genius consecrated to God. Some of these pieces, as "The Priest that Must Be," and "A Communing with God Before entering Holy Orders," would be a good companion for any Christian minister's closet hours. These lines are impressive in their calm and searching scrutiny.

"Bethink thee, well, how one may speak true blame
Of deadly sin and load it thick with shame ;
One may bear charge for God and take Christ's name,
And yet, at Reckoning, may be cast off,
A woe to loving souls, to fiends a scoff—
But oh, what deeper loss shall his be, then,
Who, of his priesthood, made a lure to men !
Who drew in weaker sou's, and led them wrong :
His Gospel but a witching, wicked song !
Where, out of God's great love, shall that bad wretch belong !"

Meditations on Life and its Religious Duties. Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. pp. 394. 1863.

A BOOK characterized by freshness, earnestness, and a devout religious spirit. It embraces a wide range of subjects and has innumerable beautiful and tender thoughts. But it has one grand defect—it is not evangelical. The guilt and misery of man in consequence of the fall; the exceeding sinfulness of sin; the atonement by Christ's blood; the indispensable necessity of the new birth by the Holy Spirit, and the grace of God in the sanctification of believers; of these fundamental doctrines of the Bible the author seems to have no distinct impression. In the hymn on the 28th page, on "The Religion of Childhood," he takes "the child in spotless innocence," born so, and by the aid of religion carries him through life uncontaminated, and at last

"Pure as from God he first was sent,
Home to Jehovah's side."

On page 299 he says, "But one thing is certain, even those whom we give up for lost are not really so; God will save them. He allows no soul to be given over forever to perdition." The book cannot be classed therefore with those of Doddridge and Baxter, and Pascal and A Kempis.

Freedom and War. Discourses on Topics suggested by the Times. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. pp. 445. 1863.

HAS all the well known characteristics of the author, brilliancy, power, pathos, fire, thunder, truth—clearly and strongly put—sophistry, unconsciously intermingled, politics, religion, blessing, cursing. Anybody who has heard Henry Ward Beecher, will hear him and see him in reading these discourses; but to anybody who has not, the book will convey about as clear an idea of the man and his oratory as a painting can of a thunder storm.

In War Time and Other Poems. By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. pp. 152. 1864.

THE "Other Poems" carry it against "War Time," by a large preponderance, in our judgment, although some of the war poems are of a very high order. "The Battle Autumn of 1862" breathes the very soul of poetry, at once cheerful and sad, pensive and hopeful, and a most exquisite piece of versification. "Thy Will be Done" is a grand hymn, fit for Luther or Cromwell, the Wal-

denses or the Puritans; The Home Ballads and Occasional Poems have all the characteristics of Whittier's muse, pleasant play of fancy, sweet pathos, freshness and gladness of natural song, delicate sentiment, humble trust. What does the author mean in "The cry of a Lost Soul"? Shall we understand him to affirm that "our eternal good in Providence" will at last restore to holiness and heavenly feeling those whose sins have shut them up in the pit? If so, we must enter an earnest protest against his theology.

In the paper and letter press the book is a gem, like many another volume issued of late by the same enterprising house.

Redeemer and Redeemed. An Investigation of the Atonement and of Eternal Judgment. By CHARLES BEECHER, Georgetown, Mass. Boston: Lee & Shepherd. pp. 357. 1864.

THIS book will do very little good or harm. It is as great a novelty and as original as any of the new novels. But it will not be read as much as most of them. Adopting his brother Edward's theory of preëxistence as the basis of his speculations, the author, with a great deal of learning and research, and with a glowing enthusiasm, spices a theory of the Atonement full as wild and visionary as the theory of preëxistence, with nearly as much sense and profit. The book reads somewhat like the writings of the philosophically dreaming Swedenborg. Parts of it resemble productions which we have sometimes seen from learned and religiously inclined monomaniacs in asylums. It is the unfortunate result of a life-long desire to invent something new and great in theology. It should be a warning to all the seekers after originality instead of the revealed will of God. Adopting the latest type of New England divinity, which, the author says, regards the atonement but an argument, he attempts to carry out the theory more consistently by important additions. The atoning argument is this. Satan, the elder brother of Christ, and long the regent in heaven, by corruption in government, falls away from his allegiance to God, and is so powerful in influence that he draws many away into outright rebellion with him, and the great majority of the other heavenly hosts into a state of doubt and questioning whether God or Satan is right. In this alarming state of the divine government, Christ secretly receives the birthright and undertakes to destroy the influence of Satan so that God can cast Satan out of heaven without dissatisfying, and throwing entirely off, the heavenly hosts. To do this Christ comes into the world, lives a manifestly pure, gentle and benevolent life, and subjects himself to the power of Satan and allows Satan to go on from bad to worse until he takes the life of this lovely and innocent person. This con-

vinces all the inhabitants of heaven of the wickedness of Satan and of the justice and righteousness of God, so that they now take sides with God while God casts Satan out of heaven and enthrones the ascending and triumphing Saviour in the place of Satan. God now may be just and the justifier of the believers in Jesus ; for Jesus has been a Saviour of God and his government from a rebellion that would otherwise have been completely successful. Such is Mr. Beecher's theory of the Atonement ! But the worst is yet to be told. There are influential ministers and a popular organ in the Congregational denomination that sustain and defend him as a worthy minister of the gospel !

Bible Atlas and Gazetteer. Containing six new and accurate Maps, and a list of all geographical names, with references to their Scripture places and to the proper maps ; also a variety of most useful Tables. Super-royal octavo. pp. 32. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York ; and 40 Cornhill, Boston.

THIS Atlas covers the entire ground of biblical geography and embraces the results of the latest critical research in those countries. We think no other Atlas of sacred geography embraces so recent discoveries and revisions. The tables accompanying are exceedingly valuable. These are, geographical names with their pronunciation, and places on the map and in the Scriptures ; a synopsis of Dr. Robinson's Harmony of the Gospels ; a tabular and chronological view of the prophets, and another of the patriarchs from Adam to Moses ; a table of Hebrew Times and Festivals, with the usual tables of Weights, Measures and Money. The whole is a rich and condensed collection, in simple and portable form, for one who wishes to read the Bible intelligently and studiously.

The Headship of Christ and the Rights of the Christian People. A Collection of Essays, Historical and Descriptive Sketches, and Personal Portraits, with the author's celebrated Letter to Lord Brougham. By HUGH MILLER, Author, etc. Edited with a Preface, by Peter Bayne, A. M. 12mo. pp. 502. Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

WE never tire of this author, and though dead himself, his pen seems to be still alive and untiring. The productiveness of this man is a marvel, while the versatility of his talent in authorship is equally surprising. A writer on science and secular literature hitherto, in this volume he comes forward as the champion of the church.

In 1834, the church of Scotland decreed that the congregation should have a choice in the selection of a pastor. On the other hand was the claim of patrons to present a pastor. In this conflict of principles the celebrated Auchterarder case arose, and the decision was against the church. This touched a most vital point in the Scotch, and Mr. Miller threw his whole force into the controversy. His Letter to Brougham is very able, and first gave Mr. Miller notoriety, and then the editorial chair of *The Witness*. Mr. Miller makes no narrow issues in these Papers for local cases, or even for his own loved church. He discusses the principles of Christian liberty in the broad and generous way that we admire. He has none of the pitiable littleness of writing for a clique, and hence these Essays must have a wide and popular circulation. Mr. Miller brings to his aid a rich and varied church literature, and he uses it with the ardor of a living, earnest man, though he did live so much of his time among fossils.

The Drummer Boy. A Story of Burnside's Expedition. By the author of "Father Brighthopes." 16mo. pp. 334. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1863.

A BEWITCHING book for boys in these exciting times. If the war continues, and enterprising authors and publishers continue to stir up our juveniles with such reading, we shall be able to dispense with bounties. For such books as the Drummer Boy are stirring an enthusiasm among our boys for the service of the army that nothing but enlisting will satisfy. This book has had a very wide circulation, and we are not surprised at the fact.

The New Testament and Psalms. With brief Notes and Instructions; containing the references and marginal readings of the Polyglot Bible. Revised Edition. Royal octavo. pp. 524. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York; 40 Cornhill, Boston.

THIS is a part of The Family Bible with Notes, issued by this Society in one volume and three. It was a happy conception to prepare such a Bible for family use, with introductions to all the books, a terse and condensed explanatory and practical commentary, and Maps, References, Tables of Weights, Measures, Money, etc., and an outline of biblical chronology. The work so well begun by Dr. Edwards has been ably completed, and a revised edition issued. For a Family Bible we see no deficiency. In its notes it is full without being unwieldy, accurate in comment without scholarly obscurity, instructive without being sermonish, explaining difficulties

rather than suggesting them, and eminently devotional. One needs no more help till he comes to follow out the specific purposes of the student in the various departments of special biblical criticism. It is a beautiful illustration of the fact that a Bible with all notes necessary for the practical Christian, can be furnished to the satisfaction of all evangelical denominations, and we doubt not its wide circulation will hasten the answer to the prayer of our blessed Redeemer, "that they all may be one."

A Mental Arithmetic on the Inductive Plan. Being an advanced intellectual course, designed for Common Schools and Academies. By BENJAMIN GREENLEAF, A. M., author, etc. Improved Electrototype Edition. pp. 180. Boston: Robert S. Davis & Co. 1864.

WE never have had faith till now that Colburn could be supplanted. This little work is admirable. A teacher will at once see its improvements on Colburn; as, the double analysis, the original treatment of Percentage and Interest, and the absence of those solid and discouraging pages of abbreviated questions.

A New Elementary Algebra. Tenth Electrototype Edition. By the same Author and Publishers.

A BOOK that teachers will welcome and pupils delight in. Algebra simplified without losing any of its strength. Even those of us who could not see a ray of morn when commencing "Day," could walk by the light of these clear and concise rules without stumbling. Yet while the ascent is gradual and easy, the heights here gained are not slight. Those who do not contemplate an extended mathematical course will need no other Algebra—not even the more thorough treatise of Mr. Greenleaf.

A Dictionary of the Holy Bible. With 250 Engravings, 5 Maps and Chronological and other Tables. Large 12mo. pp. 534. American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York; 40 Cornhill, Boston.

THIS Dictionary of the Bible differs from others in these respects; the teaching of the Scriptures on each topic is exhausted; other sources than the Bible have been used to their fullest extent; and the most recent results of biblical research and criticism have been incorporated. No labor has been spared to make the work complete. Dr. Robinson bestowed on it the last and best services of his eminent scholarship. Its numerous engravings of oriental imple-

ments, dress, buildings, customs, manners, etc., add a peculiar charm and worth to the work. For its compass we feel safe in saying that it has not its superior in the English language.

Polly Grey's Jewels. 16mo. pp. 168. *Walter and the Prize, and other Stories.* 16mo. pp. 126. *Matty's Missionary Box, and other Stories.* 16mo. pp. 171. *Little Jennie, the Minister's Daughter.* 16mo. pp. 79. Boston: American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill.

INCIDENTS well told and morals well pointed for our little folk. We wish these books and their like were in every house in the land.

The Thoughts of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus. Translated by GEORGE LONG. 12mo. pp. 310. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

PERSONALLY, this emperor was magnanimous, conscientious, good, far above the received and applauded standards of his times. His ethics were of the rigidly stoical school; his philosophy was less clearly defined, and was tainted with pantheistic tendencies. It is interesting to note the workings of a mind so intelligent in the distinguished circumstances in which it acquired its culture. The publishers have conferred a favor on thoughtful readers by reproducing this relic of antiquity in so tasteful and convenient a form.

The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools. A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox. By JOHN CARROLL POWER, Davenport, Iowa. New York: Sheldon & Company, 335 Broadway. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. pp. 283. 1863.

THIS is the most comprehensive and best history of the origin of Sabbath-schools, their organization into societies, and whole progress, which has ever been prepared. The collection of materials is thorough and exhaustive, and the volume is valuable and standard. In the front are beautiful engravings of Raikes and Fox. In the Memoir of Fox, now a rare book, he is regarded as the founder of Sunday-schools. But the two, starting independently, soon found each other out and co-operated heartily. Their letters to each other are very interesting. The author has opened correspondence with the descendants of both Fox and Raikes, and from years of investigation gives us a mass of facts concerning Sunday-schools from the days of Moses down to the present time, nearly all of which are very curious. He finds the principle of Sunday-schools in the Mosaic dispensation, and traces it down through all the machinery of the

church. Luther, Oberlin, the Wesleys, Whitefield, Bellamy, & many others, attempted to organize them.

Music of the Bible : or, Explanatory Notes upon those Passages the Sacred Scriptures which relate to Music ; including a Brief View of Hebrew Poetry. By ENOCH HUTCHINSON. 8vo. 1852. 527. Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

THIS is a new name in biblical criticism ; but the author has proved his right to the goodly company of scholars who have made the Bible their text-book of studious research. He traces the practice of musical art to its earliest record, about one hundred and thirty years after Adam, and nearly fifteen hundred years before the deluge ; and from that point, he takes up and comments on every mention of music in the Bible to its close, giving very copious citations from Holy Writ, particularly in the psalmodic portions of the Old Testament. His notes exhibit a close acquaintance with the ancient Oriental tongues, and with the literature and history of the topic in hand. His views of sacred chronology and canonicity are conservative. The epoch of Job is placed previously to the destruction of Sodom, making that book the most ancient extant. The authorship of Ecclesiastes is ascribed to Solomon, contrary to Professor Stuart's judgment. The Song of Solomon is regarded as an allegory "representing the church of God and her glorious Head, under the similitude of two lovers." The Pentateuch is assigned to Moses as its author. A preliminary Introduction gives an account of the science of music as known to the ancient world generally ; and the volume is illustrated copiously with drawings of the musical instruments used by those early nations, particularly the Hebrews. We know of no more complete treatise on this subject within reach of ordinary scholars.

Triumphs of the Bible. With the Testimony of Science to its Truth. By Rev. HENRY TULLIDGE, A. M. pp. 439. New York : Charles Scribner, 124 Grand Street. 1863.

THE successive generations of infidel writers accomplish a twofold object under the Divine administration. They demonstrate the utter hopeless futility of all attempts to shake the foundations of Christianity, or cast the faintest shadow of doubt upon the authenticity and inspiration of the Bible ; and they prove men, under the dispensation of God as a moral Governor, whether they will believe and obey ; that it might be said to them, as God said to Pharaoh, "And very deed for this cause have I raised you up." The ability of the

men who, from age to age, have planted their engines against the walls of the city of God is not to be called in question. They have been men of superior intellect and extensive and accurate erudition. Their industry and perseverance, all things considered, have certainly been without a parallel. Yet they have never succeeded in loosening a single stone, nor shot off a solitary pinnacle from the glorious towers. On the contrary, they have accomplished instrumentally and indirectly a most valuable service, in calling out a succession of competent and honest engineers, who have constantly returned from the most searching scrutiny of the points of attack with the defiant challenge, "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following." Butler's "Analogy," Howe's "Living Temple," Paley's "Natural Theology," and "Evidences," with the writings of Campbell, Watson, Leland, Henry Rogers, and others, are illustrations. Such works constitute an invaluable library of Christian literature, in theology, and history, and geography, and ethnology, and science, and philosophy.

Doubtless, if a man wishes to be an infidel, as many in our day do, he may be so, and may persuade himself, at the same time, that his scepticism is the result, not of shallowness and ignorance, but of superior intelligence and manly courage; because, as we have seen, he will find men of talent and varied learning boldly assaulting the foundations of the ancient faith, and, with flourish of trumpets, proclaiming their triumph, for the thousandth time. It is just as true, nevertheless, and has been frequently demonstrated, that all the conclusions of infidelity are directly contrary to the facts of history and science, the laws of language, the principles of philosophy, and all the clearest results of the broadest and soundest scholarship.

What necessity for new books of evidence then? it may be asked. The necessity arises out of the fact that the mode of attack is continually changing. One may be surprised to see how little there is new in the substance of the objections alleged. For the most part it is a rehash of stale and exploded heresies; dead bodies, long buried, dug up and galvanized; as, if we might believe in the transmigration of souls, the re-appearance of Spinoza, Bolingbroke and Bruno Bauer, in such men as Emerson, Morell and Colenso.

The volume of Mr. Tullidge is a very valuable addition to the works on evidences which we already possess. It is rendered necessary by the shifting phases of unbelief, and it is well adapted to the present time. The design is thus set forth in the preface:

“The special object at which I have aimed has been to vindicate the truth and authority of the Divine Word, and prove its harmony with the discoveries of science, while, incidentally, replies are given to some of the more prominent and plausible objections of unbelief. In following out the plan adopted, I have endeavored, first to show that the ‘Triumphs of the Bible,’ i. e. the resistance it has overcome and the marvels it has accomplished in the world, demonstrate it to be from God. This is designed as an introduction to the main portion of the work, of which the three opening chapters are occupied in the proofs of the harmony of physical science with Revelation, while in the remainder of this book, the most thorough investigations of what in distinction may be termed historical science are shown to utter a like testimony. The wonderful attestation to the truth of Scripture, which have been obtained in recent years from the ‘lands of the Bible,’ and by which its historic reality is vindicated against the mythical school of scepticism, are brought out in the closing chapters.”

Adventures of Dick Onslow among the Redskins. Edited by WILLIAM H. E. KINGSTON. 16mo. pp. 336. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1864.

LIFE among the Indians, the wolves, the bears, and all the novelties and excitements of far-western wanderings, is excellent material to interest and instruct our young people. This is one of the best of the large number of juvenile books now issuing from our presses.

The Federalist: A Collection of Essays, written in favor of the New Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, Sept. 17, 1787. Reprinted from the Original Text, with a Historical Introduction and Notes. By HENRY B. DAWSON. In two volumes. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. cxlii, and 615. New York: Chas. Scribner. London: Sampson, Low, Son & Co. 1863.

THIS is the twenty-first edition in book form of these renowned Essays, and the time was never more opportune for their publication. Now when so intense and fearful a strain is made on the framework of our government, it is eminently wise to consult the men who prepared the timbers, put them together, erected and first occupied our national house. For if we save our government in its primitive purity, after subduing the rebellion, it will be by that broad statesmanship which looks backward as well as forward. Doubtless these Essays constitute the most profound, enlightened and practical discussion of the principles of our Constitution and of a federal government ever produced. So in 1849 Guizot said to our Minister to the French Court, Richard Rush, that “in the application of elementary principles of government to practical administra-

tion, it was the greatest work known to him." The papers composing the *Federalist* were written for the newspaper press by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, to turn the popular will, specially in New York, toward the newly proposed and now adopted Constitution. They are an interior and thorough dissection and defence of that noble instrument. At that time New York was leading, and many were disposed to follow, with an idea of State rights in opposition to federal rights, that threatened to prevent the adoption of the Constitution proposed by the recent Convention. No one work, probably, did so much to avert this danger and secure our present Constitution and form of government. In the discussion, Mr. Jay, Secretary of State, undertook the part which pertained to our foreign relations; and Mr. Madison that which pertained to the States as independent and sovereign and the distribution of the powers of governments in the three departments of legislative, judiciary and executive. The other points, and those most difficult, as well as a general control of the whole, Mr. Hamilton, who planned the work, retained in his own hand. How well the work was performed and with what result we need not say. The first paper was printed in *The Independent Journal, or The General Advertiser*, New York, Oct. 27, 1787, and the whole were extensively copied and discussed throughout the country. Much controversy arose early on the authorship of the different papers, eighty-five in all. That controversy still continues, a kind of American Junius question. The fact that sometimes a paper was a joint production, that they were newspaper articles and anonymous, that joint editors or writers of such often forget their own parts or numbers, and that Hamilton suddenly and mournfully left the stage he had so honored, will explain much of this uncertainty. An interesting tabular view of the assignment of doubtful papers to different supposed authors by the partisans of each is added by Mr. Dawson.

Rare good sense and editorial fidelity are shown in giving the essays in the original text of the authors, without addition, abridgement, correction or any alteration. These vicious variations had become very numerous, and at vast labor Mr. Dawson has restored the original. This is believed, therefore, to be the first correct edition in this respect. Upwards of forty of these variations were found and corrected by Mr. Dawson in the first essay alone. The *Federalist* is now presented in the very form and from copies of the very papers in which it was first transmitted by Gen. Hamilton to Gen. Washington in 1787. The Introduction gives a very good outline of the times and of the causes calling for these papers, and a careful bibliographical notice of the previous twenty editions, with

an interesting sketch of the authorial controversy. There is also a valuable syllabus or "Synoptical Table of Contents," of forty-eight pages, giving at a view the entire and Herculean work of those three great men. Of the mechanical execution of the work, it is enough to say that it comes from Houghton's Riverside Press. The volume contains a fine portrait of Hamilton, engraved by Rogers from the Talleyrand miniature. In preparing this work, Mr. Dawson seems to have had every facility of materials, though evidently through great labor in gathering them. Of original sources he had the manuscripts of Gen. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, Chief Justice Jay, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. R. Rush, Mr. Fisher Ames, Mr. Benson, Mr. Chancellor Kent, and others.

The second volume promises to embrace editorial notes of the alterations and corruptions of the text, and such marginal comments as Madison, Jefferson, Ames, Kent and others may have left in their own handwriting in their own copies, with whatever else may help to the understanding of this American classic on our government.

We see not how men wishing to save our nation and our government, for the two are inseparable on the question of salvation, can study a better text-book. We greatly wish that three living authors would do as much with their pens to confirm our Constitution in these days of its trial as those three did to establish it.

A Compendious History of English Literature, and the English Language. From the Norman Conquest. With numerous Specimens. By GEORGE L. CRAIK, LL.D., Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast. In two Volumes. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

IN these splendid octavos Professor Craik has given to English scholars an exceedingly rich and comprehensive storehouse of learning, and an invaluable book of reference in relation to the subjects treated. He traces the language, in its history and successive modifications, from its "ancient" Scandinavian period when spoken by the *Angles* or *Saxons*, before they came into Britain, down, through all the centuries, to the "Victorian era" of Macaulay and Browning and Tennyson. In his history of English Literature, done with much critical skill, he embraces all departments of authorship in prose and poetry; with newspapers, reviews, books, libraries, colleges, universities. The work will make its way rapidly to the favor of scholars, and to the shelves of their libraries.

Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family. By two of Themselves. pp. 552. New York: M. W. Dodd, No. 506 Broadway. 1864.

A MORE charming volume than this we have not often read. It is the story of Martin Luther told with captivating simplicity and artlessness in the form of a diary kept by those who knew him intimately from the time when he was a beggar boy with "that clear, high, ringing voice," to the close of his career. With the scenes of Luther's personal history, it interweaves with fascinating skill numberless touching and beautiful pictures from the social life of Germany, and portrays the struggle upward from the gloomy and ghastly bondage of popery to the sunlight and warmth of protestant gospel liberty, with such a graphic power and such a natural detail of incidents, that one seems to hear the sighs of "Else" and "Friedrich." We think that whoever buys the volume (very beautifully got up) will be glad, and that whoever begins to read it will read it through.

The Unfinished Volume. Jerry, or the Sailor's Boy Ashore. Being the seventh — a Fragment — in the series of the "Aimwell Stories." To which is added a Memoir of the Author, with a Likeness. 12mo. pp. 238. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

THE chief attraction of this volume is that, like a broken column, it stands as a memorial of a very gifted and excellent young man, Mr. William Simonds, who had successfully begun the difficult work of writing books for juvenile readers. The revealings of his life in these pages show how well he was fitted for this task, both by his own faithful self-culture and by the grace of God.

"*Home Stories for Boys and Girls*;" "*Pictures and Lessons for Little Readers*;" "*The Medicine Shelf*;" "*The Temperance Tales*," Vols. 3, 4; "*Pleasant Tales in Prose and Verse, with Twenty-six Engravings*;" "*Black and White, or the Heart, not the Face*;" "*Christ the Children's Guide*." Boston: American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill.

THIS Society is issuing a large number of new books, many of them beautifully illustrated, as these "Home Stories," "Pictures and Lessons," and "Pleasant Tales," and all excellent of their kind. We notice a marked change in the character of our Tract Society books. Now they are largely juvenile, sprightly, and of the story kind. Ten, twenty, and thirty years ago, when the Society was earning its noble name as a publishing body, its issues were more substantial, serious and permanent. We watch the change with deep

interest as an experiment. These "Home Stories" and "Pictures and Lessons" are most delightful books for our little ones. The illustrations and stories combined impart a rare attraction. We are glad to see the third and fourth volumes of the Society's reprint of the "Temperance Tales." They return to us as old friends, and we like them better than before.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ROUND TABLE.

AUTHORCRAFT. Writing, in our last number, a few pages about authors and critics, we opened a small sky-light upon the *interior* (the printers made it "the intention") of the craft, just to show some of the curiosities of literature which are, in truth, inexhaustible. Shall we begin again, by dropping a cautionary word? Our current book-writing is in peril of haste and repulsive rawness. It, too, travels express by the lightning train, taking time to do much of its tasks only in a very slipshod kind of style. The war has made it worse. The histories, biographies, novels, which find their inspiration in gunpowder and shoddy, are portentously clamorous for the public ear and eye. Not a few of them, in their undone condition, make one think of the good woman who only wanted the cook to carry her steak around the kitchen on a fork, to fit it for the table. They actually drop not with fatness, but with fresh blood, as if praying for the gridiron. Pity some of them could not make a very close and final acquaintance with the fire!

Let us remind our two-forty authors that it is not thus that immortality is won. What would old Isocrates say to them who, as the story goes, held some of his works on the anvil ten years before he was satisfied with their finish. Every scholar knows the "*castigavit ad unguem*" of the nine years' Horatian rule, which Diodorus Siculus stretched to thirty of labor on his history. This is too like the tortoise for modern patience; but as the Italian adage says, it is not necessary to be as fleet as the deer in order to avoid being too slow. Slow and sure, however, is a good maxim in letters. The great writers have generally accepted it. Pascal often spent twenty days on one of his Provincial Letters. Balzac would give a week to

a page not unfrequently. Sir Isaac Newton re-wrote his chronology of Ancient Kingdoms sixteen times. Paul and Virginia owes its exquisite polish to the nine copyings which its author gave it. Many illustrious composers have been excessively fastidious about the beginnings of their books. We well recollect how the elder Dr. Beecher vexed his Cincinnati printers by re-casting, in the proof, the first pages of his Views in Theology, some half dozen times. Whether he could not satisfy himself with the syntax or the doctrine, we never knew. De Thou had yet greater difficulty in commencing his historical labors. This runs into a nervous nicety when carried too far. To recur to our *cuisine* illustration, there is such a thing as frying the juices all out of your cutlet. But when the piece of veal has no original juice in it, as, for instance, Buckingham's Essay on Satire, which he worked over so much that nothing was left of the first draft, then what a miserably crisped and burnt heel-tap this everlasting cooking must leave!

Some authors have first issued a small, tentative edition of their books, and bestowed vast pains upon the emendations of subsequent editions. This is more satisfactory to the makers than the buyers of books. Johnson would not let his Rambler rest till the third edition was issued, having almost re-written it in each reprint, all the alterations amounting to six thousand. This is the more noteworthy, as his habits of original composition were very careful. He wrote rapidly when he began, as did Dr. Emmons; but he did not begin, no more than did the theologian, until he had turned over and worked out all his material mentally into its finished arrangement, and fitted the language to the idea with accurate precision. But this did not save the after erasures. The editions of Hume's England were regularly rebolted as long as he lived. Burke printed his principal works several times at a private press, before he would suffer a publisher to touch them. The typos must have thanked him for such clean copy.

Authors are queer beings, and most unlike in their literary habits. We like the sociableness of old Salmasius, who found the rattle of his children and wife a help to his composing, as some of our western ministers also have, when the kitchen was perforce their study, and a flour barrel head their table — "*haud ignota loquor.*" That is the true freedom of the quill, with all the humanities for its angel-circlet, as in some of the Madonnas. But most thinkers want to be alone in their incubations. Buffon for fifty years wrote in a room with bare walls, a chair, desk, and one sheet of paper at a time. Hobbes had a still greater dislike to company. One might know that his Leviathan was born in some dark den or other. How else

could it have come by its doctrine, that the natural and normal condition of mankind is war?

There is no end to the eccentricities of the literary race. They are very apt to be a law unto themselves after a sufficiently lawless fashion. Every reader of Boswell will remember how Johnson avenged himself upon the lady who invited him to tea in order to show him off to her friends, by drinking five and twenty cups of her hyson without uttering so many words. One of these absent minded mortals, a beneficed clergyman by the way, while playing at dice with the box in one hand and a glass of wine in the other, incontinently threw the wine on to the table and swallowed at the same moment the ivory. It should have cured him of at least two bad habits.

Mr. Augustus Sala has not struck an original vein by his just published "*Breakfasts in Bed.*" He is not the first Sybarite among the authors. Thomson, Pope, Rousseau, belonged to the same cubiculating tribe, spending whole days of rumination under blankets; and a greater still, the philosopher De Cartes, would often lie in bed with drawn curtains from twelve to fifteen hours. We much doubt if a sound philosophy or a sweet and wholesome literature will ever come of such unnatural ways; and in general, whether any decidedly wrong habits, physical or mental, be consistent with a thoroughly healthful and true authorship. Tom Paine's brandy decanter, Byron's glass of gin, Coleridge's opium pills, and De Quincey's laudanum, are, of course, ruled out of respectable approval. Why should not Horace Walpole's from ten to two o'clock at night, and Carlyle's innumerable pipes, be also put under the ban of the republic of letters?

OLDER LIGHT ON THE SALARY QUESTION. "Ask thy father and he will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee." On the fourth day of June, 1770, the Old South Parish, Reading, passed these two votes.

"2ly, put to vote whether the parish will give as Sallery yearly for the support of Mr. Haven the Sum of Seventy three pounds Six Shillings and eight pence, if he Shall Settell in the work of the ministry to be the pastor of this Church and minister of this parish, and it passed in the affirmative."

"3ly, put to vote whether the parish will give to Mr. Haven the Sum of one hundred and Sixty pounds as an Incurigement to him to Settell in the work of the ministry in this parish, sd Sum to be paid in one year, and it passed in the affirmative."

After the Revolution opened and as it progressed specie disappeared, "green-backs" became abundant and the prices of labor and of the necessities of life went up. Therefore at a meeting of the same parish, March 12, 1778, after voting the stipulated salary; "Voted that the Sum of one hundred and fifty pounds be Raised and assessed upon this parish as a free gift to the Revd. Thomas Haven, the pastor of this parish."

At a meeting March 18, 1779, the nominal cost of living still greatly increasing; "Voted to the Reved. Thomas Haven as Sallery Seventy three pounds, Six Shillings and eight pence: and in addition thereto for Mr. Haven's further support voted the further addition of four hundred and Seventy Six pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence, to rise or fall as the money shall grow better or woss at the common time of assessment." "Also voted one hundred and fifty pounds in order to Compensate the Revd. Mr. Haven for the loss he hath sustained in time past."

The difference continued to increase between the nominal salary of the Rev. Mr. Haven, seventy-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and his cost of living. So at a parish meeting March 9, 1780, after voting his stipulated salary, the Records say, they voted to fix the Rev. Mr. Haven's "support the present year upon the capital articles of life, making the common price of those articles at the time of his settlement the foundation of the adjustment of said sum at the time of assessment Agreeable to what the current price of those articles shall then be."

In carrying out this plan it would seem from the Records that the pastor reduced his nominal salary to Fifty Pounds. For the parish gave him so much in the "green-backs" of those days as would purchase of the "capital articles of life" what fifty pounds would have purchased when he was settled.

This certainly seems a reasonable adjustment between the minister and his parish, when according to the Records of a meeting July 4th of the same year that parish "voted to raise the Sum of nine hundred and Forty three pounds for the procuring the twenty cord of wood for the present year agreeable to the parish contract," which amount of wood cost eight pounds only when that minister was settled.

THE ROUND TABLE. Not ours but King Arthur's, we mean. This historic bit of regal furniture, a classic article for the writers of romance, defies historical inquiries and assertions. Indeed some regard the good King himself quite as much a myth as his Table now seems to be, though as a British prince he is said to have de-

feated the Saxons, warred successfully with the Picts and Irish, and died at Winchester about 542. Here tradition says he established the order of The Knights of the Round Table. So Drayton in his *Polyolbion* says :

“ And so great Arthur’s seat ould Winchester prefers,
Whose ould round table yet she vaunteth to be hers.”

The founding of Winchester Castle is attributed in legendary lore to Arthur, and the table there now shown is said to be the identical one of the king and his sturdy knights. Yet the *Doomsday-Book* of William I. says that he, William, founded this Castle and built the County Hall in which the Table hangs. The earliest distinct reference to this regal relic does not precede the times of Henry VI. and Edward IV., or about 1450, when Hardyng, the poetic historian, alludes to it as “ hanging yet ” at Winchester Hall. In some of the foreign accounts of Henry VIII. there is a charge of 66*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* for repairing the “ auld regis infra castrum de Wynchestre, et le round tabyll ibidem.”

And when Philip and Mary were married at Winchester, 1554, a Spanish writer, then present, spoke of this table as being there, yet made by Merlin.

The Round Table is of stout oak plank, circular, and divided into twenty-five sections of alternate white and green, radiating from a rose centre. One of these sections is of royal finish, containing the painting of a king with sword and crown. The black letter names and embellishments indicate a date of execution about the time of Henry VIII.

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ARTICLE I.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATED MEN TO CHRISTIANITY.

THREE cabalistic letters from the Greek long signified, but only to the initiated, a motto designed to characterize a learned society of the most distinguished undergraduates and alumni of our leading colleges. The veil of secrecy is now removed; the interpretation of the mystic symbol is given to the world; and the society of the Phi Beta Kappa openly affirms that "Philosophy is the guide of life."

This remarkable profession may have been innocently made at the outset, and its involved mistake propagated, traditionally, like other fallacies which are ultimately traceable only to "the spirit of the power of the air." But that it is a fallacy, however unintentionally admitted, or superstitiously handed down, or now reverently maintained, no considerate Christian will question, though he may be forward to excuse it. Nor will its injurious tendency be denied by any who appreciate the subtle influence of a characteristic sign, and the mental associations which it awakens, when made the representative of a false idea.

We make this reference not invidiously, but because, having been ourselves at fault, in this respect, we would now stand

corrected before the world. We would do no dishonor to a venerable society. We could not if we would, and we would not if we could, put it at any disadvantage wherein this single criticism does not apply. But we are bound, as Christian journalists, to maintain that not philosophy, but Christianity, is the guide of life, and to do it now the rather, more discriminately and earnestly, because philosophy, throughout the world, is ambitiously exercising the injurious prerogative which our Christian institutions have incautiously conceded, and which it is becoming so difficult to countervail.

If the human reason be a pure, universal essence, divine, or an outgoing of divinity, and every individual reason, or the reason of a few great men, be the *ultima ratio*, the higher law, from which no appeal can be taken even to a miraculous revelation, we would accept, not the least, its last pantheistic development, and go on, under the guidance of its new lights, to assist its boasted consummation of the perfectibility of man, and its already heralded introduction of a golden age. But that is just the presumption which we deny. We stand by the Logos, the Word made flesh, divinely proclaimed, supernaturally attested, and authoritatively signified by the descent of the Mystic Dove. Christianity is from God, and is absolute. Philosophy is a product of the human reason, and is conditioned. God himself accordingly distinguishes between them. The one is "the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation"; the other is "vain imaginations," "craftiness" and "foolishness."

Yet reason has its province. That we discuss not now. It is not material to our purpose. But the reason, whatever be its province, no consistent Christian will deny to be the property of a finite, fallen and sinful being. From whatever causes, it is limited, infirm, irregular, perverse, the servant of depraved affections, and therefore not a proper interpreter of the will of heaven. The subjects which most concern us lie wholly beyond its reach. Nothing that it reaches can be fully comprehended. Within its natural sphere it betrays, through the idol-loves that continually seduce us. A great master has well described them as they figured in his day. But taller idols of the speculative reason, reproduced from that remarkable philosophic period when Paul denounced them in the Arcopagus, have largely cap-

tivated society, and multiplied its confusions, since the time of Bacon. In the hand of illuminated philosophers and politicians, the very certainties of abstract science are now made to bewilder and delude us. The wanton imagination sways the calculus itself, in its applications to questions of life and death; and society, consequently, in its heedless traverses, is swallowed in the whirlpools, or shattered on the rocks.

One could, with less scruple, accept philosophy as the guide of life, if its various types could be reduced to a common measure, or a common denominator. But all the spheres might as easily be brought to one diameter, or all the types of men to the same figure and complexion. No master of speculation would now meet, in any learned or popular assembly, an undivided or unqualified response. It would be questioned whether he were not unduly exalting a favorite study, a distinguished school, an ambitious theorist; or whether he sought not to justify his partisan or sectional peculiarities, or disparage the different or opposite peculiarities of other men. And the most eminent would lack the proper sanctions of authority. One coolly affirms, "I am God"; another, "I am the organ and interpreter of God"; and a third, "that it belongs but to two or three in any age or country to be the representatives of true wisdom to the generality." But yet no cloven tongues as of fire appear to them; the dead come not out of the graves at their call. Jordan is not divided; and the New Jerusalem comes not down from heaven.

Wherefore, we profess not philosophy, but Christianity, as the guide of life; we ask the attention of our readers to the peculiar responsibility which it puts upon educated men.

We assume that Christianity is a divine revelation, special and supernatural. For, if its stated evidences do not so prove it, nothing could be proved, and we are afloat on a wild sea of hypothesis and conjecture, where all the hopes of man must necessarily perish. But, if it be a divine revelation, then it is an ultimate criterion of knowledge, wisdom and virtue; for there can be nothing before, or behind, or above God. The abstract ideas of right and wrong which some affect to put before God, and to which they make God subordinate, we owe to the mental and moral constitution which he has given us. Oth-

erwise they are nothing. Our concrete ideas, as of virtue and vice, guilt and innocence, pertain only to the relations which he has constituted and appointed for our moral trial. Christianity refers us to this divine constitution of a moral nature which makes us susceptible of a character, and to the relations in which character is acquired. It claims to be set, accordingly, as the infallible critic of all beings and all subjects within its range. Some things, indeed, it discusses not. It leaves them for the better probation of the natural faculties under their appropriate natural laws.

But it is related to the whole system of things which are open to human inquiry, to the cause in which they subsist, the means by which they consist, and the ends for which they exist. "Of him, and through him, and to him are all things." It is accordingly so and so far a discerner and judge of all things, that no art, science, government, policy, or other variety of learning which leaves it out of reckoning, or refuses to be tested by it wherein its test naturally applies, can be true, or safe for the ordering of affairs. It is an authoritative regulator of our thoughts and judgments, if not necessarily in reference to the qualities, modes and laws of the phenomena about us, or within us, yet of their common dependence on the infinite mind, the care of a divine providence over them, and their common relation to moral government. The probation under which it places us, in respect to them all, corresponds, of course, to our respective abilities and culture. How mankind in general, or any part of them, behave in this probation, is a mere question of fact. Christianity itself asserts our common failure. History is no less decisive. They who have attained to knowledge, wisdom, or virtue, in any considerable degree, agreeably to this authoritative standard, have constituted but a small fraction of mankind. It is probable that the greater part of its professed teachers have been its worst corrupters, and applied it to the most unworthy ends. Hence the judicial overthrow of its older historic nations. Hence also the Protestant revolutions. They produced reform. Yet Protestantism attained not to primitive simplicity. Wiclif fell short of Peter, and Luther fell short of Paul. Protestantism, in its best periods, has no more warranty against corruption and de-

cline than had Judaism, or primitive Christianity. It is as likely to refer us for doctrine, not to the oracle, but the traditions of the elders, and to beguile us in proportion to the greater intellectual activity it has awakened. No adversary of God is said to have so wide or malignant control over men as the Antichrist of the New Testament embodied in historic systems of unbelief. And the state of things, under all the dispensations, simply corresponds, in this respect, to the facts under God's natural government; for the ordinary gifts of providence have been, for the most part, stimulants to our vagrant fancies, or unruly passions. Pride and luxury have been, to a great extent, but as a synonym of riches, tyranny of power, licentiousness of liberty, and destructiveness of reform. Out of the successive revolutions men have risen to higher levels, to more refined and dignified civilizations, but often to be cast down into barbarian rudeness, a paralytic decrepitude.

Wherefore the strongest reason exists, during the whole of the present probationary state of the earth and man, and now more than ever, for enforcing the responsibility which Christianity imposes upon educated men. It were idle to imagine that we have outlived our dangers. It is certainly possible that while we imagine ourselves nearest to perfection, we should be nearest to our casting down, as it has been in all ages and countries from the beginning.

First: We remark this responsibility under Christianity as a vital religion. And we mean by Christianity the whole of it, historic and prophetic, from the promise of "the seed of the woman" to the final kingdom and coming of our Lord. We mean it in its absoluteness, in distinction from all schools, sects, parties, modes, formularies, creeds, that bear its name and affect to be its representatives, though not necessarily in opposition to them. The Bible has been well called the only book of realities. We assert the real, as written there, in distinction from the apparent, the form or account of it, as given in man's judgments or opinions. We acknowledge an organic, visible church; for the living truth takes to itself a body. But we distinguish between the organism that is mechanical, and the moving principle that is vital, the Christ in ordinances, theories and systems, and Christ within us, the hope of glory. We re-

fuse not interpretations for what they are worth. But they are only as pictures, photographs, and not living men.

We despise no variety of what is called sacred learning. Let it do its best, and as scientifically as it may, and have the largest range and the freest disputation. Let diamond cut diamond. But the truly educated man wants a common solvent, which Christianity itself proposes, the inscrutable influence of the Holy Ghost, proceeding forth, through it, from the Father and the Son, to produce its own spirit, and prepare God's elect people for a promised resurrection state of glory, agreeably to its own letter, as the letter is, and as it stands in the analogy of faith, and not as it is made to speak in the dogmas, formularies or critiques of its perhaps partisan, but certainly finite and fallible expounders. The Bible is unique, peculiar, declarative, positive, final. It is above all our categories and methods, and independent of them. It is not *a priori* and speculative. It is not *a posteriori* and inductive. It is not instructive, sentimental, rational, ideal, intuitionist, eclectic. It is above them all, superhuman, supernatural, and not to be measured by our spiritualistic ideas however refined, or squared to our humanitarian standards however dignified. It is supremely and ultimately for our faith alone; for its reach is infinite, connecting the present with what is out of sight preceding, and equally with what is out of sight to come, the known with the unknown, showing what we were, and are, and shall be, and where we are, and as we are, our true position, our latitude and longitude in the vast system of which we are consciously a part. It is a religion of its own — *religare* — to bind us to our Maker, and train and discipline us for an eternal state. It produces, by its promised Spirit, a new and divine life in the sin-destroyed soul, and it ministers sustenance and strength to the heavenly principle. The life is a simple principle and indefinable. The growth is related to all the susceptibilities and activities of our complex being. The life is the same in all who have received the quickening Spirit, the child and the old man, the rich and the poor, the savage and the sage. It is independent of race, nationality, and condition: "There is neither Greek, nor Jew; barbarian, Scythian, bond or free." It recognizes all these statedly constituted relations. It confounds them not, but confirms them,

except as by grace, it may qualify any man for a higher than his natural sphere. But it is developed, when its spirit is supernaturally produced, through all the faculties of the living agent, and they are likely, when there is no countervailing law, to become its scale and measure.

The renewed mind, of quick instincts, has a greater capacity of Christian excellence than the sluggish and inapprehensive mind. The reasoning mind takes in a larger range of elevating thought than the instinctive or sensational; and the highly imaginative, while it keeps within the limits of the speculative faculty, enlarges the sphere of liberal studies, of heavenly meditation and devout affection. Then all other knowledges wheel into their proper circles, and roll in their appointed orbits around the central sun. Inasmuch as any man is gifted to comprehend them, in their stated relations, he acquires a better method of learning and a higher likeness to the divine intelligence. The life stimulates the culture; the culture invigorates the life. The reciprocal effect is the indefinite advancement of the soul in whatever sphere of study or of action God appoints its particular probation. All the way up from Onesimus to Paul is the chain of sanctified intellect and affection. But according to the sphere and measure of every man is his proper responsibility, and the judicial issues will correspond.

But nothing answers practically to its theory, and Christianity is not an exception. It has its own law, its manner of activity. But it is hindered by other laws, by the idolatries of the sense and of the reason; by the jealousies and the strifes of parties; by the adverse peculiarities of individual men; by the types of an ever changing civilization; and we know not what invisible influences from another sphere. Perturbations and eccentricities exist as well in moral natures as in the depths of the earth, or the circles of the heavens. Practically Christianity is hindered. It is most hindered where otherwise it would produce its best effects, and dishonored where it should be most dignified, among learned men. It has been most obscured where it should have had its highest illustration, in the schools. Scholasticism has been the fruitful mother of all the idolatries old or new. It has done to Christianity what it had

done to natural religion, changed its glory to corruptible images, a gross sensualism, on the one hand, figured in blocks and stones, and made active in bigotries and superstitions that have broken the spirit of humanity; or, oppositely, to a spiritual imagery and a corresponding fanaticism more subtle, intoxicating and destructive than even a Greek imagination had conceived, by the lights which it has reflected, through deceitful media, from Christianity itself, upon the forbidden precincts of the spiritual world. Out of such false wisdom has proceeded almost every current that has swept along the unconscious masses to their ruin. Romanism, that broods over human ignorance, and hatches its cockatrice-eggs, springs not out of ignorance. Rationalism, that influences the wild thousands of revolutionary history, is not brought forth where it finally subsides, in hovels. Aristotle and Plato live over again in every period of a better dispensation. They sway us, insensibly, hither and thither, to this side or that side of the central truth, the *via media* of the only infallible philosophy, the wisdom from above. They affect new artifices as the world grows old in sin. They combine the stately dignity of the academy, the ceremonial sanctity of the cathedral, the formal and cold gentility of courtly halls, and the jaunty freedom of the popular assembly; and they are heralded and shouted as heaven-descended by the multitude of undiscerning but sympathising minds that perceive not the fallacy till it destroys them.

Christianity has a saving power; but not to abridge our moral freedom, or frustrate its own appointments of a probationary state. Its efficacy is conditioned not only on its presence, in its proper character, to the mind, but its presence in the mind, inwrought and inworking by its promised Spirit. Nothing can act where it is not, except ceremonially or fantastically, leaving the springs of moral action untouched. Christianity has its own perfect law. But there is a law of evil as well as of good, and these are in habitual conflict. We must look at moral government on both sides of it. Against the Christian confessors we must put the sophists and infidels of every grade. Otherwise, we are one-sided, partial and practically false. Christianity is not a *Materia Medica* — a mere remedial system, by chemical process combining or assimilating

all natures, mechanically, without respect to our voluntary activity, or the sovereign purposes of God. It is put, not logically to our judgment, but declaratively to our faith; not physically to constrain us, but morally for our choice. Between the choosing and refusing it discriminates. In the refusal is guilt. In the opportunity to refuse or accept is moral trial. In the issue moral government will be honored. It could have saved the Jews; but they refused it. It could save the so-called Christian nations; but they pervert it. Christianity puts us at the greatest possible advantage in regard to personal character and influence. It could flow out from us, as waters over the wastes and deserts of the earth, to produce universal fruitfulness and gladness. But its history, in this respect, answers not to its design, for practically we fail in our probation, and its reproach lies consequently upon us inasmuch as our right use of it might long ago have renovated the earth.

It is material to observe how we fail in point of a vitalizing faith. We accept not the record as it is, but as we would have it. We compel it to speak in our words, to be a mere echo of our ideas, and to work in our gearing. We make it our servant, and not our master. We reverse God's constituted order of sacred learning. We put doctrine before miracle; induction before doctrine; speculation before induction; intuition before speculation; and, before them all, as the final arbiter, the *vox populi* and the ballot-box, and some partisan French or German official as *custos rotulorum*. We become critics, commentators, historians, essayists, editors, and then politicians, or we accept their version or account of Christian doctrine, and so bringing church and state together in virtual if not formal alliance, think to regenerate the world. We test not the masters by the law and the testimony. We imagine, with some illuminated hierophant, when, with the better minded John, we should see with our eyes and handle with our hands. We sentimentalize and dream when we should experience. We look for resemblances when we should look for differences and distinctions. We mistake our hopes or wishes for realities. We confound the actual and possible uses of Christianity, and apply it practically, not as a life, but as a lever; not as a productive, but motive power; and, politically, for supposed utility and happiness, not, spirit-

ually, for the conversion of the soul. We figure it to ourselves, romantically, as an all-comprehending element, a universal solvent, a magnetic principle attracting to itself all learning, wit, and beauty ; a centre to which art, and arms and governments are all tending by a sort of spiritual gravitation, like the fiction of a universal reason gradually absorbing back into itself all that had been developed from it. This covert pantheism obscures the simplicities of Scripture. It blinds us to its actual verities, and the hardly less affecting lessons of experience, analogy and history. We forget that in the present constitution and course of nature, the possible and the actual are heaven-wide apart, and that Christianity runs out practically to an issue of antagonistic forces, in which not our speculative ideas of what is best, but the perfection of moral government will have a manifestation before the world. We observe not that the blazonry upon its shield is not now "*gaudet victoria*," but "*gaudet tentamine virtus*"; that victory cometh not from, or to, or by, the natural, but the supernatural, and is crowned and jubilant only when the battle of life is over. Meanwhile we reveal our hearts, and our accounts are made up for heaven or hell. The whole scheme puts us on our good behavior in reference to those opposite results of good and evil, in which the divine and not human wisdom will be glorified.

So our philosophy, falsely so called, misleads us, mistaking fictions for facts ; semblances for realities ; the formal for the vital ; the intellectual for the moral ; the æsthetical and sentimental for the spiritual ; the eclecticism of the finite for the absolute of the infinite. We do not wrong in going to school ; for that is our necessity in this world ; but in not testing the masters by an authority which is above them all, and not disallowing their pretended profitableness wherein they have not profited by drawing at the fountain head. We make small account of the Pascals, the Butlers, the Owens, the Edwardses, and wander in the mists with Kant, and Coleridge, and Hegel, and Cousin. We substitute some specious cosmopolite for the trusty Greatheart, mistake enchanted ground for paradise, and Vanity Fair for the New Jerusalem. Jordan is a hard road to travel, and we locate the celestial city on the hither side of it.

We do not overrate this responsibility of educated men.

Abilities, discipline, learning have a rightful power, and the Christian life of educated men would give to Christianity a freer access to other minds, and a wider scope. It could do without them. It has sometimes performed its greatest wonders by inconsiderable means, or without means, by fishermen, by babes, by fools, by things which are not. But this has been to exalt its own prerogative; not to disparage learning, but confound and abase it, when it has not been true to its *principia*, and has given the human precedence of the divine. It has both used and refused, both honored and dishonored it, and so has proved it to be under moral government and responsible. To what extent, in the proper conditions, it would be likely to advance society, is past all reckoning. That vision yet tarries to the world which still lieth in its wickedness. Whether it will descend at all till the dawn of the day of promise, is a question that will doubtless yet more confuse and fret the world and puzzle its philosophers, theologians and politicians who interpret the oracle by reason and not by faith. Would any truly resolve such questions? They must renounce the earthly for the heavenly wisdom, for that only is the heavenly order: "I thank thee, oh Father! Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."

Secondly: We remark the responsibility of educated men in reference to the incidental and collateral uses of Christianity.

Things secular and political make no part of Christianity. They are never touched by it except in reference to the invisible kingdom of God in renewed men, which ever goeth on to its glorious manifestation in the issue of a probationary state. Christianity moves on a higher plane. It simply advises us how to behave ourselves in the complications of the present mixed scene of things, with reference to the ends of moral government. Families, states, nations, races, have their respective courses according to a natural order, and are affected by Christianity only as it gives them direction and tone through the individuals, particularly the leaders of society, who form a part of them. But this indirect action of Christianity modifies our political and social states. It is not easy to overrate it. Bad men admit its conservative utility. The world-governments

would not presume openly to refuse it. Partisans propitiate its sects and its ministers, though to its greater ultimate prostitution and dishonor, yet, meanwhile, to their own greater temporary respectability and power. For Christianity holds the conscience of men, the sensibilities, the imagination and passions. It regulates when it does not convert. It moderates power, tempers legislation, restrains liberty. It chastens literature, purifies the intercourse of social life, makes all industrial pursuits subservient to a greater utility and convenience, and multiplies facilities for a more diffused intelligence and thrifeful activity. A merely nominal Christianity is at least an adornment to civilization. Its æsthetic value is of itself no inconsiderable figure. Society would be, for a while, in a better state, though its religion were reduced to mere form and pageantry, than if it were but speculative and ideal, refined into spiritualistic fantasies that should put it out of all connection with the common affairs of life. A mediæval Christ is better than a cosmopolitan Christ. Or, if these should be combined in a product half stupid and half delirious, that mixed superstitious and fanatical Christ would be better, possibly, in respect to ultimate recovery, than no Christ. For the magnetic action of the brain would keep the lower extremities in motion; and a monstrous activity, at a venture, is less discouraging than a state of death. Such a spurious religion would yet act as a stimulus to the declining moral energies of society, like as the divine providence introduces mechanical invention to assist man's decaying strength; or enlarges the *Materia Medica* to relieve his increasing alimentary obstructions; or multiplies gems and cosmetics to repair his fading beauty; or theories, conceits and visions to make up for the lack of intellectual vigor, proving yet a remaining degree of conservative activity to defer or shorten his necessary catastrophies. Or, a greater apparent degradation of Christianity might happen without essential dishonor. A Christianized and cultivated people might become the worst of all people through the very spring which Christianity innocently gives to the physical activities of men, like as a noxious equally with a wholesome vegetation owes its luxuriance to the same sunshine and rain of heaven. The sun is glorious. Who would extinguish the sun? Yet, if any man would live under the equator, he

must make up his reckoning with malaria, and storms, and earthquakes, with poisonous products, noxious animals, and degraded humanity. The sun is not at fault ; but the earth and man, the one depraved in his affections ; the other having its constitution broken, and jostled in its polarity. The ecliptic cuts the equator.

The direction of this collateral as well as of the vital influence of Christianity, is mainly in the hands of educated men. They are at the centre of the social system. Whether that providential order is best, men may speculate as they will. They may affect to modify, or reverse it ; to equalize all conditions, or subordinate the higher to the lower. But they can not permanently alter it. In their vain attempts to do this they dash against a wall. No theory can practically annul the law of gravity ; nor could any corresponding violence that would not destroy the balance of the social system. The divine constitution will have its course till its ends are answered in the appointed issues of moral government. After all the insane plunges of society, we are obliged to fall back on principled intelligence and wisdom for the ruling of the world, or restoring it from its confusions. Children may demolish. Men only can construct. Luxury may corrupt society. Party spirit may heave it. Passion may disorganize it. Force may subject it. But wisdom only can guide it. "There was found in the city a poor wise man, and he, by his wisdom, delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man." For the subversion of that fundamental law there is no principle, precept, or precedent in Christianity. It belongs only to the encyclopædia. Admit any of the socialistic theories, or spiritualistic revelations to be better, they are so only as ingenious fictions, pictures hung up in the chambers of imagery, or cells of the recluse, which are never ventilated, articles of virtu for the curious, or pleasant day-dreams for the sentimental, or bright visions of a golden age for the romantic, or cunning devices of the politician, or baptised fancies of the mystified theologian. They pertain not to the earth, as things are and ever must be upon it. They pertain not to heaven ; for there "are thrones, and dominions, and principalities and powers ; and one star differeth from another star in glory." Scanty enough our knowledge is, at

best, and weak our virtue. They may fail to save the world. Anglo-Saxon wisdom and virtue may fail, as did the old wisdom out of which they grew. With a corrupted Christianity what better were old England, or New England, or a universal Teutonic compound, than the mind of the glorious East where wisdom was born, and the true Wisdom became incarnate, but was driven out? The human, in its best conditions, soon reaches its limits in the present state. Its successive rises surprise us. Its successive declines confound us. Its perversions and abuses produce the worst reactions of society. But if selfish intelligence and wisdom fail, what must not become of selfish ignorance and folly? Should the abuses of constituted power react to cast down the divine ordinance of rule and government; and the pride of self-aggrandizing learning produce a reflux tide of more licentious ignorance; and usurping and overreaching greatness be humbled before besotted littleness, the last chapter of this world's history would be written.

Great questions here open to us, of the greatest concernment to educated men, the relations of the church and state. They have never been settled. Christianity only can resolve them. Philosophically, the problem is three-fold: the absorption of the church in the state, the magistracy having the general control; the absorption of the state in the church under prelatic rule; and the interpenetration of both with a mixed secular and sacred sovereignty. It has exercised the human faculties hitherto to no purpose. It has provoked destructive wars of sections and parties, but the demonstration has not been reached. Hence another problem, the greatest of all: whether church and state will ever, during the present dispensation of Christianity, be conciliated, harmonized and attempered, so as to give the world what it must have if it would be saved, a spiritual theocracy: for Christianity never loses sight of the consummation for which, till the winding up of its present economy, it teaches us continually to pray: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." But let us observe how this is.

Government is over all. It presupposes a fountain-head of all authority. It implies law, subjects and rule. All these facts of government are signified when we use that single term, the state. Government and state are mainly equivalent; but

state has a peculiar significancy, because it implies settlement in a determinate course, interiorly, of moral life, and, exteriorly, of organization and process. The state is as the moral being indefinitely multiplied and extended. It is ordained of God. It is propagated and sustained by general laws, and accountable accordingly. It is coeval with the race, and necessary to the existence of the race. We cannot conceive of the race without it. It is the manner in which the race exists under its providential partitions and divisions during its appointed ages of probation. We can not concrete the idea of humanity but by the state. We can conceive of the race with diverse forms of government, but not without some form of government under God. Such is the wide theocracy of the earth, the aggregate of the nations. And every distinct class of the multiples of man, every separately organized civil community, under its own proper constitution, is a state. Every particular state, or union of states, is a moral institution. Its reasons are self-evident. They are not the less self-evident because some sophists deny them, just as the external world, or our own personality, or the divine personality, are not the less self-evident because some have reasoned away their personal consciousness or their sense-perceptions, and have resolved all things into an idea.

But the church is not a moral institution, that is, it exists not necessarily. Its reasons are not self-evident. It is not an institution of which we could not conceive that it should not be, or should not be otherwise than as it is. We could not conceive, *a priori*, however the contrary has been pretended, that it would be at all. It exists for reasons which could not have been known without a revelation, and revelation is given, not for our convenience, but our necessities. It was not founded for reasons pertaining ultimately to the church itself, or to the state, such as life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness, or any other reasons such as the theorists imagine, but to worlds and ends wholly beyond our comprehension. The state is relative to man as a natural agent however under moral government, in a course of present life. The church is relative to man as redeemed and justified, under a dispensation of grace, in reference to a life to come. The state is political; its powers

are secular. The church is spiritual; its powers are of the world to come. The state is universal. The church is particular. The state is absolute; we are necessarily born into it. • The church is contingent; we are born again into it by special grace, at the mere pleasure of God. The state is the comprehensive circle. The church is a wheel within a wheel, an *imperium in imperio*, organized only in respect to its peculiar distinctive character. The state dies upon the general dissolution of the present system of things. The church lives on forever. But both church and state revolve about their common centre, in reference to a common end, not the happiness of both or either, but the manifestation of the divine perfections to other worlds and systems in the issues of a probationary state.

Such being the difference between the church and the state, of which their distinct organizations are a proof, it results that they can have no authority, the one over the other, in any matter affecting their distinct and peculiar interests. They cannot legislate the one for the other, or otherwise interfere, during the present wild and distracted state of things, without counteracting their respective designs and ends, and destroying the very idea of their respective different probations. This is settled by the Scripture. The Jews, for example, were a pattern state, an isolated nation, sequestered by the call of Abraham, regulated by specific statutes in the several historic stages, and instructed and warned by prophetic inspiration. Within that isolated nation, was the church, the children of Abraham by a wholly different institute. Under such a theocracy the greatest philosophical or political reasons might be supposed for a union or identification of the church and state. But God ordained otherwise. Moses was the lawgiver, and Aaron was the priest. Judah sat upon the throne, and Levi ministered at the altar. The regal and sacerdotal were never suffered to interfere. If, at any time they became unlawfully confused, so that the priesthood infringed upon royalty, or royalty upon the priesthood, jarring and revolution immediately ensued. When Saul, the first king of Israel, assumed the functions of a priest, and offered sacrifice, with a view to enlarge his political prerogative, it was treated as sacrilege. God rejected him, and gave the kingdom to another tribe, and another family, the house of

David. "It was only in the last period of the total decline of the Israelitish nation, and shortly before and during the first days of the Roman dominion, that the regal dignity and the office of the high priest were united in one family in such a manner as to correspond with the notion that is at present usually understood by the term theocracy." Schlegel. That abuse signified the approaching overthrow of the nation.

Christianity equally with Judaism excludes all union or interference of the secular and spiritual powers. Our Lord ordered the things of Cæsar and of God to be separately and distinctly rendered. In the case of a fraternal dispute about a question of territorial inheritance, he promptly dismissed the appellant. "Who made me a judge, or a divider over you?" On another memorable occasion he signified his distinctive and peculiar mission by a similar profession: "My kingdom is not of this world; else would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews. But now is my kingdom not from hence." Christianity is for all the nations. It gives them law, moral precepts for every particular man, and ceremonial observances for the *ecclesia*; but not laws, not a code, like that of Moses, for the civil regulation of any people. It embodies the spiritual elements of the old theocracy, but without its national peculiarities. It is never technical and political. Hence it is fitted for men of all nations, states, sections, parties, degrees. Its ministers are commissioned not for the civilization, but the evangelization of the world; to preach Christ crucified and nothing else; and to preach not to a part of men, but to every creature. When they overstep or come short of that commission Christ disowns them. The church, if not secularized by their influence, disowns them. Bad men, whose secular ends can no longer be gained by their indiscreet conformity, or their worse time-serving, also disown them; and they fall out of all fellowship into insignificance or contempt, and, like Judas, go away and hang themselves. Christianity has its own way alone, independent, against the world, which it denounces as evil, but through it, and gathering its trophies out of it, to show forth God's manifold wisdom, not to the prostituted powers of earth, but to "the principalities and powers in heavenly places, according to his eternal purpose in Christ Jesus our Lord." This type of Chris-

tianity is also signified by the church gathered, after the day of pentecost, at Jerusalem. The Christian converts were from all the states of the commercial world. But the states had no recognition, then or afterwards, as having any, and, least of all, any amicable, relation to the church. From the nature of these distinct institutions, such a relation, under any dispensation as yet known, would be clearly impracticable, or its attempt would be practically fatal, as history has shown ; and it has formed no part of the divine plan. All the prophetic judgments declared by Christianity, in respect both to church and state, are in connection with the interaction, or interference, or clashes of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. The state cannot be brought up to the level of the church till all things are made new ; and when the church descends to the level of the state it is cast out as a withered branch. Its general prostitution, in this respect, is a terrible theme of prophecy, and will mark the period of the Antichrist of the last days, whose universal dominion over the Christianized nations will signalize the demonstration of this world's apostacy, and whose judicial overthrow by God's interposition, will distinguish the apocalyptic battle of the great day of God Almighty.

It is, however, supposable, that a state of things should exist, above the natural and historic order, that is, a state of universal knowledge, wisdom and virtue, in which the civil and ecclesiastical offices would be not only compatible, but actually interpenetrated and subservient to the highest imaginable advancement of the race. All the constituted powers of such a sublime theocracy would be harmonized in showing forth to the universe of intelligent beings, the divine perfections. In the language of bishop Butler :

“ Suppose a kingdom or society perfectly virtuous, to which, if you please, may be given a situation advantageous for universal monarchy. The head of such a kingdom would be a monarch in another sense than any mortal has yet been, and the eastern style would be literally applicable to him, that all people, nations and languages should serve him. And though, indeed, our knowledge of human nature, and the whole history of mankind, show the impossibility, without some miraculous interposition, that a number of men here on earth should unite in one society or government in the fear

of God and universal practice of virtue, and that such a government should continue for a succession of ages, yet, admitting or supposing this, the effect would be as here drawn out. And thus, for instance, the wonderful power and prosperity promised to the Jewish nation in Scripture would be, in great measure, the consequence of what is predicted of them, viz.; that the people should be all righteous and inherit the land forever. The predictions of this kind, for there are many of them, cannot come to pass in the known course of nature, but suppose them to come to pass, and then the dominion and preëminence promised must naturally follow."

But since, as Butler argues, that is an impossibility in the present constitution and course of nature, we must look only for what prophecy and scriptural representation, and not our speculative ideas may promise. The divine, and not any human wisdom, must be our guide, and, meanwhile, quicken our energies for the hastening of the promised state of things. It is Christ's command, and we have observed its special bearing upon educated men: "Occupy till I come." Our work is in the present. Its relation to the future as well as the future itself, belongs to a wisdom above our own. To that wisdom equally belongs our way of doing it; for Platonic and Utopian methods reach not beyond nature, and cannot effect what is impossible under a natural constitution broken up, disordered, and subjecting the whole groaning and travailing creation to the bondage of corruption; as experience not less than the Scripture should by this time have taught us. Otherwise, we merely oscillate between extremes till the violent action and reaction break our social mechanisms in pieces. On the one hand, we just stiffen with Hobbes, and, on the other, dissolve with Paine. Now we forge spiritual fetters with Gregory, and then sever all bonds with the strong-minded women and their eminent collaborators of the present day. Or we are shoved up and down the sliding scale between them, with the better taught civilians and divines, the Burkes, Jeffersons, Franklins and Websters, or the Arnolds and Bunsens, of all times, who honestly and earnestly but vainly aspire to a heaven upon earth without death and a resurrection. Or, yet more fancifully, we look to be translated, and by adding galvanism to steam, to become Enochs and _Elijahs, and shoot the gulf in

spite of gravity. Our fiery engines might almost seem to do it; but where would be the cars and passengers? We honor Hobbes and Paine, Gregory and Voltaire, all the superstitions and fanaticisms of all times, for what they are really worth, if it were possible to reckon so small a quantity. Much more do we honor the many worthies up and down between them, for their finer sympathies and chaster intellects, their more corrected tastes and better manners. Let them have the credit of whatever learning, ingenuity, or sincerity they possessed, their sharp criticism of existing evils, and their glowing pictures of an imaginary perfect state. We bear them record for their zeal however ignorant, and sorrow over their ruinous mistakes. But who would leave the light of heaven for their manufactured torches? Who would not lament that they should have substituted their sickly and livid flames for the hallowed fire that burneth on the altar?

That fire ever burneth. It is not for want of light, but of eyes to see it, that society is led about so long, hither and thither, in the wilderness. There is a strait way and a short one to the land of promise, if we cared to walk in it rather than to follow our own perverse judgments or unruly passions. Christianity is not at fault; but our presumptuous unbelief. We are not straitened in God, but in ourselves; and God will be true, though every man be made a liar. Let it be that Christianity has hitherto done so little comparatively for the reformation of mankind, so that a shallow thinker might imagine that any other wisdom would have done as well. Let it be that, notwithstanding its alleged saving power, the nations from east to west have fallen, the nations we mean in distinction from the few righteous for whose sake the earth is spared so long. Let it be that civilization and religion have rolled round till they have almost reached the confines of the globe, leaving behind them so much of decrepitude, barbarism and misery; that race after race has tried its experiment to so little purpose; that the resuscitation of effete nations has hitherto mocked the wisdom of statesmen and the zeal of philanthropists; that our Teutonic civilization, the vigorous offshoot of the old Greek and Roman, is yet profiting so little by the experience of the past, and is now practically confuting that delusive optimism which is "will-

ingly ignorant" of sin and of its predicted judgments, that sees nothing present but flowers and fruits, and nothing future but a glorious harvest. Let it be that Christianity has done so little. Yet, what but little have we of any other good, as things now are in the sin-distracted world, of health, or wealth, of beauty, genius, learning, power, success; of sympathy, help, encouragement, of pleasant memories and cheerful hopes; and that little mixed with so much evil in our best conditions, and presently taken from us before it can be called our own?

Be it so. But what is that little, not in degree, but quality and effect, as compared with the paganism which Christianity has not supplanted, or the infidelity which hisses at it, or the antichristianism of the modern Rome, Byzantium, or Athens, that has interpreted its virtue out of it? If it be little, what is that little, to have tempered the asperities of its own contentious sects; to have raised and invigorated otherwise inert and lifeless masses, or checked and balanced their destructive agencies, and diffused through long dark ages of credulity and superstition, a leaven of art and learning, and restraining reverence, that has given to its own apostate nations so great social and political preëminence above the barbarous nations of the earth? What is now that little in these ends of the earth to which Christianity has retreated from the lands of its nativity, that in our families, villages and cities, our schools and colleges, our governments and laws, our labor, trade and commerce, a conservative element should exist with power to regulate, in measure, the social movement, and produce a civilization so rapid, prosperous and brilliant, that even Christian men, dazzled by the worldly splendor, have rejoiced in the illusion as significant of a speedy return to paradise, and already stretched out their hand to the tree of life; as if "the cherubim and the flaming sword" were not still ordained to keep us back? They too have mistaken the apparent for the real, the interpretation for the text. For the *palingenesia* is not so. It is not yet; though it will yet be.

But, if, in the way of cavil and objection, it should be still argued, that Christianity is not worth much if it fail to realize our speculative hopes and its own predictions as interpreted by the philosophers and politicians everywhere, let such persons

inquire what would be the natural consequence, if its light, such as it now reflects, should be quenched, and a sheer naturalism succeed? There are not wanting large portions of the world to which, if Christianity be not absolutely unknown, it has not penetrated with any practical effect, or from which it has been, for centuries, practically excluded. It were mere affectation to pretend that the so called Christian nations, if the light of Christianity, such as it is, were withdrawn from them, have any advantages which those countries had not for social and political advancement, or would not, in due time, be equally degraded. If any country could claim such advantages it would be our own, on whatever grounds the reckoning should be made. Let it then be supposed that the experiment were here attempted, not of abolishing Christianity by legislative enactments or popular violence, but of overshadowing and insensibly annulling it by the more ordinary process of secularization; by the fashionable insinuation of a worldly spirit, the gradual substitution of speculative conceits, of learned mythologies, of a licentious literature, of æsthetic entertainments, of mere philanthropic enterprise, political agitations, the arts of diplomacy, or the pomp, parade and circumstance of war. Let it be supposed that in our upward intellectual and material career, we should become giddy from the very height of our greatness, and that, looking abroad upon the outspread panorama of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, we should, for the sake of the proffered boon, fall down and worship the lying spirit. Let it be supposed that the more distinctively religious classes should lose their proportion to the rapidly increasing native and foreign population, and, gradually, their restraining influence upon the body politic; that the church should consequently become stationary or retrogressive, subsiding into indifference, or stimulating itself unnaturally with ambitious and romantic hopes, or wasting its energies in political or sectarian controversies. Let it be supposed that this professed expectant of a heavenly kingdom should join in the universal physical activity, multiply its outside organizations, and exhaust its spirit in working its apparatus. Let it be supposed that while it was becoming lavish in its furniture and adornments, proud in its gorgeous display, fantastic in its movements, and boastful of its worldly patron-

age and prospective conquests, the heavenly fire was going out upon its altars. Let it be supposed that the church and the state should imperceptibly lose their balance and proportion, and now become mutually repulsive, or again, coalesce for a common political effect. Let us suppose their respective venerated institutions to fall off insensibly from their old foundations; that the oracles should give out wild and contradictory responses; and, amidst the subtleties of philosophical dispute, the envenomed sophistries and falsehoods of partisan or sectarian controversy, the heats of popular harangue, and the uncertainties of loose and inconsistent interpretations, society should become more and more excited and distracted; that the common atmosphere should be filled with murky vapors; that governments, politics, arts, science, commerce, trades, should crowd, every one upon every other, and all be driven onwards in fitful and phrenzied movement. Let us suppose that to the bewildered and infatuated people all this unnatural activity should seem only to indicate the march of a more vigorous civilization; that its progress should be hailed from every hill-top, its hozannas be rung in every temple, and the wild cry of the intoxicated thousands should be held as the voice of God heralding the material and political, and, by an absurd consequence, the moral, renovation of the world. What, upon these suppositions, would become of the last, the westernmost, the best, the most highly privileged of the nations, when, as so often before in history, its highest, proudest, most magnificent and exultant civilization should be weighed in the balances of moral government, and the fiery letters should come out upon the wall: Mene, Mene, 'Tekel, Upharsin? Could philosophy guide us in such difficulties? Could it save us in such extremities? Would the deceitful cause of these evils be also their remedy and cure?

These suppositions are not impossible; for such things have been, or all history misleads us. They are sufficient, therefore, to call for the greatest consideration of educated men, and to awaken a deeper sense of their difficult responsibilities. Christian scholars will not refuse to see things as they are, to be cautioned and corrected. We are assured, in regard to the great questions which invite them, that "The wise shall

understand." But the true wisdom dwells not in "haunts obscure of old philosophy." None of the princes of this world have known it. "But the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God," and it is his province to show them to the humble; and it is theirs to speak them, "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth," comparing spiritual things, not with the natural, but with the spiritual, making God his own interpreter. That promised Spirit waits for our call out of a lowly mind, in the utterances of a contrite heart. "The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way." Whoever is emptied of himself will be filled with the fulness of God.

ARTICLE II.

EARLY LIFE OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

The Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company at their Emigration to New England, 1630.
By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.
1864.

WE do not know when any biography has been more welcome to us than this. It meets a real want in the annals of New England, and we wish it might be followed by the lives of others of those ancient worthies, now so dimly seen, and fast fading out of sight as to their individual characters. It is a strengthening, inspiring book for these gloomy days of war; a book that increases one's faith in God and humanity; a book of lessons for young and old. Its origin is detailed in the introductory chapter. The author, on a brief visit to England in 1847, "ran down" to spend a Sunday in the home of his ancestors, the little town of Groton, Suffolk. He joins in the service at the same church where they had worshipped; he finds their tomb in the churchyard, and, by a striking coincidence, just repaired,

almost as if in anticipation of the arrival of one who might be presumed to take a peculiar interest in its condition"; and he searches out the traces of their home, "the outlines of the cellar, and one old mulberry-tree still standing in what was probably the garden-plot," being all that is left to mark the spot. He finds a story current there that the Winthrops were regicides, and had fled to America, leaving money buried somewhere about the family precincts.

"Perhaps," says he, "it was supposed that I had come over to search for it! At any rate, I believe it was the monstrosity of this tradition which prompted the resolution which I then formed that I would employ my earliest leisure from public occupation in rendering an act of filial justice to my progenitors. I did not, indeed, imagine that this absurd story had obtained currency or credit anywhere except where I heard it, or that there were not those on the spot who understood its utterly apocryphal character; and certainly I did not forget that here, in New England, there are memorials enough, both of the elder and the younger Winthrop, to leave no room for such a mistake as this, even in the mind of any well educated school-boy. But it is not the less true, that there has been no extended biography of either of them; nor any book containing such an account of their lives, services and characters, as would be likely to render them familiar to the modern public mind."

There is no doubt that the book will, according to the author's expressed wish, "do its own proper work of justification with those into whose hands it shall fall." Its style, no less than its subject, will bespeak not only attention but admiration.

The biographer traces back the family name in its varied orthography, through six and a half centuries. The first of the family of whom he gives any account, is Adam Winthrop (the grandfather of the Massachusetts Governor), who was born in 1498, at Lavenham, Suffolk, and passed the most of his life in London, becoming a distinguished member, and finally master, of the ancient and honorable company of Clothworkers. His son Adam was born in London in 1548; and Groton, formerly the lordship of the Abbot of Bury, having at the dissolution of the monasteries some years before, been granted to the father, it fell to his second son, Adam, in the distribution of the family estate. This Adam was a man of intelligence and scholarship,

intermingled with perhaps not a little pedantry. Some of his poetry is preserved, and extracts are given in the volume before us, of which we might say with the author, that "many 'runder verses' have fallen from 'old and barren braynes' both in that day and in this." He was addicted to keeping a diary, which, whatever may be said of the habit in general, proves in this case to have been most fortunate, as it supplies much information as to dates and places which could not otherwise now be obtained. It gives us a pleasant picture of an English home ;

"all things in order stored,
The haunt of ancient Peace."

Adam Winthrop was twice married, John being the child of his second marriage, and the only son. He was born at Edwardston (a little village adjoining Groton, where his mother's parents lived), Jan. 12, 1587. Did our space permit, we would willingly linger with the father, of whom many interesting traits are cited in this book, and whose death at a good old age is thus beautifully commemorated by his son :

"He hath finished his course ; and is gathered to his people in peace, as the ripe corn into the barn. He thought long for the day of his dissolution, and welcomed it most gladly. Thus is he gone before ; and we must go after, in our time. This advantage he hath of us ; he shall not see the evil which we may meet with ere we go hence. . Happy those who stand in good terms with God and their own conscience ; they shall not fear evil tidings ; and in all changes they shall be the same."—p. 179.

No details of John Winthrop's childhood have been preserved. His father's diary proves him to have been entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1602. He seems to have remained there but about two years, during which time, his "Christian Experience" tells us, being afflicted with a "lingering fever," he "betook himself to God" with much mourning for his past life, which he characterizes as "wild and dissolute," though there is no other testimony to this effect, and much to the contrary. At seventeen he was married and at eighteen he was a father. The accounts of the betrothal and marriage are scanty, being a few concise, matter-of-fact entries by the never failing diarist, Adam Winthrop, of which this is the longest :

“The viiith of May, 1605, my soonne & his wife came to Groton from London, and the ixth I made a marriage feaste when Sr Thomas Mildmay & his lady my sister were present. The same day my sister Veysye came to me, & departed on the 24th of Maye. My dawter Fones came the viiith of Maye & departed home the xxiii^d of May.”—p. 59.

We are left to imagine the merry-makings of the family party upon this joyful occasion. The name of the bride was Mary Forth, daughter and sole heir of John Forth, Esq., of Great Stambridge. Winthrop's early marriage no doubt occasioned his withdrawal from college, but he seems to have had no reason to regret the step. On the contrary, besides the social happiness which it brought him, he expresses himself as circumstantially indebted thereto for his establishment in the faith of Christ.

“About eighteen years of age,” he says in his “Christian Experience,” “I married into a family under Mr. Culverwell his ministry in Essex; and living there sometimes, I first found the ministry of the word come home to my heart with power; (for in all before I found only light)”—was the work of the Holy Spirit ever better distinguished from the work of conscience?—“and after that, I found the like in the ministry of many others; so as there began to be some change; which I perceived in myself, and others took notice of. Now I began to come under strong exercises of conscience; (yet by fits only); I could no longer dally with religion. God put my soule to sad tasks sometimes, which yet the flesh would shake off and outwear still. I had, withal, many sweet invitations; which I would willingly have entertained, but the flesh would not give up her interest. The merciful Lord would not thus be answered; but notwithstanding all my stubbornnesse, and unkind rejections of mercy, hee left mee not till hee had overcome my heart to give itself up unto him, and to bid farewell to all the world, and until my heart could answer, ‘Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?’”

“Now I came to some peace and comfort in God, and in his wayes; my chief delight was therein. I loved a Christian, and the very ground hee went upon. I honored a faithful minister in my heart, and could have kissed his feet. Now I grew full of zeal, (which outrane my knowledge and carried mee sometimes beyond my calling) and very liberall to any good work. I had an unsatiable thirst after the word of God; and could not misse a good sermon, though many miles off, especially of such as did search deep into the conscience.”—p. 60.

On which record the biographer justly remarks, and with much of comfort to pastors whose fields of labor are in Bethlehem rather than Jerusalem :

“ The humble village curate, to whose faithful ministry the father of the Massachusetts Colony has thus traced his earliest and strongest impressions of the power of the word, may well be considered to have earned a title to remembrance which many a lordly prelate of his day might have envied.”

John Winthrop and his wife left the paternal home for their own dwelling at Stambridge in October, 1608. Mary Winthrop died in June, 1615, leaving her husband at twenty-eight, with six children, the oldest of whom was but little over nine. She is spoken of by him in his private papers as “ a right godly woman.”

Winthrop married in December, 1615, Thomasine Clopton, daughter of William Clopton, Esq., of Castleins, a seat near Groton. She died and was buried with her infant child after one short year of wedded life. Winthrop's account of her last sickness is most touching. On the last day of her life which was the Sabbath,

“ When most of the companie were gone downe to dinner, when I discoursed unto hir of the sweet love of Christ unto hir, & of the glorye that she was goeing unto, & what a holye everlastinge Sabbath she should keepe, & how she should suppe wth Christ in Paradise that night, etc.; she shewed by hir speeches & gestures the great ioye & steadfast assurance that she had of those things. When I tould hir that hir Redeemer lived, & that she should see him wth those poore dimme eyes, w^{ch} should be bright & glorified, she answered cheerfully, she should. When I tould hir that she should leave the societie of friends w^{ch} were full of infirmities, & should have communiō wth Abram, Isaacke & Jacob, all the prophets & apostles & saints of God, & those holy martirs, she would lifte up hir hands & eyes, & say, yea she should. Suche comforte had she ag^t deathe that she steadfastly professed that if life were sett before hir she would not take it.”—p. 87.

In 1618, we find Winthrop again married; this time to Margaret Tyndal, daughter of Sir John Tyndal of Great Maplested, Essex. This marriage seems to have been most agreeable to Adam Winthrop, for we find a letter from him to his future daughter expressing, in most affectionate terms, his desire to

see her a member of his family. The Tyndal family do not seem to have been at first much pleased with the match, but Margaret adhered to her resolution, and the wedding took place in April, 1618. For the next ten or twelve years there is little that is remarkable, though much that is interesting, in the family history. Winthrop's professional duties often called him to London, and at such times he maintained an affectionate and frequent correspondence with the home circle. His letters to his wife and hers to him form one of the most valuable portions of this volume and we shall refer to them again. His eldest son John was a student at Trinity college, Dublin, and afterwards a law student in London. His father's letters to him are truly, in the language of the biographer, "models of old-fashioned paternal advice and affectionate counsel." He says in one of them :

"I will not limit your allowance less than to the uttermost of mine own estate. So as, if £20 be too little (as I always accounted it), you shall have £30 ; and when that shall not suffice, you shall have more. Only hold a sober and frugal course, (yet without baseness) and I will shorten myself to enlarge you." p. 177. And again : "I see, by your epistle, that you have not spent this year past in idleness, but have profited even beyond my expectations. The Lord grant that thy soul may still prosper in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and in the strength of the Spirit, as thy mind is strengthened in wisdom and learning ; for this gives the true lustre and beauty to all gifts both of nature and industry, and is as wisdom with an inheritance." p. 179. "I doubt not but if it please the Lorde to reveale himselfe once in you & to lett you taste & see howe godd he is, and what the worthe of Christ is to those who finde him, what riches, what pleasures, what wisdome, what peace & contentatiō is to be founde in Christ alone, you will willingly forsake all to follow him."—p. 184.

In 1627 the younger John Winthrop joined the expedition under command of the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the French Protestants at Rochelle. Here is his father's farewell letter. Surely "it could serve as well for one going to fight the battles of his country to-day, as it did two hundred and thirty-five years ago."

"Only be careful to seek the Lord in the first place and with all earnestness as He who is only able to keep you in all perils, and to give you favor in the sight of those who may be instruments of your

welfare ; and account it a great point of wisdom to keep diligent watch over yourself, that you may neither be infected by the evil conversation of any that you may be forced to converse with, neither that your own speech or behavior be any just occasion to hurt or ensnare you. Be not rash, upon ostentation of valor, to adventure yourself to unnecessary dangers ; but if you be lawfully called, let it appear that you hold your life for Him who gave it you, and will preserve it unto the farthest period of His own holy decree. For you may be resolved that while you keep in your way, all the cannons or enemies in the world shall not be able to shorten your days one minute.”—p. 242.

After his return from this expedition, the younger Winthrop seems to have had some desire to emigrate to New England. This was discouraged by the father who “was loath that his son should settle there yet,” but prefers his “going and coming awhile, and afterwards to do as God shall offer occasion.” He finally concluded upon an oriental tour, which occupied him for about fourteen months.

Many changes had during the last few years taken place in Winthrop family. Adam Winthrop, the beloved father, had died ; John Winthrop, senior, had suffered a severe and painful illness ; his son Henry (afterwards drowned at Salem, Massachusetts), had caused him much anxiety by his wayward conduct ; and in 1629 the loss of the office of Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, which he had held for some years, and the anticipations which he seems to have entertained of approaching political troubles, may have added their weight to the other motives in favor of a voluntary exile from his native land. The first distinct intimation of such a design is given in the reply of his son to a letter now lost, which had evidently spoken of his intention to emigrate. The younger Winthrop says :

“ For myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries, than as so many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey’s end ; and I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God’s will and yours, and with your leave, do dedicate myself (laying by all desire of other employments whatsoever) to

the service of God and the Company herein, with the whole endeavors both of body and mind."—p. 307.

And now were commenced in earnest the preparations for seeking a home in the New World. With an earnest desire to do all to the glory of God, and a firm conviction that duty called him across the sea, are mingled tender natural regrets at leaving his native land, as he truly prophesied, to see it no more. His letters to his wife, whose circumstances prevented her from accompanying him, grew more and more tender as the parting day approached. Being chosen Governor of the Company, his public cares are much increased, and he has also to provide for his own family in many matters needful. But he finds time for one more visit, and a lingering farewell to the Groton home and its dear inmates, and then, after long delays, and innumerable vexations, he sets sail, having agreed that he and his Margaret should "meet in spirit before the Lord" every Monday and Friday evening between the hours of five and six.

Winthrop and his companions embarked March 22, 1630. He was at this time forty-three years of age. At this point the historian leaves him, with the modest observation, "We can hardly hope to add much to the account of the latter part of his life, although we are not without some new original letters and papers pertaining to it." But we trust that the author will not let his labor of love stop so far short of the wishes of his readers. Winthrop's Letters to his Wife give us a view of his character without which his portraiture would lack some of its most attractive features. The few letters given in the appendix to "Winthrop's New England" have often made us wish for more. The author of the present memorial devotes much space to these precious relics of a love as pure and devoted as the world has ever seen. We wish we could find room for a few extracts.

Margaret Winthrop's letters are in their way no wise inferior to her husband's either in feeling or expression. Indeed all the glimpses which we get of her through the course of this volume show her to have been a true help-meet for her honored husband, sharing cheerfully with him temporal joys and sorrows, and united with him in one hope of eternal life.

Winthrop's letters to his wife during the weeks preceding his

embarkation for America abound in expressions of the most heartfelt tenderness as well as the most courageous faith. In one of these last he says, for we can not resist the quoting of it :

“ And now (my sweet soul) I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee ; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to him who loves thee much better than any husband can, who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in his bottle, who can and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. Oh, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living ! that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content ! Yet if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God, that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell, farewell.”—p. 378.

The “ Christian Experience ” of Winthrop, from which we have already quoted a few sentences, was drawn up by himself in New England and signed on his forty-ninth birth day. Extracts from it form a deeply interesting chapter in the volume before us. It is full of the most searching condemnation of his “ awful heart ” and the most vivid apprehension of eternal things.

John Winthrop was a Puritan of the highest type. Sincerely persuaded, as were his companions in emigration, that the enterprise of building up a new state in a foreign land was a work most agreeable to God as conducive to his glory in the establishment of religious institutions upon a firmer foundation than was possible in their native land, he was more steadfast than were some of them, in overcoming the difficulties and enduring the hardships of the task. Bancroft says :

“ As the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It became

necessary to hold a court at Southampton for the election of three substitutes among the assistants; and of these three one never went. . . . It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop that sustained the courage of his companions."

We would fain hope that the great religious truths which were the basis of the Puritanic faith, and the Puritanic integrity, have not wholly faded out of New England's life. We do not claim that Puritanism was perfection, or that a restoration of all its features would be desirable, even if it were possible; but we believe that its defects were but specks on the surface of a sun whose beams had power to evoke from a strange and unfriendly soil such growths as no other influence could have produced; such fruits of energy as to-day make New England and the states of which she is the foster-mother, a wonder and a praise among the nations; such fruits of courage and indomitable patience as are to-day redeeming the land from a foe to its prosperity worse than any which our fathers had to encounter. One of our greatest American historians has spoken thus wisely and with generous appreciation of the work of Puritanism:

"Historians have loved to eulogize the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. If it had the sectarian crime of intolerance, chivalry had the vices of dissoluteness. The knights were brave from gallantry of spirit; the Puritans from the fear of God. The knights were proud of loyalty; the Puritans of liberty. The knights did homage to monarchs in whose smile they beheld honor, whose rebuke was the wound of disgrace; the Puritans, disdaining ceremony, would not bend the knee to the King of kings. The former valued courtesy; the latter liberty. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight, and knowledge, and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, relying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty."

ARTICLE III.

THE GREEK TEXT IN ACTS, xx. 28: 1 TIMOTHY, iii.
16: AND 1 JOHN, v. 7, 8.

ACTS xx. 28. "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which [*or church of the Lord which, or church of the Lord God which, or church which*] he hath purchased with his own blood."

1 TIM. iii. 16. "Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest, [*or which was manifest; or who was manifest*] in the flesh."

1 JOHN v. 7, 8. "There are three that bear record in (heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in) earth, the spirit and the water and the blood: and these three agree in one: *or there are three that bear record in [omitting all in the parenthesis]* earth, the spirit and the water and the blood; and these three agree in one."

It was not till about a century after the art of printing was discovered that there was any printed copy of the Greek New Testament. It then appeared in the Complutensian Polyglot, which was issued under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenes. From that edition Erasmus, R. Stephens, Beza, and Elzevir published Greek Testaments, differing only by very slight variations. Thus the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot came into general use with only some variations that will be noted in the sequel.

It is from that Received Text that all the deviations are usually reckoned. Stephens, in his splendid edition, having collated fifteen mss. besides the Complutensian edition, noted a variety of readings in the margin. Elzevir, from whose edition the Received Text is properly reckoned, very closely followed the editions of Beza, and the third edition of Stephens; and the third edition of Stephens followed very closely the fifth edition of Erasmus; except in some places where he thought the Complutensian preferable to that of Erasmus.

But Curcellæus and bishop Fell collated more mss. than Stephens; and their editions greatly augmented the number of

"various readings." Dr. Mill, in his elaborate edition of the Greek Testament, computed the various readings to be about thirty thousand. Then the labors of subsequent collators of mss. augmented these to more than fifty thousand, the most of which, however, were no variations in the sense.

Then it was that Bengel and Semler proposed the plan of classifying and collating all the mss. Dr. Bentley, (*Letters* of 1807, London edition,) had projected the like plan of disposing of the immense number of "various readings." Thus he said :

"Reflecting upon some of the passages of St. Jerome ; that he had adjusted and castigated the then Latin Vulgate to the best Greek exemplars ; and had kept the very order of the words of the the original ; I formed a thought, *a priori*, that if St. Jerome's true Latin exemplar could now be come at, it would be found to agree exactly with the Greek text of that age ; and so the old copies of each language, if so agreeing, would give mutual proof and even demonstration of each other."

Thus he formed the plan of a corrected text which should agree with the Vulgate as corrected by Jerome.

But these schemes were superseded by the elaborate work of Griesbach. His project for classifying Greek mss. instead of depending upon Jerome, who flourished in the fifth century, was to build upon that of Origen, who flourished in the third century ; and instead of two kinds of text, one of which is conformed to the Latin Vulgate, and the other to the generality of Greek mss., he contemplated three classes ; which he denominated the Alexandrine, the Western, and the Byzantine, from the regions where each was supposed to prevail. A choice among these texts he determined by the authority of Origen, because of the great attention which he gave to biblical criticism. But he made no allowance for the whims of Origen. Believing that there was a striking coincidence between Origen's scripture quotations, and the celebrated ms. brought from Alexandria in Egypt, he denominated those that agreed most nearly with that the Alexandrine mss. Those that differed from this, and coincided with those which came from Constantinople and its vicinity, he called the Byzantine mss. A third class, which were found chiefly in Europe, and which coincided with

the Latin version, where they differ from the peculiar readings of the other two classes, he denominated the Western MSS.

But to the so called Alexandrine MSS. Griesbach ascribed the highest rank; making a very few of them outweigh a multitude of the Byzantine MSS. Thus the peculiar readings which he selected from the Alexandrine MSS., and which were confirmed by the Fathers, and versions, he pronounced "genuine and authentic." These he introduced into his emended text; giving unreasonable authority to Origen, and distressing the minds of many Christians. "For if the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?"

But they may dismiss all such unnecessary fears. For the subject of various readings, which have been set forth in great capitals as fifty thousand, may be brought into a very small compass, so far as the doctrinal purity of the Greek text is concerned. For most of the various readings are slight and unimportant, relating to punctuation or orthography. It is indeed marvellous that the doctrines of the New Testament are touched but little, if we make the exception of the three texts under consideration. In the first of these Griesbach has "church of the Lord" instead of "church of God"; in the second he has $\delta\varsigma$ for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$; "who was manifest in the flesh"; and he expunges 1 John v. 7, 8, as an interpolation.

Let all this be borne in mind while we proceed to examine the work of Griesbach. For, while we concede much honor to him for learned and patient labor in collating MSS. versions and the fathers; and also in directing us to the sources of evidence; we dissent entirely from his classification of MSS., and also from his decision that the Alexandrine outweigh both the Byzantine and the Western MSS.

Thus Dr. Nolin, in his "Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate," says of Griesbach:

"In his predilection for the Alexandrine text, which he conceives that he has discovered in the works of Origen, I am far from acquiescing; for I cannot see that M. Griesbach has evinced that the text used by Origen was the Alexandrine rather than the Byzantine. The fact is that Origen lived and died in a state of excommunication from that church, in which his principles were execrated, and his writings condemned. And the principal part of his commentaries

were published in Palestine instead of Alexandria. In adopting a text the Alexandrine church was not influenced by him, nor was he influenced by their text. But he followed the copies of the country in which his writings were published and dispersed."

There is great force in this testimony of Dr. Nolin. Besides, we are assured by Jerome that "Palestine adopted the text of Origen"; while "Alexandria adopted that of Hesychius." Thus we discover that Griesbach made a most stupendous mistake at the threshold in his classification of MSS.

Still further; by Griesbach's own showing, the Alexandrine MSS. were not worthy of being considered as authoritative; for he says; "They are fouled and corrupted in almost every page."

And is it not amazing, that while the Byzantine and the Western are to be reckoned by hundreds, and while they are remarkably coincident with each other, Griesbach should have made the Alexandrine MSS. the basis with which to compare MSS., the fathers and versions; while he admits that they were so corrupted; and that he should make the very few of these to outweigh hundreds of the other MSS.? For, it must be remarked in passing, that Matthæi has collated about six hundred MSS.

We may, therefore, and we should conclude, that Griesbach is fundamentally erroneous.

We next proceed to show that the Byzantine text should be the basis with which to compare all the rest. For it is admitted on all hands that the Byzantine text can be traced through more than fourteen centuries without interruption; and during that long period there is a remarkable agreement in the MSS.

Besides, when we attempt to go back beyond these fourteen centuries, the first thing that interrupts the series is the ascendancy of the Arians for about forty years; in which period Eusebius of Cæsarea made a revision of the text. We shall hereafter show how Eusebius might have let drop the celebrated text of the three witnesses. But our design now is to carry up the Byzantine text beyond that period of forty years. Jerome's testimony helps us through the difficulty. For he says that "the text which prevailed at Byzantium was not the one edited by Eusebius, but the one that was edited by Lucianus." And

thus is it made clear that the Byzantine text is the one that prevailed within two hundred years of the apostles. Surely, then, that should be the basis of comparison in all attempts at emending the Greek text.

But it is next necessary to go into the subject of the earliest revisions of the sacred text, to discover if possible what other interruptions there were in the series of MSS. in reaching the very age of the apostles.

There is evidence that no attempts were made to amend the text before the time of Origen. We may here advert to what was done by Hesychius and Lucianus to remove the objections which had been made to the text of Origen. Both of these fathers attempted to remove errors. Lucianus directed his attention to the Old Testament; and Hesychius to the New. But their one great design was to remove the errors which had arisen from transcribers and from the criticisms of Origen. Here Jerome comes to our aid; showing that Lucianus and Hesychius published the vulgar Greek text, the common edition: "*Quæ Græcie κοινή dicitur, et in toto orbe diversa est.*"

Thus it will be seen that we carry up our Greek vulgate, the Received Text, to the very age of the apostles. For we before carried it around the forty years of the Arian heresy; and here we carry it beyond the tampering of Origen.

We now ask biblical scholars if the Byzantine text does not stand on a platform far above that of the Alexandrine MSS., which are "fouled and corrupted on almost every page"?

We now proceed to show that Griesbach transgressed his own rules. And what were those rules?

"Every emendation should be made by the weight of authority of MSS., the Christian fathers, and versions of the New Testament." Yet, while he admitted that the Alexandrine "were fouled and corrupted in almost every page," he allowed them a weight of authority above both the Byzantine and the Western when they agree, and he accounted a few MSS., two or three in one passage, of the Alexandrine MSS. to outweigh hundreds of both the Byzantine and the Western. And, before we are through, we shall endeavor to make it apparent that the Alexandrine MSS. on which he depended have been affected by the revision of Eusebius; for they have his divisions and sections.

Besides, the versions by which Griesbach would confirm the authority of the Alexandrine against both the Byzantine and the Western MSS. give no additional weight of testimony; for they also have the divisions and sections of Eusebius, and of course they are either the descendants of the text of Eusebius, or else have been accommodated to it. In either case they add nothing to the authority of the Alexandrine text. These versions are the Sahidic, the Coptic, the Armenian, the later Syriac, and the Erpenian Arabic. But they are not independent witnesses because they have the sections and divisions above referred to.

We come now to the real weight of authority for Griesbach's emendations.

Upon Acts xx. 28, for *ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου* instead of *θεοῦ*, there are ten MSS., and these are confirmed only by those versions that have the divisions of Eusebius.

But against the adoption of *κυρίου* for *θεοῦ* all the Latin MSS. without a single exception have *Deus*; and they thus support the Byzantine or Received Greek text. There are also fifteen Greek MSS. that have *θεοῦ*, and fifty Greek MSS. that have *κυρίου θεοῦ*. And therefore it might be assumed that *κυρίου θεοῦ* was the true text; that *θεοῦ* had happened to be dropped out of the ten MSS. and *κυρίου* out of the fifteen by the carelessness of transcribers. If we now appeal to the quotations of the Christian fathers, who lived anterior to the date of any of the Greek MSS. that have come down to us; we shall find that the term "church of God which he purchased with his own blood" was in both the Latin and Greek texts before the revision of Eusebius.

Thus Ignatius speaks of our being saved *ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ*. And he went on to reason from it thus; *Εἰς λατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τέ καί πνευματικός, γεννητός καί ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκί γενόμενος θεός.*

Tertullian, Lib. II. says; "Quod sciam, non sumus nostri; sed pretio empti; et quali pretio? Sanguine Dei." Can any one question whether Tertullian here referred to Acts xx. 28?

Athanasius, one hundred years later than Tertullian, writes: *Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν ᾧ ἡμᾶς τό πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπίσκοπους ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.*

Basil also quotes the text in nearly the same words. Epiphanius also quotes it precisely after the form adopted by Athan-

asius. Ambrose thus writes ; "Dixit enim Paulus ; adtendite vobis et omni gregi in quo posuit vos Spiritus Sanctus Episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei," etc.

Chrysostom in his forty-fourth Homily, ninth book, quotes the Greek Vulgate as has been mentioned concerning Athanasius and Epiphanius. And great numbers of both Greek and Latin fathers quoted this text in the age that followed that of Eusebius ; as Ibas, Cœlestinus, Fulgentius, Primasius, Etherius, Antiochus, Ecumenius and Theophylact.

If it were necessary to add to this amount of evidence, we would say that "church of the Lord" is no where the *usus loquendi* of scriptural writers ; while "the church of God" occurs eleven times.

Now we ask if Griesbach's authority for substituting *κύριον* for *θεοῦ* in Acts xx. 28, be not reduced to a very slight foundation?

He had still less authority for his reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16 : *ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*. For none of the versions made before the fourth century have *ὃς* ; while the old Italic version, the first probably that ever was made, has *Deus* ; plainly showing what was the original text. Besides, all the versions that have *ὃς* instead of *θεός* have either been accommodated to the text of Eusebius, or copied from it ; for they have his sections and divisions.

Still further ; Griesbach had only three mss. in favor of amending this text by inserting *ὃς*, instead of *θεός* ; while all known mss. both Greek and Latin from the East and the West, give the Received Text, "God was manifest in the flesh" ; and still further, the Received Text was quoted and reasoned upon by no less than eight of the most eminent of the fathers of the church ; viz., Ignatius, Hippolytus, Athanasius, Gregory Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and Euthalius. Ignatius wrote in the apostolic age, being a disciple and companion of the apostles, and Hippolytus in the age that followed. In the next age we have Athanasius, Gregory Nyssa and Chrysostom ; and in the next, Euthalius, Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria.

Besides, if it were shown that *ὃς* instead of *θεός* were the true text, what is the antecedent to which it refers ? It cannot be *μνηστήριον* ; for the gender will not allow it. But, if it would,

what is its meaning? Was it a mystery that was manifest in the flesh? That would be more unintelligible than that "God was manifest in the flesh." Does it then refer to θεός in a preceding verse? If so then we should have "God *who* was manifest in the flesh."

We may further remark that Dr. Bloomfield says, in loco, that it "has been proved irrefragably by Matthæi, Burton and others, that the testimony of the Greek fathers upon the whole is decidedly in favor of θεός.

We will now look at 1 John v. 7, 8, which Griesbach pronounces "an interpolation."

In the beginning of our argument we observe that all the evidence against the genuineness of this passage is that it is not contained in the earliest Greek mss. that have come down to us; and that it is not in quite all the Latin mss., though it is in most of them. It was on this account that the Protestant Reformers marked it as doubtful.

But, if we can prove that it was in the texts both Greek and Latin, before the revision of Eusebius, then we can show more easily how it could have been left out by him, than that it could have been in the text during the three centuries preceding his time, if it were not genuine and authentic.

It certainly was in the text in the second century; for Tertullian thus referred to it; "Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleta tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sunt; non unus quando dictum est; ego et Pater unum sumus; ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem."

In the age that followed, Cyprian the bishop of Carthage, thus writes in his "De unitate ecclesiæ"; "Dixit Dominus ego et Pater unum sumus, et de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est; et hi tres unum sunt." We observe his language, "scriptum est"; for it was the usual mode of the Christian fathers in referring to the authority of the Scriptures.

In the age following that of Cyprian, we may quote "Phœbadius contra Arianos": for after referring to the promise of Christ to give the Comforter, he says; "Sic alius a Filio Spiritus; sicut alius a patre Filius. Sic tertia in Spiritu ut in Filio secunda persona, unus tamen omnia quia tres unum sunt."

In the same age Marcus Celedensis wrote; "Nobis unus Pater, et unus Filius ejus, verus Deus, et unus Spiritus Sanctus, verus Deus; et hi tres unum sunt; una divinitas, et potentia, et regnum."

How could all those fathers have thus written had not this passage 1 John v. 7, 8, been in the text? And how could the whole Western church have given their testimony incidentally to its authenticity, had it not been in the text?

That the whole African church received it is apparent from what occurred at Carthage, when between three and four hundred prelates were assembled; for Fulgentius, who drew up their confession, thus quotes St. John, the Evangelist, on the doctrine of the trinity: "Tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, aqua, sanguis, et caro; et hi tres unum sunt; et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo; Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus; et hi tres unum sunt."

Observe here how improbable it is that nearly four hundred bishops should quote such a text, if it were not in the original? And how can we account for its being in the text if it was not there from the beginning of Christianity?

Fulgentius, Marcus Celedensis, Cyprian and Tertullian were Africans; and they have all referred to this passage as if it were a part of their Bible. Besides, it is in the earliest version of the New Testament that was made; and in nearly all the Latin mss. from all parts of the world.

Still further; there is internal evidence that it should be in the text; for otherwise there is a rent in it. There is a solecism in the language without it; for the genders do not agree. But if we put in *ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ λόγος* the masculine adjective and participle will have suitable substantives with which to agree; and *τρεῖς οἱ μαρτυροῦντες* will appear to be properly used; and by what the Greeks call attraction the neuter noun following may properly be joined with them.

Indeed, there is need of this verse to express St. John's meaning. For he was summing up the divine and the human testimonies, the witness of God and of man, that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh. He had elsewhere enumerated the heavenly witnesses thus; "I am one that bear witness of myself; and the

Father that sent me beareth witness of me." "And when the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom I will send, even the spirit of truth shall come, he shall testify of me," and, yet, in this epistle where he is summing up the testimony that Jesus is the Son of God, come in the flesh, he passes by the heavenly witnesses to insist upon three earthly witness, if 1 *John* v. 7, 8, be an interpolation.

But this is not all; for this text is in the early Confessions of Faith, and also in the liturgies of both the Greek and Latin churches. Thus the confession of faith of the Greek church says; "God in his nature is true and eternal, and the creator of all things visible and invisible; such also is the Son and the Holy Spirit. They are also of the same essence among themselves: according to the doctrine of John the Evangelist, who says, There are three that bear testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one."

In the liturgy of the Greek church this passage with others is to be read in its course on the thirty-fifth week of the year, as is affirmed in Dr. Smith's *Miscellanea*, p. 155. London, 1686.

It is found also in the *Ordo Romanus* or primitive liturgy of the Latin church; which recites this verse in the offices for Trinity Sunday, and for the octave of Easter, and also in the the office for the administration of baptism; as is affirmed in Travis' *Letters to Gibbon*, pp. 61, 62.

The above two testimonies Dr. Hales considered decisive in favor of the genuineness of the passage. For when we consider the lasting schism that was made between the Greek and Latin churches, we may be assured that the clergy of the Greek church would never have adopted it from the Latins, had it not then been in their Greek text.

Still further; this passage is in the most ancient Latin version which prevailed in Africa, before the Latin Vulgate existed, and it is older than the oldest Greek mss. that have come down to us, and Fulgentius, the learned bishop of Ruspe, in opposing the Arians, thus writes; "In Patre ergo, et filio, et spiritu sancto unitatem substantiæ accipimus, personas confundere non audemus; enim Johannes beatus apostolus testatur; 'Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus; et tres unum sunt.'"

We advert to the above sources of evidence to settle the point that this verse was in the text long before the emendations of Eusebius. And how could this be, if it were not in the text from the beginning of Christianity? But on a passage which has occasioned so many volumes to be written by some of the most eminent and learned divines, it is impossible to present the whole argument in one article. On one side we have such men as Bengel, Ernesti, Hales, Nolin, Lawrence, Horsely, Middleton, Burgess and Bloomfield decidedly in its favor; while on the other hand Porson, Marsh, Michaelis and a host of German critics as decisively against it.

But Dr. Bloomfield thinks that "we must wait for additional evidence, before we shall be warranted in rejecting it as indisputably spurious."

It is necessary to advert to the revision of Eusebius, and to the probability that he dropped out of the text the heavenly witnesses. He was made bishop of Cæsarea A.D., 315. In common with many other bishops he had Arian proclivities. He was intimate with his namesake, the bishop of Nicomedia, who openly espoused the cause of the Arians. And after the Arians were condemned and expelled from their offices, he used his influence with the emperor to have them recalled and reinstated in the church in defiance of Athanasius. He also, A.D. 330, assisted at the council of Antioch where the Arians triumphed. He was present also at the council of Tyre, A.D. 335, and joined the bishops who censured the proceedings of Athanasius, the great champion of orthodoxy. Moreover he used his influence with Constantine to have Athanasius banished.

Is it not evident that he was capable of corrupting the text by leaving out this passage of 1 John v. 7, 8? We know indeed that he did remove other texts from their place, as John viii. 11, the account of the woman taken in adultery, and the closing verses of Mark's gospel. Why, then, may we not think it probable that he did remove the passage in question? Observe what scope Constantine gave him in thus writing him: "It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you should order to be written on parchment prepared for the purpose, by able scribes and accurately skilled in the art, fifty codices both legible and portable, so as to be useful, namely, of

the sacred Scriptures, whereof chiefly you know the preparation and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the church."

Thus we see what a large discretion was allowed him of selecting what he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the church. When we consider the character already given of him, and the fact well known to all that he did drop out other passages; is there not a violent presumption that he let 1 *John* v. 7, 8, drop out from his revision; since we have shown by such abundant evidence that the passage was in the text in the early centuries; and since it is not in those versions or MSS. that have his divisions and sections?

He did not need the power to do it, for he was a great favorite with Constantine. He did not need the will as may appear from his Arian proclivities. He had also the influence of the emperor to recommend his edition to the exclusion of every other. When it is remembered that the number of copies of the New Testament had been greatly reduced under Dioclesian, so much so that there was need of fifty new codices, we can readily perceive that he had every facility to drop out this text of the heavenly witnesses.

And how can it but be that he did it designedly and for a sinister purpose? He had a great reputation for learning; and a person of his intellect could not have left this verse out of fifty codices without knowing what he did.

If such is the light that bishop Bloomfield is waiting for, we hope that his next edition may have it. For we see how this passage became wanting in the earliest Greek MSS. that have come down to us, as none of them are anterior to the fourth century. At the same time we see how it should be found in nearly all the Latin MSS., whether descended from the old Italic version, or the Latin Vulgate, or Jerome's revision. We perceive, too, why it was received by the whole African church, and the Western churches, that were never infected with Arianism: and also why it is not contained in the versions or MSS. that have the sections and divisions of Eusebius.

Let us here quote a passage from Mill's elaborate Greek Testament, written after he had run through all the known MSS. and versions upon this verse; "Mihi, fateor, (meliora, si quid melius certiusque dederit longior dies, discere parato) argumentis ad

auctoritatem huic versiculo conciliandam modo adductis roboris inesse videtur, ut eum nullo modo de loco suo movendum esse censeam."

We close the discussion by quoting the whole of bishop Burges' admirable paraphrase of this text :

"This is he that was manifested by his baptism to be the Son of God come in the flesh ; manifested not by his baptism only, with which he commenced his ministry on earth ; but by his death with which he finished it. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness that Jesus is the Son of God. Now the Spirit is truth, a true witness. For he is not alone ; for there are three that bear record in heaven that Jesus is the Son of God ; namely the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit ; and these three are one in the divine nature. And there are three that bear witness in the earth, that the Son of God is come in the flesh ; namely, his last breath on the cross, and the blood and water that issued from his side. And these three are one in the person of Jesus Christ, one united proof of his human nature from the phenomena of his death.

"By the Jewish law the testimony of two or three men is true. If, then, we receive the witness of men as true, the witness of God is greater ; for this is the witness of God that he hath testified of his Son."

[A peculiar interest attaches to this discussion. As a field of historical criticism, it has been open from a very early day, and seems closed from time to time only to be reöpened by succeeding scholars. The affirmations and denials are yet so positive and so scholarly on the genuineness of these passages that evidently the time has not come to close the case.

The quotations following, with which we supplement this Article, will show the discussion in its more recent phases, as presented by some of the ablest Greek editors of the New Testament.

ACTS xx. 28. Alford on this disputed reading says :

"The question between Θεοῦ and κυρίου rests principally on internal evidence, which of the two is likely to have been the original reading. The ms. authority, now that it is certain that B has Θεοῦ *a prima manu* is weighty on both sides. The early patristic authority for the expr. αἶμα Θεοῦ is considerable." "If κυρίου was the original, it is very possible (1) that some busy scribe may have written

at the side, as so often occurs, Θεοῦ. . . . Or (2) that the expression ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου, not found any where else, may have been corrected into the very usual one ἐκκλ. (τοῦ) Θεοῦ, which occurs eleven times in the Epp. of Paul. . . . Or (3) which I consider exceedingly improbable, the alteration may have been made solely in the interest of orthodoxy. . . . On the other hand, if Θεοῦ was the original, but one reason can be given why it should have been altered to κυρίου, and that one was sure to have operated. It would stand as a bulwark against Arianism, an assertion which no skill could evade, which must therefore be modified. If Θεοῦ stood in the text originally it was sure to be altered to κυρίου. . . . Pauline usage must be allowed its fair weight in the inquiry." If κυρίου be the reading it is "an expression which no where else occurs in his writings, nor indeed in those of his contemporaries. . . . On the whole then, weighing the evidence on both sides . . . I have on a final revision of this volume, decided for the received reading, which in first writing it I had rejected. And this decision has been confirmed in preparing this fourth edition. March, 1860."—Alford's Greek Testament *in loco*.

"The whole question must lie between τοῦ κυρίου and τοῦ Θεοῦ, for the reading that combines both fails as to ancient ms. authority . . . as to versions, and as to each citation." Τοῦ Θεοῦ has good witnesses in B (the other mss. are unimportant) and the Vulgate; but τοῦ κυρίου has preponderating testimony; for B alone could not on such a point outweigh A C D E, and as to versions and fathers, τοῦ κυρίου stands on stronger ground; and therefore it should be accepted, even while all that can be said in favor of τοῦ Θεοῦ is fully admitted."—Tregelles on the Printed Text, p. 233.

The conclusions of Dr. Tregelles were published in 1854. Tischendorf reads τοῦ κυρίου.

The principal names on either side, beside those mentioned are, for Θεοῦ, Mill, Wolf, Bengel, Matthæi and Scholz: for κυρίου Grotius, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Griesbach, Kuinoel, De Wette, Meyer and Lachmann.

1 TIM. III. 16. On the disputed reading in this verse Alford concludes positively that it should be & and not Θεός. He bases his conclusion on the MS. evidences.

"Now that it may be fairly said, that merely external considerations have settled this question, we are not driven to combine internal considerations." "The testimonies of the fathers for Θεός are

very doubtful." "How completely the whole glorious sentence is marred and disjoined by the substitution of θεός." "There is hardly a passage in the New Testament in which I feel more deep personal thankfulness for the restoration of the true and wonderful connection of the original text."

On the reading of θεός instead of the relative & or δ, Tregelles says that the former

"Is upheld by no version whatever, prior to the Arabic of the Polyglot and the Slavonic, both of which are more recent than the seventh century, and possess no value as critical witnesses." "The versions which support a relative are, 1. The Old Latin. 2. The Vulgate. 3. Peshito. 4. Harclean Syriac. 5. Mephitic. 6. Thebaic. 7. Gothic. 8. Armenian. 9. Æthiopic. That is, all the versions older than the seventh century."—Printed Text, pp. 227, 8.

In this passage Tischendorf reads &.

1 JOHN v. 7, 8. On retaining or rejecting the disputed reading in this passage Alford remarks :

"Omitted in all Greek mss. previous to the beginning of the sixteenth century ; all the Greek fathers, even when producing texts in support of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ; . . . all the ancient versions including the Vulgate, as it came from Jerome, and, though interpolated in the modern editions, the Syriac ; and many Latin fathers." "The Vulgate is cited in support of the disputed passage. It is true that it is found in the mass of the later mss. of that version, but it is wanting in the two earliest, (written in the sixth century,) in those revised by Alcuin and in about fifty others ; whilst those that contain it differ both as to the words themselves and as to their positions."

"The question of the genuineness of the words read in the rec. at the end of verse 7, has been discussed, as far as external grounds are concerned in the digest ; and it has been seen, that unless pure caprice is to be followed in the criticism of the sacred text, there is not the shadow of a reason for supposing them genuine. Even the supposed citations of them in early Latin fathers have now, on closer examination, disappeared. Something remains to be said on internal grounds, on which we have full right to enter, now that the other is secured. And on these grounds it must appear, on any fair and unprejudiced consideration, that the words are (1) alien from the context ; (2) in themselves incoherent, and betraying another hand *than the Apostle's*."

“The Greek words were first inserted in the Complutensian edition of 1514. When Erasmus enquired whether the editors really had mss. so different from any he had seen, the answer given by one of them was: ‘Sciendum est Græcorum codces esse corruptos; nostros vero [i. e. Latinos] ipsam veritatem continere.’ Erasmus unfortunately pledged himself to insert the words if they existed in any one Greek ms. A Codex Britannicus was at length found which contained them, and Erasmus in his 3d edition (1522) fulfilled his promise.”—Alford's *Tes. in loco*.

Tregelles says :

“To enter into a formal discussion of the genuineness of the ‘testimony of the heavenly witnesses,’ 1 John v. 7, 8, is really superfluous; for it would only be doing over again what has been done so repeatedly that there cannot be two opinions in the minds of those who now know the evidence, and are capable of appreciating its force.”—p. 226.

This is quite declaratory and aims to be conclusive. Tischendorf omits the doubtful passage.—EDITORS.]

ARTICLE IV.

CLARK'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF EGYPT.

Daleth, or the Homestead of the Nations : Egypt Illustrated. By EDWARD L. CLARK. Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

A CONTEMPORARY critic aptly remarks that “the Arab with bowed head and ear pressed to the lips of the Sphinx, in the picture by Vedder, which has lately attracted so much attention in our exhibitions, represents not inaptly the manner in which the European world has listened for centuries to every new thing that could be learned of that land of mystery where the Sphinx is at home.” We must add, to perfect the allusion, that the everlasting silence, which seals the lips of this stony symbol, is the striking emblem, and is likely long to be, of the fruitless questioning of the memorials of that land of wonder, to reveal the secrets of much of its ancient power and renown. We can as little find out the clue to its peculiar achievements in art and

industry, as we can imitate those colossal works which survive to pique our inquisitiveness and to challenge our rivalry.

The author of this elegant and tempting volume is a young clergyman, the pastor of one of our rural parishes, who travelled extensively in the East, four years ago. This, we think, is his first literary adventure; and he has thrown into it the freshness and vigor of a mind finely cultivated in polite letters, and of an imagination alive to the strikingly arresting facts and features of the Oriental world. He has possessed himself generally of the literature and the leading discoveries of Egyptological science; and has combined them, with the relation of his own personal observations, into a gracefully written book, into which he has gathered a choice collection of illustrative drawings, colored and plain, of the ruins and wonders of that strange land, as well as of the manners and customs, the localities and universal characteristics, of the Egypt of to-day.

We may as well, at the outset, despatch one or two exceptions to this work, which do not materially detract from its value as a popular account of Egypt, while we can not, in justice, let them pass unnoticed. A more simple style would, we think, have better expressed the idea in some sections where the author's pen has glided into a vein of what savors too much of the romancist, for a narrative of this description. This tendency of his mind has probably betrayed him into another fault — a want of sufficient accuracy in the prosaic matters of dates, and the estimates of distances, heights, and the like troublesome minutiae which give the reviewers so nice an opportunity to trip incautious wayfarers. Most of these lapses occur in connection with antiquarian topics. They are blemishes upon the fair face of the work, yet do not amount to any very serious affair. Perfect accuracy is, of course, to be ever sought by all practicable painstaking; but it is oftener sought than secured. In our judgment there is too much of real merit in this book to subject it to a wholesale condemnation for these imperfections.

Daleth, which we can hardly sever from the Greek Delta, in its triangular outline, as the early writing shaped it, was cut deeply into the face of the Egyptian temples by their mysterious builders, as the same figure stands forever challenging the *curiosity* of the ages in the tapering Pyramids. The letter thus

bears a kind of typical sense as pertaining to this primitive "homestead of the nations." The configuration of the coast lands, where the great river of Egypt empties itself into the sea, takes the same form, making what the geographers have long known as the Delta of the Nile. Daleth is a door; and this is the doorway by which our traveller takes us into the land of the Pharaohs, reaching the port of Alexandria on the fifth day from Malta.

Our interest is at once enlisted in the volume by the rapid but very suggestive bird's-eye view, which it takes in the opening chapter, of the ancient civilization of this kingdom. It requires, as it deserves, a frequent reiteration to make us believe, and even then we can scarcely realize it, that along the Nile, six centuries before our Christian era, the science of astronomy had unveiled many of our present modes of explaining the phenomena and motions of the heavenly bodies; that chemistry had taught the secrets of its combinations; that its students were proficient in the working and tempering of metals, having mastered the most delicate processes of metallurgy.

"The steel, whose blue edge the accurate painters of the Egyptian tombs have preserved, is more than three thousand years old. How did they temper copper with tin? How mould and use the metals? How work the mines of Nubia and Sinai and the Red Sea, which extend far under the water? We wander amid these mines to-day, and behold the remains of the poor workmen, where the shafts have broken or the excavations fallen, with a new idea of the greatness of that power which offered hecatombs of lives in the building of altars to which the nation was a great sacrifice. Or how is it possible that the hardest granite and softest sandstone were alike engraved and polished with a skill far surpassing the workmanship of the finest chisels in France? The obelisk which stands in solitary state in the Place de la Concorde at Paris turned the edge of the best steel, and the date of its erection could scarcely be put upon its pedestal, yet it was crowded with hieroglyphics. Upon many of the monuments of Egypt the letters are three inches deep, and the closest observation discloses only the perfectness of the work. The most delicate lines covering hundreds of square feet of the finest polished stone set at defiance all modern art. We learn that they gave bronze blades the elasticity of steel, and, without hardening it, made copper cut stone. Basalt was a plaything to them, and por-

phyry yielded, like marble, to the delicate yet strong touch of these masters."—pp. 6, 7.

The mechanical instruments by which those ancient quarriers and architects lifted and placed almost incredible masses of rock, are a hardly explained riddle to our philosophers. Equal was their skill in the embellishments of domestic and civic life. They were proficient in music, were adepts in colors, cut gems and finger-rings with more than Parisian or Florentine exquisiteness.

“Fragments of Egyptian glass have survived the rust and ruin of four thousand years. We may still see it stamped with the undisputed name of the Pharaoh who reigned in the eighteenth dynasty, while in the tombs of far earlier date the process of its manufacture is represented on the walls. Plate glass, and ground glass, interwoven with delicate gold threads and bright colors which struck through the vases without spreading or fading, delicate birds with the natural tints of their plumage, graceful animals, imitations of precious stones and beads, vases and cups with figures of the gods in brilliant garments, lines of blue and red and yellow wrought in curves or straight figures on green and white ground, are all preserved for our admiration. It is evident, also, that every part of the glass ware, however delicate, was made separately, and nicely joined together. And beside these, gold figures, with ornamented wings, were set in cups of malleable glass, which Pliny says could be thrown violently on stone without breaking.”—pp. 10, 11.

In tinting these retrospective pictures with a somewhat overcharged color, (as is quite possible,) we do not regard our traveller as at all falsifying history, or implying that the condition of the nation which undeniably wrought such marvels was politically or socially desirable. The Egyptians were slaves, their labor was forced and unrequited, there was no general security or happiness. The only favored classes were the nobles and priests. Property was the monopoly of the few. Egypt was no land of delight. Our author does not so represent it. He tells us what was done there, and this will ever be the world's wonder. It did not fall into his design to tell us at length how abjectly miserable that priest-ridden, king-ridden people were. We do not quarrel with him for not shading his canvass more deeply with the wretchedness of the subjects of that old-world oppression.

Very much of the impression of travel, in those lands which sepulchre the primeval civilizations, lies in the power of the tourist to restore, in imagination, the buried grandeurs of the past, and then to transfer the picture from his own mind to that of his reader. It is a rare faculty, essentially of the poetic, that is, the creative kind. Mr. Clark possesses it to a marked degree. His chapter on Alexandria illustrates it. This once famous city is now a dingy, squalid town, straggling along the shore, infested with the usual mongrel populace of an eastern mart, noisy with donkeys and their mulish drivers, with barking, flea-bitten dogs, and vociferous women. What few relics of the olden times survive are so mixed up with the present coarseness and vulgarity of a wretched race, that it demands a persistent effort to feel the slightest enthusiasm where one expected to be rapt away in glorious ecstasies of sentiment. We well remember how our incipient enthusiasm was dashed with amusing vexation, as on the steps of the Athenian Acropolis, where Plato walked and Aristotle talked, all our romantic sensations were incontinently paralyzed by the hideous braying of one of those omnipresent donkeys which his owner was cudgelling, at the moment, just down by the grand old walls of the Dionysiac amphitheatre. So the sublime is ever dogged by the ridiculous. Our author, however, has the art of gliding out of all this contemporaneous squalidness and sansculotism with charming ease, and replacing it with those bygone splendors, as by a stroke of the magician's wand. Thus here in Alexandria. It is no longer the ragged modern seaport which he sees. "In those days, another Alexandria lay spread out like a map beneath this column. It is this city we would visit." And so it rises with its fifteen miles' extent of walls, the metropolis of Roman viceroys, the home of fabulous luxury and magnificence, where princely bishops ruled, and Cæsarean proconsuls flaunted their almost imperial wealth and power, while commerce filled the spacious haven with bristling masts, and philosophers and priests and men and women of every clime jostled each other in streets and hippodrome; where, too, the fair Hypatia is one day brutally killed by a fierce mob of fanatics. But we can not follow the spectacle farther. It is a radiant picture of a life to which distance doubtless lends no little power. And

so are many others which enliven these pages, as the meditative traveller sets down the impression of what he sees around him, and of what he sees coming up from the storied ages gone by.

We think that Mr. Clark has done wisely in not attempting to solve the hard questions in Egyptology which even the experts in that lore are not well agreed about. His pages are tastefully free from foot notes and learned references which are often the cheap counterfeits of careful inquiry; still, we can scarcely dispense with references to authorities in books which involve intricate and contested inquiries. He shows his acquaintance with his theme historically, in giving us the knowledge which he has melted over in his own crucible, and run again into his own moulds. But the bulk of the book is made up of materials from his personal notes of touring. These contain a large amount of valuable information respecting the country and people as now existing. Our limits preclude quotation or condensation of these descriptions to any considerable extent. In fact, it is not necessary, as Egypt is now one of the most travelled countries, and consequently one of the best known to the western nations. But we must draw from these pages one or two pictures of present life, as our tourist touches them deftly with his elastic pencil. Of course we select them from the Pyramids and the Nile — the two grand centres of inspiration in modern Egyptian travel-writing, though those old cyclopean temples have attractions of their own scarcely, if at all, of secondary interest. But for these we must refer to our author's vivid sketches.

The party is at the foot of the great stone triangle of Ghizeh. They have hurried along through palm groves, and grain breast high, and the hot sands, and at first are as much disappointed with the stupendous pile of granite which has brought them thither, as most people are with the first look at Niagara. But this is only for a moment. A swarm of half naked Arabs are ready to help them heavenward.

“ ‘ Master us ! ’ says the ghost of the Pyramid. So we leap easily upon the first layer of stone. It is only three feet high. A second is gained. A third is overcome. A fourth is almost too much. A fifth suggests a delay. Let the Arabs pull on either side, or push behind, not a step will we go till we are rested. ‘ Master us ! ’ says

the ghost of the Pyramid. It rises and towers above us as if the sky rested upon its summit. The mass of stone seems to crush the hills. Had the giants here piled Ossa on Pelion? The old Latin reader is our guide-book, and mythology our best history. Only two hundred layers of stone remain! Away we start, and at length gain the summit, which is scarcely thirty-two feet square, and is covered with names written with weary hands. We have mastered the Pyramid without the strength to record our triumph."—pp. 60, 61.

The panorama which this apex of vision commands is described with graphic power, and so is also the coming down from this perilous elevation.

"The view from this triumph of ambition reminds us of its name, Pi Rama, 'the mountain.' We are lifted so far above the Arabs, that they seem to creep like insects about the hills, and the caravans, as they steal along the level plain of the western horizon, are the fine lines of a dream. On the south reaches the grand procession of Pyramids, sixty-seven in number; some of brick and some of stone, some broken and some perfect. They seem like sentinels, protecting the green line of river foliage from the desert. The Nile rolls its floods through the valley, attended by the fields of barley and blossoming lupines. Here and there a flock of sheep are seen coming to their rude folds; or a train of camels stalking over the dikes leads the eye to dark villages or slender palm-groves. The broken Saracenic bridges, the graceful sails on the river as far as the eye can see, beyond the last of the Pyramids, the beautiful meshes of the silver canals, and, more than all, the distant city of Cairo, with its minarets and mosques and palaces glistening in the sun, unfold a scene unlike any beside. The Abana pours a torrent of splendor upon the plains of Damascus, and sweeps in eddies about its gates, its waves of verdure throwing the fruit blossoms like foam against its walls. But the dashing Abana has not the dignity and power of the lordly Nile. The view of the 'Golden Horn' and the Bosphorus, as it mirrors the palaces and mosques of Constantinople, is wonderful. But it has not, as a strange and mysterious background, the desert — lifeless, sad, yet ever struggling, like death, to destroy the life and glory which it can not give back again. There is no view like that of the Pyramids! They are mountains in history, lifting themselves out of the desert of the past which has covered the traces of their builders. They are landmarks to the traveller seeking for the origin of his race, towering above the ruin of ages, the first milestones in the advance of civilization. From their summit we look upon the Cairo of to-day, which came to them for the

foundations of its mosques; the Memphis of yesterday, as it is builded in their shadow; and a long succession of cities cherishing the arts, and glorying in the patience which had lifted its stones when as yet not a chisel had vexed the mountains of other lands.

“We are rapidly rebuilding Memphis when the Arabs interrupt us with impatient clamors. One long look, and we are ready to descend. But it is often more difficult to get down than to climb up. Pius IX. finds it so, and why should not we? Horace evidently forgot St. Peter's and the Pyramids, when he said, ‘the way down is easy.’ What hanging in mid-air from the arms of strangers! What trembling knees, and weary hands, and tired limbs indignant at each shock! What timid glances downward, and gentle force urging on, before a remonstrance can be uttered, to accomplish the movement! To be sure, the Arabs declare that we are the strongest, handsomest, richest, and most generous possessors of ‘buck-sheesh’ that ever came down a Pyramid; but they reject a blessing which has no gleam of silver to prove it, and leave us at length, tired and alone, leaning upon the stones, and dreaming, like Jacob, of stairways to heaven, upon which, not angels, but our own weary selves are continually ascending and descending.”—pp. 62—64.

Nile-boating is the very *dolce far niente* of dreamy, poetic, elysian locomotion. From the lumbering Italian diligence, or the rushing, dusty flight of a railway carriage, to the slowly drifting, gently wafted floating of the Nile boat, with the drowsy natives dozing, sleeping, singing, praying as the mood takes them, while the ripple of the stream plays with your keel a lulling dalliance, and here and there a low village along the banks tells you that you are not navigating a river beyond the confines of an inhabited globe—the contrast is complete! It is worth a Mediterranean voyage to a New Englander to experience so thoroughly new a sensation.

You drive the boat peg into the soft bank, and ramble out along the fields and through the hamlets, admiring the brilliantly dyed birds, the ghostly camels of the early twilight, the domestic fowls, the uncouth natives, and all the strange, weird oddities of so primitive a state of existence. The breeze freshens, and again casting off, you sweep out into the turbid stream musing about the days before the flood or any thing which is farthest removed from the wear and tear of our modern friction. There is none of this here. The years of Methusaleh have come back again. There is time enough to live without hurry-

ing forevermore. The nervousness is all gone from your bones. A day is nearer like a thousand years than you ever thought of so utterly realizing. An old crocodile rounds up his back as if to destroy in you the last traces of a sense of personal identity. Your Occidental home and antecedents become to you a dancing, nebulous phantasmagoria. Father Nile has metamorphosed you into another son of the desert, whose yellow sands shimmer under the sunlight like a becalmed ocean of molten metal.

“ The evenings on the Nile are the dream of a lifetime. Then the bold hunter Orion comes slowly up from the Arabian desert, and the constellation of Canopus rises over the southern hills, shining through the dry air, clear and beautiful as the lamps in the temples of olden time. The tall Shadoofs seem stalking through the dull haze along the horizon. Every hillside, with that sympathy peculiar to the limestone ranges of Egypt, changes from the ruddy sunset to the silver hue of night. You almost hear the faint, far-off music of the palaces, and leave behind you, like the foam of the river, the two thousand years of Egypt's misery. She is only asleep. Silver pathways rise in the moonlight for the white feet of the Naiads, and wait gleaming and quivering for their coming. The morrow will unfold the blossoms of the Padma, the wild lotus,

‘ which whoso tastes
Insatiate riots in the sweet repast !
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his home, his country, and his friends.’ ”

“ How majestic is the Nile ! Like the streams of Eden, it seems created, not gathered. Calm and changeless, yet ever beautiful as the shadow of its own hills, it reflects the deep blue of a cloudless sky and the firmness of a constant sun.

‘ It flows through old hushed Egypt and its sands,
Like some grave, mighty thought threading a dream.’

When the land droops under the gathering splendor of the year, its supplies are ready and exhaustless. Want never comes here, though she passes through all other lands. You may well believe that there is somewhere a struggle of childhood, weeping chasms, and deep pools, and noisy brooks. The determined voice at Syene, the gentle yet firm struggle at Silsilis, remind us of this. But the Nile alone has no history for inquisitive man. We know that a single stream, far above El Makyer, united with its currents, and gave the influence of power to the charm of beauty ; but henceforth they two are alone. El Tayr, with her cliffs, frowns in vain. The plains of Thebes attempt her delay with unavailing praise. The Nile moves gently

onward. The Arabs say, 'Those who float there ever praise Allah, whose smile it reflects, and must come again, for it is thoughtful in greatness and sublime in calmness.' And what stream was ever so devotedly loved as this! When it declines to meet the great sea, its last fields are richest and its last skies are clearest. Still smiling the Nile passes away, like Ceres, beholding the grain and flowers which were just scattered springing up upon every side. Without struggle or sadness, the river of Egypt is still loved, still worthy of the saying of its people, that 'with her the passions sleep and the heart wakes forever.'"—pp. 109, 113.

Our readers, we are quite sure, will not be content with our scant reviewal of this inviting work, but will hasten to make up for our enforced deficiency in its survey by giving themselves the pleasure of a leisurely perusal of the original. We have hardly touched upon its contents. Chapters with such suggestive headings as Heliopolis, Thebes, Luxor, Edfoo, Philæ, Cairo, The Desert, we have passed in entire silence. Its eighty pictorial designs, some of them of exceeding beauty, we have no power to reproduce. A thoughtful spirit suffuses these records of the past and present with a moral attractiveness, that must greatly enhance the entertainment which they will afford, to contemplative minds.

ARTICLE V.

THE SERPENT IN EDEN AND THE FALL.

WE offer a contribution to this primitive subject, in a brief discussion of three points: the Temptation; the Tempter; and the Consequences of the transgression.

The Temptation, what was it? In what did it consist? In the second chapter of Genesis, 9th, 16th and 17th verses, we read as follows: "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food: the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." . . . "And the Lord God commanded the man saying: Of every tree of the garden thou mayst freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and

Evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." The temptation then of Eden consisted in the inducements held out to taste of the fruit of a certain tree, called the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

But an enlarged answer is demanded by the additional inquiry; why was this tree so called? We shall here present as succinctly as possible several opinions of the learned which mostly agree. Poole in his Annotations says:

"It was so called with respect either (1) To God, who thereby would prove and make known man's good or evil, his obedience and happiness, or his rebellion and misery; or rather, (2) To man who by the use of it would know to his cost how great and good things he did enjoy, and might have kept by his obedience, and how evil and bitter the fruits of his disobedience were to himself and all his posterity."

Yet others say that it was so named in respect to Adam and Eve, who, by tasting it against the revealed will of God, should learn to know by woful experience a vast difference between the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience. Says Ainsworth in his commentary on Genesis, "It was so named because God's law which forbade man to eat of this tree should teach what is good and evil; be a rule of obedience, showing man's goodness and righteousness if he did obey, or his evil if he did transgress." Milton, in his "Christian Doctrine," has the following passages:

"It was necessary that something should be forbidden or commanded as a test of fidelity, and that an act in its own nature indifferent, in order that man's obedience might be thereby manifested." "It was called the tree of knowledge of good and evil from the event; for since Adam tasted it we not only know evil, but we know good only by means of evil."

In his "Paradise Lost" (iv. 426, 7) he says:

"God hath pronounced it death to taste that tree,
The only sign of our obedience left."

It will be perceived that the opinions quoted in the main coincide. More recent commentators might be cited to the same purport. All agree that the tree was a test tree; but whether a test by which God might know or prove whether man

would be good or evil ; or a test by which man would know, by experience, good and evil, there is some disagreement. Before however stating any opinion, we wish to bring forward one more authority, an authority of more ancient date, and which has the sanction of our Saviour and the apostles, inasmuch as it was constantly used by them, the Septuagint. In this translation we read that the tree of knowledge was a tree by which to know what may be known of good and evil" : τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γινώσκον καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. In the same chapter we also read ; " But of the tree by which to know good and evil" : ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν. According to Ainsworth, the Chaldee and the Jerusalem Targums read thus : " the tree of whose fruit they that eat shall know the difference between good and evil." In these authorities the opinion that the tree of knowledge was a tree by which man was to know good and evil is evidently set forth. This opinion we are inclined to think the correct one. The acute Vitringa, however, stoutly combats it. Let us appeal to the record.

First, then, the language made use of by the serpent in the fifth verse, " For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods (or God, as the Chaldee has it, according to Dr. A. Clarke) knowing good and evil," was very probably used in the sense in which it was understood by Eve. The very next verse seems to intimate this. " She saw that it was a tree to make one wise ;" and hence the great strength of the temptation. In the eleventh verse this is also plainly intimated : " Who told thee that thou wast naked ? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat ?" Again in the twenty-second verse this seems also to be intimated. " And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us to know good and evil." There is, however, some dispute in regard to this last passage. Poole considers it as irony, and compares it with 1 Kings xviii. 27 and Eccl. xi. 9. Prof. Bush on the other hand adduces it as a proof in point.

We think it plain that the tree of knowledge was placed in the midst of the garden as a test-tree, from which if our first parents had abstained, they never would have known evil, neither good as contrasted with it, and thus filling them with

regret on account of it; but which bitter knowledge they obtained by yielding to those desires, which, in order to constitute the tree anything of a test, it was necessary to implant within them. This does not make God a tempter. God tempteth no man. The sin of Eve did not consist in desiring to partake of the fruit of the tree, in itself considered, but in desiring to partake of the fruit of a tree on which rested the interdict of God, than which interdict we can have no greater proof against the idea of God's acting the part of a tempter in the transaction of the Fall. The language of God is, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;" but the language of the tempter is, "Thou shalt not surely die."

We turn now to a consideration of the tempter himself. What is the nature of the history here given of him? Is it a mere fable, with a moral meaning, as Middleton contends? Is the devil in that history called a serpent figuratively, because in tempting Eve he used the qualities natural to serpents? Or is he so called because he entered into a serpent, cunningly and maliciously taking advantage of certain circumstances for the purpose of accomplishing his designs?

We shall consider only the last of these propositions, in doing which the two former will naturally be disposed of. The principal objection which meets us is the fact of the serpent's talking. This reptile has not the requisite organs for articulation, and it is urged that it is too much to suppose that the devil had power to create them. To obviate this difficulty the fact is adduced that Balaam's ass is said to have spoken. But the cases are far from being parallel. The Lord caused Balaam's ass to speak and not the devil.

Adam Clarke attempts to remove these objections, but in a most singular manner. He annihilates the serpent, and with wonderful facility creates a new order of beings. Animals, similar in appearance to apes, figure upon his page, endowed with reason, and gifted with an articulation, artful and persuasive. At the same time he tramples under foot the authority of the Septuagint.

It is strange, says this commentator, that in the Arabic are found words very similar to *šāṣ* in the Hebrew, two of which, derived from the same root, respectively signify ape and devil.

Upon this circumstance he builds his argument, to the substance of which we have alluded ; but we think it without the countenance of reason, and contrary to the Scriptures, in every instance containing any allusion, either direct or indirect, to the circumstance of the Fall. The fact of the serpent's speaking requires no such shifting as this. The serpent spoke through the agency of the devil, which we do not consider an unaccountable fact, or at least no more so than that the devil should have the power to inflict upon Job sore boils. Here, in this last instance, was an act of power, not similar to be sure, but yet a degree of power fully as wonderful, and which we are confident the devil did possess. We say nothing how the devil came by this power. We only bring this forward to meet the objection that the devil could not have caused the serpent to speak, or rather could not have spoken through an animal unpossessed of the power of articulation.

It will be inferred from the foregoing, that we are of the opinion that a real serpent was concerned in the transaction of the Fall ; and that the circumstance of his talking ought to be made a matter of faith and not of speculation. That the serpent was different in some respects from what we now behold it, we cannot doubt. The history would lead us to infer that its mode of living and locomotion was different ; but that it was essentially the same in appearance, we do not hesitate to believe ; especially if the sense of the ancients as found both in the Bible and in the heathen mythologies, which mythologies must have a higher authority than any merely heathen, is of the least account.

Able arguments have been founded on the sense of the ancients, as found in the Old and New Testaments, by bishop Sherlock and Dr. Hill. Faber in "*Horæ Mosaicæ*" collects the same sense as found among the heathen mythologies. We have not space to enter into an extensive consideration of the conclusive arguments as maintained by these able writers ; but we cannot pass over this subject without some notice of the manner in which they endeavor to maintain their position.

Bishop Sherlock, who confines himself to the Old Testament, adduces several delicate allusions to the Fall, from the book of Job, a book which is supposed by many to have been written

before the Pentateuch. In chap. xxvi, v. 13th, we read, "His hand hath formed the crooked serpent." In the translation of the Seventy we have undeniable evidence of the ancient traditional explication of this passage. The translation is, "By a decree he destroyed the apostate dragon," προστάγματι δὲ θανάτωσε δράκοντα ἀποστήτην. The Syraic and Arabic versions, adds Sherlock, are to the same sense. Numerous other passages, and from other books, are dwelt upon by this writer which we have not time to notice.

Dr. Hill begins where bishop Sherlock leaves off, and dwells upon the sense of the ancients as found in the New Testament. The two arguments form a complete whole and ought to go together. The passage in the book of Revelation, "The dragon, that old serpent, the devil," is very forcibly alluded to by Dr. Hill, as also many other passages.

Faber in his "*Horæ Mosaicæ*" has collected, so that they may be seen at a glance, the ancient heathen mythologies relating to this subject. We have not room to quote from Faber; but what, we ask, mean the stories of the Dracontian Ahriman of the Persians; the malignant serpent Caliga of Hindu theology; the serpent Typhon of the Egyptians; the serpent Python of the Greeks; the evil serpent Ophioneus, whose treason is so well remembered among the inhabitants of Syria; together with the Gothic and Scythian mythologies, and the Loki of the ancient Scalds? Loki, the last one mentioned, is styled, "the father of the great serpent; the father of death; the adversary; the accuser; the deceiver of the gods." *

We may bring forward other instances drawn from various sources. In India the destroying power, or death, is signified by the serpent. In classic antiquity the giants who attempted to scale heaven are figured as half serpents. The story of the Hesperides is a remarkable one. There were three nymphs, daughters of Hesperus. Their residence was in a beautiful garden, abounding with delicious fruit, which was guarded by a dragon that never slept. The celebrated golden apples grew in this garden, and it was one of the labors of Hercules to procure them. Hercules is sometimes represented as gathering the apples, and the dragon which guarded the tree appears bowing

* Keyser's Religion of the Northmen

his head, as having received a mortal wound. After death, Hercules, who when a mere child had strangled two serpents who were sent to destroy him, was ranked among the gods and received divine honors. Oisel on ancient coins and medals has a plate representing a serpent near a green tree, an evident and striking allusion to the serpent seducing Eve. In a cabalistic book, quoted by Vitranga, called *Tikun Sophar*, it is written, "He said to them, that serpent with which ye contend, that ye may escape from him, is the same who hath slain and devoured others, and not only the first man but all generations."

Can there be any doubt whether there was a real serpent concerned in the transaction of the Fall? How is it that all these stories, covered though they be with the accumulations of unenlightened ages, yet approach so near the biblical account of the circumstances of the Fall, as would lead even the most unphilosophical and uninformed to refer them back to the same common origin. The same common origin they must have had. They can only be looked upon as traditions which early assumed a sensible form, and hence have come down to us, so many palpable proofs of the truth of the Mosaic account. They are impressive proofs. It seems as if providence had determined that we should be left in no doubt upon this point, when entering an ancient heathen pagoda, the first objects which present themselves are two figures venerated as gods; the one encircled within the folds of a serpent which is biting his heel; and the other, a mediatorial god, represented in the act of trampling upon its crushed head. There can be no mistake in regard to this matter. Similar representations were found in the temples of the ancient Mexicans. In Cashmere also there were anciently no less than seven hundred places where serpents were worshipped. In Salsette and Elephanta almost all the deities either grasped a serpent in their hands, or were figured as environed by them.

Enough has been said with regard to the sense of the ancients respecting the kind of animal concerned in bringing about the Fall, and to show that this sense agrees most strikingly with the Mosaic account.

We notice one objection to the position taken that a real serpent was concerned in this transaction. We have already no-

ticed sufficiently the objection that the serpent had not the organs requisite for articulation. But it is furthermore urged, that if the serpent had not the power of speech, Eve would have been afraid, or, at least, have expressed some surprise: hence it is concluded that the *נָח* must have been some animal other than a serpent, and gifted with speech. The latter part of this objection appears to run into the one first considered: we allude only to that portion of it which respects the supposed necessary fear or surprise of Eve. The common manner of removing this difficulty, namely, that Eve was innocent and could therefore have no fear, does not appear sufficient. Eve, being innocent, might not have known fear, but we cannot suppose her destitute of surprise, a principle which enters so largely into that wonder and admiration, without which we cannot for a moment believe a being situated like Eve to have been.

But there is a way of meeting this objection found in some of the older writers. An ingenious author, mentioned by Poole, writes thus:

“The serpent makes his address to the woman with a short speech. She was not frightened because as yet there was no cause for fear, no sin, and therefore no danger; but she wonders and enquires what is meant, and whether he was not a brute creature, and how he came to have speech and understanding? The serpent replies, that he was no better than a brute, and did indeed want both these gifts, but by eating of a certain fruit in the garden he got both. She asked what fruit and tree that was? When he showed her, she replied, ‘This is no doubt an excellent fruit, &c., but God hath forbidden it.’ To which the serpent replied as in the text.”

It is true, says Poole, this is not found in the record left by Moses, but it is confessed by Jewish and other expositors that these words, “Yea hath God said,” form a short, abrupt sentence, and were but the close of something foregoing. So in a work by Storr and Flatt we find the following quotation from the Com: *De Protevangelio*:

“The natural serpent ate of the forbidden fruit, and Eve observed it. The devil accordingly took occasion to connect with this circumstance a conversation with Eve, in order to induce her to transgress the command of God. Eve believed that it was the natural serpent that spake to her, and supposed that the eating of the fruit had con-

ferred on the serpent the power of rational conversation, which she had not hitherto observed in any of the animals around her, not even in the serpent itself whom she had known before."

That something of the kind, as set forth in the above quotations, did take place previous to the abrupt conversation recorded by Moses is not at all impossible. It may have taken place, and therefore did, for aught we know; and hence may serve to silence any one who may advance the objection under consideration. It is not improbable, however, that such a circumstance and conversation, as supposed by these writers did actually occur. The abrupt manner in which the Mosaic account commences has already been alluded to; but, if we notice the sixth verse, the probability becomes still stronger. "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat." It seems as if there must have been something more than the conversation in the previous verses to have induced Eve to form the conclusion that the tree "was good for food." How could she know the tree was good for food, unless she had seen the serpent eat of its fruit? We need not dwell upon this portion of our subject.

No sooner had Eve partaken of the fruit of the tree, and her husband with her, than the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and girded themselves about with fig leaves. A terrible light broke in upon their minds and consciences. They saw at once the arts by which the devil had blinded their eyes, and an overpowering sense of the magnitude of their sin came in upon them, like a flood. They felt how great was the cost of that knowledge which they had obtained by violating the commands of their Creator. They found themselves exposed to the infliction of all the terrors of the curse. Their souls were naked; there was nothing between them and the just vengeance of an offended God. They were guilty; there was no excuse. That which before was their glory, now became a source of shame; they could not tell why. They do not seem to have been aware that this was one of the fruits of disobedience. Perhaps they ought always to have covered themselves; hence the miserable apology of Adam to the Lord:

"I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked : and I hid myself." It was the conscience of Adam that smote him.

The real cause of Adam's hiding himself was not his bodily nakedness. The great cause lay back of that, a deep, crushing sense of guilt, an utter nakedness of soul. His outward condition was but the index of something deeper and truer within, and was presented, whether or not Adam knew the true cause of his shame, as an apology for his hiding himself because "he was afraid."

It cannot with any consistency be here urged, because we contend for a spiritual nakedness, that therefore the fig leaves which were sewed together must have been spiritual also. We do not contend for spiritual nakedness alone. Adam knew his bodily condition, but because he knew it, must it therefore follow that he could not have had a sense of guilt, and hence, if not from it as a sole motive, at least from it as an added motive, have hid himself? How came Adam to have a sense of his bodily nakedness? Was it not sin that had opened his eyes?

With respect to the meaning of the passage ; "And the eyes of them both were opened," we will add that we think we are sustained in it by similar passages in other parts of the Bible, where there can be no doubt that reference is had to the mind and conscience ; passages too, which have an evident allusion to the one under consideration. In Deut. xvi. 19, we read that "a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise." It perverteth his mind, just as the promises of the serpent perverted and blinded the mind of Eve. Again in 2 Cor. iv. 4, "In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds." This passage read in connection with the following affords much light ; Acts xxvi. 17, 18. "Delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee to open their eyes." Certainly the mind and conscience are here referred to. There are several other allusions which we might adduce, such as the "eyes of the understanding being enlightened," but they may be thought too slight. The slightest allusions, however, are often the most satisfactory. For instance, the allusion to the concernment of the serpent in the Fall, contained in the phrase, "crooked ways," made use of by the Psalmist, is as slight as any one can

wish for ; yet we doubt whether any one can give us any other source for the idea of sin, with which David invests the word "crooked." Neither is there any other source for the idea with which we invest the passage just quoted, than that which we find among the circumstances of the Fall. The original source must be there.

But we need not have taken the trouble to trace these allusions, since there is sufficient to substantiate our position in the context of the passage under consideration. The language made use of by the serpent in the fifth verse deserves attention : "For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil." Evidently, reference is here had to an enlightenment of the mind ; and, when we consider that the opening of the eyes is first spoken of in this passage, it is certainly to be expected that we should attach the same meaning to the same phrase, which is used in the very next verse but one following, and plainly in allusion to what the serpent had said. We do not intend to say that Adam and Eve found the opening of their eyes to be the same in every respect that the serpent had promised ; all we contend for is, that in the one case, as well as in the other, the phrase is used tropically of the mind.

There is still another view which we might take of this subject. Adam and Eve were convicted of their sin. Their eyes were opened, and they saw that they were sinners in the sight of God ; but we have reason to believe that they were finally saved. Verse 21st would seem to intimate this : "Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them," an emblem of the righteousness of Christ with which we believe they will stand clothed before the throne of God.

ARTICLE VI.

TRUTHFULNESS IN LITERATURE, THE BASIS OF A
PERMANENT POPULARITY.

PRESENT popularity is no sure test of literary merit. We doubt if on the whole those works that are to do most for the thought of the world can be popular. The new or juster views of life and nature and their relations, by the very fact that they are new or juster, must find a limited audience. The works in theology and philosophy that are now most influential on the thought and life of the church, most potent in our civilization and culture generally, were not ordered by thousands in advance of the day of publication. The best writers must wait for their reward, and receive it at last in the consciousness of real service for their fellow-men, rather than as princely fortunes.

Yet in works of a more popular cast, commanding a large audience, we shall find that it is truth that prevails; it is because it is believed that truth is really expressed that a new work wins an audience and holds it when won.

Lord Macaulay ascribes to Mackintosh and Fox as an eminent qualification for writing history, the fact that "they had spoken history, acted history, lived history." In this respect they had advantages over most English historians. This was no new experience. The best history in Greek literature, that of Thucydides, was composed in the leisure which exile offered to a man of large experience in public life. Tacitus, the most truthful and philosophical of Latin historians, was for a time prætor and afterwards consul. Gibbon acknowledged that he owed a part of his success to his service in the militia and in the House of Commons. Irving could have written his "Conquest of Granada" nowhere but amid the scenes he portrayed; nor his "Columbus" without the familiarity with Spanish life and character that were to be acquired only by an actual residence for some time in Spain.

The first essential in all literature, whether history, poetry, or fiction, is truth. He who presents the most truth is sure of a

hearing, however many times the same story may have been told, or the same scene described. There is really an advantage in coming last for the truly great writer. He will not have the attraction of novelty to be sure, but that is one of the least merits, and one that vanishes with the using; but he will have the advantage of a better command of his materials. The great orators in Congress, who remain in their seats until it would seem that every body had spoken, and the subject under discussion was worn threadbare, command the largest audience when they rise, and leave their speeches to after times. Macaulay did not forbear to go over the same ground that Fox, Mackintosh and others had trod, nor was it any hindrance to Irving that Marshall and Sparks and many of inferior note, had written the life of Washington. The greatness of that wonderful character still waited the master's hand to set it forth in all its grandeur. It required distance to show its relation to its surroundings and to the cause of human freedom in the large field of history. Something of imagination as well as accurate knowledge of detail is required, to set forth any historic character in its just and even proportions. It was no idle speech of an English statesman, that he had acquired his best knowledge of early English history from the historic dramas of Shakspeare.

Rufus Choate once delivered a lecture on "The importance of illustrating New England history by a series of romances like the *Waverly Novels*." He wished to see the writer

"Begin with the landing of the Pilgrims, and pass down to the war of Independence, from one epoch and one generation to another, like *Old Mortality* among the graves of the unforgotten faithful, wiping the dust from the urns of our fathers, gathering up whatever of illustrious achievement, of heroic suffering, of unwavering faith, their history commemorates, and weaving it all into an immortal and noble national literature, pouring over the whole time, its incidents, its actors, its customs, its opinions, its moods of feeling, the brilliant illustration, the unfading glories, which the fictions of genius alone can give to the realities of life."

Scotland is a very different country from what it was before the days of Sir Walter Scott and of "*Christopher North*." She is different to herself, as much so perhaps as to the rest of the world. The truth was there, waiting to be revealed to the

eyes of men ; and once revealed, to be henceforth a glorious possession for the world.

We have no need of the sensational style of our modern fiction, with its glare and meteoric splendors. Give us truth, set off by the imagination so as to appear in its own proper brilliancy, and we will welcome every honest worker in this field. The straw-blaze is soon out, the popularity of our sensational writers, however many editions of their works may be crowded off upon the public, will know of no resurrection like the productions of the "wizard of the north."

We would not condemn new ventures in the literary world. We do not believe that all the good styles of writing, or all the good works in old and standard styles have been produced. It was a narrow criticism that said of the *Excursion*, "this will never do." The truth will do, come when and where and by whom it may. Let a work be true in its thought and sentiment to the experience of human hearts, let it tend to elevate our better nature, giving us juster conceptions of life, and nerving our arms to good loyal work for God and humanity, and it will live, a work for the ages.

ARTICLE VII.

THE CHAOS OF BELIEFS.

Is the Apollo or the Hebe inside the block of marble, before the sculptor's chisel has chipped off its first rough angle? Yes, says the idealist, its softly rounded limbs and speaking features (if you will only think so) are all there, awaiting merely the artist's genius to give them deliverance and life. No, replies the plain matter of fact observer, that is no piece of statuary ; it is nothing but a lump of unhewn rock.

Two statements will put us into the heart of our proposed discussion. The first is, that every thing in the universe has its distinct or constituting principles. This is simply saying that every thing is itself ; has an individual or class identity,

and is not a mere name. Wood, water, fire, flesh, bone, metal, gases are substances of uniform composition, according to their kind, the world over. Light is not darkness. Sweet is not bitter. Cold is not heat. These are themselves really, not nominally. Certain qualities belong to them, inhere in them, define them and their locality in the kingdoms of nature. What cannot be classified thus is nothing. Science does not know it; art can not use it. Equally is this true of moral facts. They are as sharply discriminated, as absolutely identified. Evil is not good. Wrong is not right. Vice is not virtue. These are fixed essences, determined from within; no more to be mistaken for each other than a block of ice is to be for a block of marble.

So of spiritual beings. God is himself, personally, purely; the infinitely holy and incommunicable One; not Jupiter, nor Brahma, nor Thor, nor the Pantheist's idea of a universal deified humanity; nor the Deist's, of the forces of the world in actual progression; nor the Liberalist's generally, of a careless, indifferent, easy-handed father and ruler of men. Christ is not Satan, and Satan is not a myth. Man is not an angel nor a fiend nor a passive, involuntary, irresponsible machine. He is not a brute; is not under the government of simply material laws, nor instinctive impulses. He is a reflecting, choosing, sinning, repenting, accountable, immortal agent. Greenough's Washington is not a man, though the majestic shape of one. An idiot is not a man, though a living piece of flesh and blood. He lacks the informing understanding, the electing will. Thus too of human organizations, each has its characteristic principles. These have their different ends and uses, rules and covenants. By these they are distinguished. Things are what they are, in spite of appearances.' Shakespeare long ago said;

" Good alone
Is good; without a name vileness is so:
The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title."

Our second position is, that this inner nature or principle of things governs their working and results. Bread and wholesome fruits nourish. Poisons sicken and destroy. Calm water and frozen look much alike; but one will not sustain the tread of a child, the other is a bridge solid enough for the tran-

sit of an army. Regular habits of sobriety and industry tend directly to vigorous health, and aid very greatly to sound opinions of social life. Dissipation breaks down prematurely the physical and spiritual stamina. Like produces like. Wood and coal are combustible, and they will warm you in winter : stones will not generate heat in themselves, nor in your chilled body. The laws of matter are unyielding. To ascend an eminence requires a different movement from descending a valley. To lift a burden demands some other action than merely to look at it. The laws of morals are as stable. According as a man soweth that shall he also reap. We know the road to the penitentiary and the scaffold ; it does not lead along the ways of virtue and piety. We know the common causes of unthrift and poverty. One is indolence. The sluggard will not plough by reason of the cold ; he shall therefore beg in harvest and have nothing. Another is extravagance. For what wise man among you who buildeth a house sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he be able to finish it ? Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. Covetousness may make fortunes, but not friends. A lottery, a throw of dice, the forging another's name, may put you in a palace, but can not buy you contentment within its princely halls. Jealous rivalries may win office, but not the respect of the honorable. Lying may be more lucrative for a season than truth, but it is not therefore entitled to truth's rewards, nor can it gain them amidst all its other gains.

Theories of morals have their inner spirit, and this is their shaping force. The Epicurean taught that pleasure, sensual and artistic, pleasure sipped from any flower that opens in any garden of delight, by any roadside of indulgence, that pleasure to the fill is the great good, the first duty of man. That doctrine would make a disciple quite unlike to the Cynic, who put this same chief good and duty in a coarse and cruel mortification of every natural desire. The one would form a voluptuary, the other a squalid but proud mendicant. David Hume and Jeremy Bentham found virtue in utility, and erected the useful as the standard of the right and good. Schiller and the sentimental school generally place beauty in the same relation to truth and goodness, and organize a moral system around this as

a centre. Not the "beauty," however, of Jonathan Edwards, which is the purest, sublimest holiness, the benevolence of God himself; nor the "usefulness" which takes in the widest and last results of God's whole plan of jurisdiction, are the idols (*idola*) of these philosophies, but a finite and palpable beauty and utility, measured by earthly standards, graded to human models, judged by mortal sense. These ethics develop externally after their internal law. Christian ethics do the same. These unseen divergences of opinion and belief give character its real, if not professed and apparent conformation. And what is of most importance, these moral judgments and sentiments shape our religions most powerfully to the true or the false, the safe or the ruinous. It will concern us particularly to illustrate this connection before we are done. These, then, are our two statements — that every thing in the universe has its constituting principles; and that these control its working or results, under the ordination of God. We are now ready to notice, and this is our chief purpose, how these positions are ignored in a wide-spread confusion of ideas and beliefs in morals and religion.

This is done by the substitution and advocacy of positive wrong and error for right and truth. Human perverseness has even "this extent" in some of its more advanced victims. With a distinct knowledge of the downright viciousness of their opinions and practices, perhaps, too, with a clear protest of conscience against them, they deliberately live to persuade others to believe and to trust what they place no confidence in at all, what their own moral sense condemns. On this ground we find very much of the ranker infidelity of the times, going forth on its unblest mission to erase the already faint traces of God's being and claims from thoughtless hearts; to publish the reign of selfish, sensual, lawless passion and appetite; to proclaim the suppression of supernatural authority; to abolish the institutions of Christianity, the Bible, the Sabbath, the church, the kingdom of heaven itself as based on a divinely revealed faith. This godless crusade is often and most naturally in alliance with a corrupt and polluting example. It has its entrenchments in haunts of profligacy; it is in league with intemperate, licentious courses. It does unblushingly the devil's work of tempting

the unwary to sin. It is a seducing spirit rejoicing in the fall of honesty, in the blight of purity, in the stain of honor, in the wreck of virtuous happiness. It is a disorganizer, a destroyer. Its inspiration is infernal. Its sympathies are satanic. Its task is ruin. It says to evil; "thou art good," and knows itself to be a liar in the act. It calls its midnight noonday though the darkness be relieved by neither moon nor star. Against all testimony, and experience, and consciousness, it violently and persistently confounds the plainest distinctions in morals, the most obvious teachings of natural religion. It scoffs at all the better feelings of the soul, its own among the rest. It flings a taunt at the pleadings of humanity for spiritual hope and salvation. It hurls a curse at God, and then laughs at itself for fighting what it said was but a shadow.

But this, though an actual, is not the more frequent mode of unhinging truth, of confusing moral perceptions and beliefs. It is much more consonant with the average state of unregenerate mind to settle contentedly and complacently into partial views and conclusions in morals and religion. There is not a disposition, probably, to go to those other lengths of defiant atheism. There is wanting the reckless or the malignant temper which these demand. A prudential consideration has weight, that it is not expedient so to outrage the sentiments of very many respectable people; nor to run the hazard of so entirely putting one's self in antagonism to what may possibly prove to be God's character and government. Withal a radical indifference to the whole subject of spiritual truth and obligation goes far to repress the wilder excesses of antichristian fanaticism, and to multiply the hosts of those who would perhaps rather choose to be called neither one thing nor another religiously. Of course, there is a forgetfulness here that no such thing is in existence as such a claim supposes. We fall back on our statements, that all things are marked, defined, controlled by certain principles or qualities. Nothings in particular are nonsense. Holiness is not depravity. There is something in every thing which makes it that thing specifically. He would be absurdly simple who should ignore the classifications of natural history and philosophy. How preposterous, how fatal in practice, were there found a fool demented enough to try it thus, the theory which should say that all the differences of visible, tangi-

ble objects are in their names. But too many of our speculators in spiritual science have halted in just this nebulous region of puerile if not criminal confusion, where evil is good and good evil about as men choose so to regard them ; where what a man believes is the least important question which can be put concerning him ; where the chief discovery of the explorers is, that nothing can be or need be fixed with any definiteness or assurance as to the connections of man with God, time with eternity, conduct with future recompense. Talk of the mysteries of the Christian revelation ! Here is a mystification which defies all competition. We can scarcely subject it to any analysis. It has hardly substance sufficient in it to be handled. " Shall I strike at it with my partisan ? " " Do if it will not stand. " " 'Tis here ! " " 'Tis here ! " " 'Tis gone ! "

We concede that genuine goodness is sure of its reward ; that truth is always a safe guide. But what is truth ; and what is goodness ? Something, we again affirm, fixed, positive, ascertainable as is the composition of a tree or a flower. They follow strictly in this the analogies of the entire creation of God. But, fixed and ascertainable, with relation to what index or test of decision ? Here comes in the bearing of our moral theories and spiritual sympathies upon our religious faith. The Epicurean had his religion. Its creed was ; " I believe in indiscriminate enjoyment ; I worship Pleasure. " With this ideal of life running through his judgments of what is good, excellent, desirable, he could not rise beyond this grade of doctrine. His god must be of the family of a Bacchus or a Venus. So the radically defective ethics of the old pagans, as of the modern, shut them off from Jehovah's love, in thralldom to a motley multitude of debasing idols.

" Their gods ! what were their gods ?
 There's Mars, all bloody-haired ; and Hercules,
 Whose soul was in his sinews ; Pluto, blacker
 Than his own hell ; Vulcan, who shook his horns
 At every limp he took ! Great Bacchus rode
 Upon a barrel ; and in a cockleshell
 Neptune kept state. Then Mercury was a thief ;
 Juno a shrew ; Pallas—a prude at best ;
 And Venus walked the clouds in search of lovers !
 Only great Jove, the lord and thunderer
 Sate in the circle of his starry power,
 And frowned ' I will ' to all."

What chance was here for God and his commandments, for Christ and his precepts? These are facts and principles ever working in one direction; they are moving in exactly the contrary. When may they come together, and cement an alliance of the holy and unholy? If, again, virtue be whatever is useful, and this to be determined by the current maxims of thrift and good fortune, the religion of such a morality can be only an idolatry of self, a deification of worldly success. Its temple is the court of Mammon. At no point can it make a junction with the benevolent, the lofty and pure integrity of God. It can never understand the gain of that godliness which denies itself to follow Christ; which takes joyfully the spoiling of its goods for the gospel's sake; which becomes poor that it may be rich; which humbles itself that it may be exalted. Here are antagonistic qualities that will no more coalesce than oil will mingle with water. What is good to one is not good to both. They have no common basis of union. Is beauty goodness? Is truth the harmony of natural objects, the symmetry of forms, the due blending and shading of colors? Is holiness the fine appreciation, the fervid admiration of lovely things in nature and art; of pleasant thoughts, and elevated pursuits, and generous sentiments? Is the æsthetical sense the moral sense? And is its verdict the highest sentence of the right and the wrong? Is the world of matter and of man, under this expositor, the first and the last revelation of doctrine and duty to the human spirit?

So not a few contend, and frame a religion to its prescription. It gives, for this, a thin but elegantly ornamental speculation about the meaning and the method of this life and the next. Its god is a fairy-like being delighting mostly in shadowy woods, and sequestered mountains, and glens and paths of romantic loveliness; in fretted roofs, and columned aisles, and solemn chants of cathedral sanctuaries; caring far more for a tastefully embellished worship than for obedience to a righteous law; ever ready to accept the pretty sentimentalities of devotion as a sufficient equivalent for a service of sincere holiness. With an amiable charity it will see little in man but the brighter side of his better feelings, impulses, acts. Despite his sordid selfishness, and brutish grovelings, and horrid crimes, man is to

its eye a sort of glorified existence, an almost god in disguise, rich in latent virtues which only wait an opportunity to reveal themselves. Virtue is anything which wears a chivalrous, dashing front, a soft and delicate and melting mood, no matter with what interludes of stormier and guiltier passion. It precisely reverses the real condition of man, making goodness the natural groundwork of his character, and depravity its accidental and surface appendage. Heroes are plenty on its calendar; and heroes are all saints, whether Paul or Luther or Robert Burns, or any one who has displayed genius and magnanimity however misled by sin. It has no sight for aught which might inspire alarm concerning man's future destiny. What a beautiful going to sleep is death to the weary of life; how balmy its dew to the fevered brow; how refreshing its deepening twilight to the aching eye; how soft the grave-rest to the worn out body; how inviting the immortal years to the buoyant, jubilant spirit which has only to live on as it has lived here, only with all the pleasures wonderfully enlarged, and the ills and pains reduced to a most desirable unimportance. To die is indeed to meet God; but such a winning, wooing, smiling God; and such a paradise of entrancing sights and sounds to captivate, and enrapture, and educate the taste; who need fear to die, to cross over Jordan to a Canaan so indiscriminately inviting? And what a bigoted theology must that be, which still will talk of

“—— the dread of something after death;”

which still will clothe the transit to eternity and the judgment seat of Christ with terror to the worldling and the wicked; which still will reiterate and reëcho the solemn words; “It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God”!

Sound morals and true piety are in no way opposed to the pursuit of pleasure, the just appreciation of the useful or the beautiful. They give the utmost scope for these, but they insist on judging these and all things by the standard of God's pure holiness, his revealed sentiments, character, acts. No earth-born scheme of morality is religion. Religion is morality regenerated; natural virtue infused with divine grace; the amiabilities, and integrities, and gracefulnesses of human hearts, penetrated, inspired, refined, controlled by the love of God made *manifest* in Christ, regained through Christ. Christianity is

man restored to God in peace and purity, and everlasting union through God's atoning Son. Its hymn of praise forever is this ; " Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light ; who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son. In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." Here are definite, constituting principles of a religious faith, solid, shapely as the foundations, the beams and pillars of a palace. By a personal introduction into this faith, an experimental knowledge of its power, we are in reconciliation with supreme holiness ; we are on the substantial basis of a genuine, practical morality ; we are at the true point of a perception of spiritual beauty ; we are in harmony with a right and useful theory of life ; we are fitted for a desirable death and a blissful eternity. These are the true sayings of God. They give us the religion of morality and the morality of religion. They are fixed quantities in the statement and solution of this grand problem of life and immortality. To reject them, is to call right wrong. To form a system of spiritual science without them, or with them nominally but so modified by opposing elements and alterative constructions as to destroy their proper force, is to put error for truth. A morality, a religion without these central powers is as much a falsehood as would be a steam-engine without a steam-generator ; as would be a banking-house without a dollar in its vaults. Is a stone bread ? Is a scorpion an egg ? Yes ; if spiritual facts and obligations and destinies are whatever men's fancies choose to have them, gossamer threads spun like spiders' webs from their own resources, instead of the unchangeable verities of God's holy word.

Things have a nature ; and the nature of things controls their consequences. To call evil good does not make it good nor safe. To call darkness light does not make it light. To call bitter sweet does not make it sweet. To fashion a false god does not dethrone the true God. To discard gospel faith and salvation does not explode them as delusions. To look on dying as the pleasant gateway to certain rest and happiness does not make it this to an unregenerate sinner. Consequences are as, because they are in, their antecedents. Error ruins, truth

saves. Darkness misleads, light guides. Holiness blesses, sin curses. This is the separation of things radical and universal, each to his own place, which runs through the moral world now ; which will run on forever ; shaping men's destinies according to their characters, as weighed and measured by God's impartial tests.

ARTICLE VIII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God ! How great is the sum of them !”—*Ps. cxxxix. 17.*

GOD is a thinking being. The manifestation of wisdom that we everywhere see in his works must be the result of intelligence. We thus have the clearest proof of his personality. Strange it is that there are men who look to no higher source than an unintelligent law-power in nature, for the varied productions of wisdom and omnipotence which are massed in order and rich profusion everywhere around us. Atheism never has been able to solve the problem of the universe, nor pantheism to tell us how intelligence has been evolved from unintelligent or dead matter.

If God's thoughts were precious to the Psalmist, there must in some way have been a disclosure of them to his mind by God. Two questions, therefore, are suggested by the text.

1. How are the thoughts of God disclosed to men ?

(a) God's thoughts find expression in executive volitions, and are thus disclosed in his works. The plan of all God's works had been formed in his mind before they were brought forth by the fiat of omnipotence. We read the thoughts of God in every plant, bud, flower, insect and fossil of the earth, in the planets, stars and remotest nebulae of the stellar universe, and in all the laws of nature.

Every new discovery in natural science discloses to us a thought of God which had ever before been hid in the mysteries of eternity. The revelation of his thoughts is thus continually going on, and flashing into our minds. Kepler thus apprehended the subject when on the discovery of one of the laws of planetary motion he exclaimed, “I think thy thoughts after thee, O God !”

(b) God's thoughts are made known to us in the Scriptures.

The Bible is full of the thoughts of God. The thoughts there disclosed are a direct, supernatural revelation to man. By them we know God, his character, what he requires of us, and our moral relations to him. They are vastly more important to us than the revelations of nature.

2. The thoughts of God are precious, because they are pure thoughts, holy thoughts, righteous thoughts, and thoughts of love. The plan of salvation was devised by God. By it he can maintain his justice and yet show mercy to the guilty and undeserving, and save the sinner from eternal death. His thoughts are also without number. "How great is the sum of them."

To all holy beings and good men, the thoughts of God are precious. If not precious to any one this is a sure indication that that heart is corrupt, and needs regenerating. It must be renewed before it can love God and delight in the thoughts which he discloses to men.

"And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering: But unto Cain and his offering, he had not respect."—*Gen.* iv. 4, 5.

HERE are two brothers in the first human family engaged in religious service, and God accepts one and rejects the other. As near to the beginning of man and his rites of worship, and as marked by the immediate and singular discrimination of God, the scene is worthy of deep study.

1. So early there were bloody sacrifices. Then God must have instituted them.

2. Abel's was offered in "faith." *Heb.* xi. 4. This implies a divine promise and human expectation based on it. Because so offered "the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering."

3. Cain's offering was unbloody, "the fruit of the ground," and without faith, and not what God had appointed. These are the only points where it varied from his brother's, and failing in these the Lord "had not respect" to it or to him offering it.

How can we explain all this? We recall the promise of a Saviour to the parents of these brothers. This promise we must suppose was so far unfolded to the parents that they could understand and use it. It is also reasonable to suppose that they explained and taught it to their children. Indeed Abel's "faith" implies this. The import of this promise was Christ, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. From it sprung, under divine instruction, the bloody and typical sacrificial system of the later generations,

pointing to Christ, and ceasing only when he came and was offered for the sins of the world. When, therefore, Abel made his bloody sacrifice in faith, he owned his guilt, his need of the atonement, and his acceptance of the one promised. So God accepted him. Cain on the contrary exercised no faith, made no admission of guilt, confessed no need of a Saviour. He was glad for a good harvest and made the offering of thanksgiving only. His offering had no element of blood, and no recognition of sin, atonement and forgiveness. Proud in self-righteousness, he stood up before his God on the ground of merit, and intelligently, deliberately rejected Christ and the vicarious atonement.

So it came to pass that God so signally discriminated between the two religious acts of the two brothers, and gave to Cain his earnest displeasure.

The great lesson of this remarkable scene, just outside the gates of Eden, is that sinners can offer no acceptable worship while they intentionally reject the great atoning sacrifice. A deliberate denial of the atonement must insure the displeasure of God. To worship acceptably we must feel and confess our demerit and stand "by faith" on the merit of the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

- 1.—*Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher, D. D.* Edited by CHARLES BEECHER, with Illustrations. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harpers. 1864.

SOME works go far to disarm criticism by their clearly intended, if not directly professed discarding of all accepted models, in the department of literature which they traverse. The design to introduce a new style or school of letters naturally inclines one to withhold comment upon the effort, until the experiment obtains a sufficient growth to be satisfactorily estimated.

Mr. Beecher has adventured something of this kind in the life of his honored father. It is a novelty in personal history, and can hardly be judged of definitely in this first volume of the attempt. The plan adopted of a conversational and catechetical narration, with

such unusually full details of collateral persons and events, in epistolary and other methods of description, secures much variety, and imparts no little zest, to the story, if at the expense of unity of impression and individuality of effect. In ordinary cases we should be quite certain of a mistake in this treatment. If it shall prove a success here, it will be against the intrinsic disadvantages of the method, and, as we must think, because simply of the remarkable tendencies which the Beecher family have within themselves of daringly setting at naught all the well considered and consolidated laws of procedure in whatever path they may choose to travel.

We leave the casket for its gem. This is the noble old hero here begun to be outlined. We are content to look long and lovingly at the central figure of the rather crowded canvas, for he was a man to love and to follow with strong and passionate affection. We invariably invest him with the panoply and bearing of one of the foremost chiefs of the church *military*, as a good old saint always would call it. Dr. Beecher was a thorough soldier for Christ to his most central life; and the trophies which he hung up in the halls of victory were numerous as the shields of David's mighty men.

From his beginnings of active life it was manifest that he would tread no humdrum, routine course. But he did not burst on the world like a meteor. His ministry on Long Island did not greatly distinguish him as the coming man of his day. His Litchfield ministry gave him a better position and a wider influence, which he at once began to use in a most stirring manner for the common weal. We have here the details of his embarking in the Temperance reform, and other salutary enterprises for society and the church. He became famous and formidable as an ecclesiastical advocate—a match for the astutest lawyers in contested clerical and parish causes. His revivalist labors stand prominently forth, and show him to be an expert master of the popular mind, as well as a man mighty in the word and grace of God. It is doubtful if ever the American pulpit has had a stronger preacher in the popular sense. He had a way of trenchant reasoning which played and flashed like a short sword; a power of irony, a homely wit and repartee, which was overwhelming; a hearty earnestness, his own “logic set afire,” which carried everything by storm, with the masses of men. There was nothing tricky, fantastical, artificial, about him. Every one saw the manliness of his nature, the ingenuousness of his religion.

Dr. Beecher's literary character wears a very respectable aspect in these reminiscences. He had a hand in the old *Christian Spectator*; was in fact about the soul and body of that incipient organ of distinctive New Havenism in theology. His vigorous endeavors to

make it go alone, when as yet it was an infant of not many days, are amusing and instructive. He held himself ready to furnish articles at very short notice, on almost any topic, when the editorial pile became exhausted. Undoubtedly he was, in sentiment, an ally of the Taylor-school of divinity; but he used to say, that being the older man of the two, he did not see why he should be called a Taylorite. We are led to inquire whether some admissions in this volume do not furnish a solution of a problem which has puzzled many minds? In correcting the evils of a too desponding religious experience may not this good and great man have swung over a little beyond the centre towards the other extreme, and by his great influence, helped to bring in the evils of a too superficial conviction of sin, from which we are suffering so severely? Not forgetting that his own thorough conversion and earnest piety led him to insist on a deep and painful sense of the sinner's lost condition, yet did not the turning away so boldly, even at a small angle from the instructions and practices of the great Master, encourage a wider departure in the next generation? Was here not a repetition of what the younger Edwards did in his modifications of his father's theology? Some small seeds produce large fruits. The variation of the telescope an hair's breadth may cause the eye of the astronomer to miss the fixed stars. In making less of personal examination, and in his wonderful power of imparting hope to the desponding, may he not have let inquirers, even his own children, off too easily, is a question which the following passage on pages 46 and 47, suggests perhaps as strongly as any in the book.

“I can now see that if I had had the instruction I give to enquirers, I should have come out bright in a few days. Mine was what I should now call a hopeful, promising case. Old Dr. Hopkins had just such an awakening, and was tormented a great while. The fact is the law and doctrines, without any explanation, is a cruel way to get souls into the kingdom. It entails great suffering, especially on thinking minds. . . . One reason I was so long in the dark was, I was *under law*, was stumbling in the doctrines, and had no views of Christ. They gave me other books to read besides the Bible—a thing I have done practising long since. For cases like mine, Brainerd's Life is a most undesirable thing. It gave me a tinge for years. So Edwards on the affections—a most overwhelming thing, and to common minds the most entangling. The impressions left by such books were not spiritual, but a state of permanent hypochondria—the horrors of a mind without guidance, motive, or ability to do anything. They are a bad generation of books, on the whole. Divine sovereignty does the whole in spite of them. I was converted in spite of such books. I wish I could give you my clinical theology. I have used my evangelical philosophy all my lifetime, and relieved people without number out of the sloughs of high Calvinism.”

The intimations here that, under the older New England teachings, the law and doctrines were held up without any explanations, that no views of Christ were given in connection with them, and that other books were urged before the Bible, shows either an ignorance of those teachings, or an antagonism to them which we did not expect. Were not the large, deep and painful views of sin which such men as Hopkins and Beecher experienced, powerful means of usefulness in their preaching? What is a little more pain and a little longer distress compared with an apostolic earnestness to save the lost and a greater security against a false hope? Verily this "clinical" talk of having "relieved people without number" by means of a newly discovered "philosophy," savors a little of the patent panaceas by which modern inventors promise to cheat death out of all his victims.

Dr. Beecher's mind was not strictly theological. His lectures, out of that chair, were rather stimulative to independent research, than systematic and satisfactory. He had a great power of stirring others' minds. This was the work and value of his life. The next volume will doubtless exhibit this more fully, as the present leaves him only at the threshold of his principal achievements.

2.—*Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, Boston.* By JOHN WEISS. In two volumes, 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864.

MR. PARKER'S life is valuable mainly as a study in the progress of error. It has its incidental literary and æsthetic attractions, the side play of scholarly tastes and habits, a fresh and vigorous love of nature, spicy anecdote, sharp collisions of wit, stern antagonisms personal and professional, much observation of men and things at home and abroad; these lend the volume before us a general power to interest the reader. But beyond all this, the work here given the public so minutely and elaborately, is permanently to be valued as a very unique help to the investigation of the triumph and confirmed dominion of error over a man of large intellectual endowments and great force of character.

The error was this — taking consciousness for a guide in philosophy, and conscience for a guide in religion, as ultimate and absolute authorities. This is a very simple system, but it is simply false. It makes a man *totus in illo*; but the total is supremest folly. Yet Mr. Parker never got outside this individualism. Conscience was his moral inspiration; he wanted no other Bible; consciousness was

his oracle in solving the enigmas of nature and the supernatural; its intuitions were his text-book of appeal and most dogmatic adjudication, "where angels fear to tread."

These volumes are seasoned from beginning to end with just the self-asserting, pugnacious, proud, recalcitrating spirit which must inevitably flow from such a source. It is the life of a human demigod which is written here. The hero feels his vocation to this regnancy; it breathes out from his person in lecture desk, in his study, in letters and conversations; he goes through life leaning on himself, and he goes out of life in the same isolated individualism in which he has wrought his earthly task. We get no relief from this dreary impression through the prayers which are here recited; to us they lack the really childlike heart of a true suppliant unto God. The biographer intensifies this feeling which oppresses us, by his ill-placed resurrection of the defiant flippancy of his dead master, in his own imitation of that spirit. It is an all-pervasive spirit. It followed Mr. Parker wherever he went, though he was forever preaching up a charity which he did not exercise. He used to say, in the Music Hall, severer things concerning his opponents than they ever said, in the pulpit, against him. This were enough for exhibition, without drawing from other sources. But Mr. Weiss has blemished his work with an unpardonable quantity of antichristian bile on his own account. He spurts it at us with a persistent will which manifestly gives him great satisfaction. He obviously belongs to the select number who regard Mr. Parker as himself a fulfilment of his own prediction, that a greater and wiser than Jesus is to be expected in these latter days. Others of the "Fraternity" have directly said this. Mr. W. does not; yet he writes as if he were making reprisals all along upon the virtual crucifiers of another Messiah. Judged by sound critical tests, we regard this biography a failure. It is rather a great partizan pamphlet than a generous, well balanced, naturally toned, artistically truthful history. Yet we do not mean by these strictures to modify the concession made at the beginning, of the value of this memoir as a museum of literary curiosities and anatomical studies.

The reviewers have noticed, with just severity, the tampering with the original plates of these volumes, in the present reprint, by erasing several stinging paragraphs from Mr. Parker's letters, because they attacked two or three gentlemen who are much idolized by a part of the American public. Mr. Weiss should have rigidly excluded from these pages the offensive personalities in which Mr. Parker was wont very freely to indulge, even at the expense of emptying his casters of some of their most piquant condiments. But, if he could not

practice a sufficient self-restraint to forego this sensational stimulation, he should have made fair play all around. The biographer indeed publishes his disclaimer of any knowledge of these erasures from his text. But it was done, nevertheless, leaving the public to wonder at the impropriety of thus attempting to screen Messrs. Horace Greeley, and H. W. Beecher from Mr. Parker's sarcasms, while no shield is thus interposed before such respectable persons as several of the professors at Harvard, and the Unitarian ministers in Boston from whom the progressive apostle of free thinking parted company somewhat severely, in his onward but not upward flight.

Mr. Parker's attitude as an anti-slavery reformer and politician was distinctly understood. We have never questioned his honest love of freedom, his leading agency in stirring the country to zeal for negro emancipation. We just as plainly say that in our judgment his zeal was not always guided by sound knowledge, nor tempered as it should have been by Christian charity. About all the good which we regard him as having done to his generation, we must, for ourselves, look for in this direction. If the sum total be smaller than we could wish to find, we do not consider the fault to lie with us.

Again renewing our acknowledgments to this work for much exhilaration and some profit derived from its pages, we are constrained to say, that so far as it details the record of a professed builder of an ethical and religious structure, it seems to us to be only a great agglomeration of wood, hay and stubble.

3.—*Speeches, Lectures and Letters.* By WENDELL PHILLIPS. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington St. pp. 562. 1864.

HERE are twenty-four of the speeches, lectures and letters of Mr. Phillips. The speeches are about one-half of those which have been reported during the last ten years. They form an interesting part of the history of the great anti-slavery struggle which has culminated in this most terrific war. There is a wonderful power in them, especially of sportive invective. Ever and anon the red-hot iron gleams and blisters, and while the victims hiss and groan, the multitudes shout and applaud. The subjects of these speeches are the most exciting and they were delivered in the most turbulent assemblies. These are some of the themes which the fascinating and fiery eloquence of this kind, bitter man will bear safely down to many generations of eager readers: The Murder of Lovejoy; Surrender of Sims; The Boston Mob; Harper's Ferry; Lincoln's Election; The Burial of John Brown, &c. The volume is in the best style of Walker & Wise.

4. — *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians.* With a revised Translation. By CHAS. J. ELLICOTT, B.D. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1864.

THE successive volumes of this Commentary on the Pauline Epistles show a steady perfecting of the method of interpretation adopted by the author. Grounding himself in a thorough analysis of the text, he draws out its meaning by a strict adherence to the laws of language. The lexical criticism is exact and clear. There is enough reference to authorities, but the page is not overloaded with them, and those given are invariably of the best. The variation of the old English versions is a novel and admirable feature. The Greek text is given, and a new translation follows which is very carefully done, adhering more closely to the original than Conybeare and Howson's version, if not so smoothly flowing in the verbal construction. We like the scholarly and Christian confidence which Bishop Ellicott reposes in his own well considered and mature conclusions, a somewhat marked contrast to the vacillation of Dean Alford's judgments in the different editions of his commentaries. The theological views of Dr. Ellicott are much sounder than Alford's. If our biblical students would make themselves masters of the method of interpretation pursued so successfully in these commentaries, and use them as suggestive helps to similar studies of their own, the results could not fail to be richly remunerative.

5. — *Satan's Devices and the Believer's Victory.* By Rev. WILLIAM L. PARSONS, A.M., Pastor of the Congregational church, Mattapoisett, Mass. 12mo. pp. 312. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

THIS volume combines the practical and devout character of the sermon with much of the style of the essay. Its spirit is good. It makes much of the personality and present activity of Satan among mankind. The author dwells on Satan's methods of working, his planting and culture of unbelief, obscuring of leading Christian doctrines, sowing of error, dissension and indifference to vital truths and vital godliness, and his corruption of logic, philosophy and theology. In controversy with him and his wiles Christ and Christian truth are shown as coming to the relief of the believer and insuring a final victory.

So far as this outline goes we esteem the work as practical and profitable for godly men. The author makes a good point for our times of floating as to the nature of sin and personality of the devil, by showing that Satan is a person having much to do personally in *the public, business, family and private life of men.*

But when our author comes to discuss theological questions, and to define terms and harmonize the schools, we lack sympathy with his teachings. He speaks of Christian experience somewhat after the manner of the mystics, and encourages a kind of mystically positive assurance of being in Christ. The idea of an inner and direct spiritual light seems to be advanced, that underlies much religious fanaticism. He fails in a clear distinction between sin and sinfulness, the sin of an act and the sinfulness of the actor, as thus on p. 244: "Suppose a man to be assaulted with impure and lustful thoughts, which, if indulged, would lead to sin." But what are they, though not indulged, and what the state of heart whence they come as from their native place? There is the same obscurity to our minds running through chapter xxv. where knowledge of God is taken to be synonymous with holiness. "We may have his thoughts, his ideas, his views filling and perfectly satisfying the intelligence," and the measure of such knowledge is the measure of one's holiness.

In this is laid a ground for perfection. "We may hope, as to the will, that through this divine knowledge of Christ it will become so devoted to him that it will cease, knowingly, to swerve from its fidelity. It may so far overcome temptation as to remain inflexible," etc. As to the intellect and obtaining a knowledge of the will of God concerning us "doubtless the Holy Ghost will so bring this home to our apprehension, that we can become, and remain, consciously devoted to it, and that we may know our specific acts to be in harmony with it and executive of it." pp. 252—4. On pp. 269—70 there is a confounding of justification and complete sanctification.

On pp. 267 *et seq.*, the author applies his theories and reasonings to harmonize the conflicting views on entire and partial sanctification, instantaneous and gradual sanctification, ability and inability, the sinfulness and non-sinfulness of our nature. He works a concord in these differences by showing according to his theory, that both sides are true. One passage will illustrate the process of reasoning:

"A man who is lost may have ability to go home, but he can not use it till he knows which way to go; his difficulty is not want of ability direct, but of knowledge. Does not the old school doctrine of inability lie exactly here, and is it not true? But when an object, worthy of choice or love, is revealed to the mind's apprehension, then we can easily and naturally bring our ability into play, and choose it. We can take hold upon it and receive it into our hearts. This we are doing every day. Does not the new school doctrine of ability lie here, and is it not true, and beautifully harmonious with the doctrine of apparent inability?"

If this be so, many volumes have been written under a misapprehension of a point, and not a few theological chairs have been duplicates and needless. But excepting some of the doctrinal point and their influence in the work we like its spirit and tendency. Evidently a devout and earnest Christian heart has dictated its pages.

6. — *Church Pastorals: Hymns and Tunes for Public and Social Worship.* Collected and Arranged by NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D.D. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

WE wish that there were but one Hymn Book in the churches of our denomination, and we should be well content if this were that one. It would save pastors from a great inconvenience, and would help to supply a very much needed *esprit de corps*. But this tastefully arranged and published collection must make its way against numerous and more or less popular competitors.

Its special characteristics are a severe adherence to the original forms of hymns, excepting unessential changes for rhythm in some pieces, and the shortening of such as were too long. The number of compositions falls a little short of one thousand. These include our choicest hymns of devotion. Some favorite pieces will not be found, but there are enough for all occasions of public or social worship. Books of devotional poetry for private reading had better be resorted to for compositions which are not suited to musical expression. Such volumes are becoming common and many of them are very rich in the best of sacred poems.

The music of this work has cost long labor and shows the touches of a finely cultivated taste and of much artistic genius in its arrangement. Tunes have been avoided which are devoid of a marked character, and those have been sought which, when learned, have a power to keep themselves in memory and use because they are really in accord with the soul's own wants and aspirations. Every one knows the difference between such pieces of music. One of these living tunes which keeps singing itself forever among the people is worth a thousand humdrum harmonies of which the best description is that there is nothing to them. Dr. Adams has relied mainly on the genuine melodies which are to be found in the ecclesiastical music of different languages, and on the old chorals which never wear out.

The adaptation of hymns to tunes is as perfect in this work as can probably be attained. The tunes have no less distinctness of expression than the hymns, and unusual skill is manifest in the application of these to each other. Verse and harmony are wedded not by contrasts but by likenesses. It is a thoroughly devout book,

suffused with the fervor of a Christian heart as well as embellished with the gracefulness of a pure æsthetic sensibility. If this collection does not command a quick popularity, we think that it will eventually triumph. Any one familiar with our congregations knows that they need a work the music of which shall displace the piles of singing books that are now encumbering our churches whether the singing be by the choir, or be congregational, or a mixture of both. Such a book we have not yet had unless this proves to be the one. If its music shall stand the test of trial, it will be adopted as supplying a real want of our Christian assemblies.

7.— *The Natural History of Secession; or, Despotism and Democracy at Necessary, Eternal and Exterminating War.* By THOMAS SHEPARD GOODWIN, A.M. 12mo. pp. 328. New York : John Bradburne. Cincinnati : Rickey & Carroll. Boston : A. Williams & Co. 1864.

WE are constantly surprised at the new forms in which secession and the rebellion are set. Each observer has his own standpoint, usually given or suggested by his own experiences ; and from his point of view we have phases unlike those of any other author. Yet are they all needed to make up an entire presentation of this huge rebellion. Mr. Goodwin has well filled his department in the work, and from an interior view of slavery and a wide survey of national and international relations to it, he has given the public a volume comprehensive, condensed, earnest, bold and unique in both plan and style.

With a singular simplicity and power the author speaks right out and dashes on and on through forty-seven chapters to his conclusion. The more we have examined the book the more we have been interested in it.

8.— *The National Almanac and Annual Record for the Year 1864.* pp. 641. Philadelphia : Geo. W. Childs.

A HAND-BOOK of the country on its government, offices, officers, finances, elections, navy, armies, education, postal service, commerce, population. Each State and Territory has here its place with tables of its officers, courts, judiciary, banks, common, normal and higher schools, benevolent and humane institutions, asylums and prisons, vital statistics, etc. A striking feature of the volume is a summary under each State of the volunteer enlistments and organizations now making up our immense army. A graphic and condensed chronological record of the military and naval movements of the nation for 1863 is given. The new revenue system is presented,

and the fruits of its first year are tabled. Each vessel in our navy is described and her officers named, as well as her movements. A summary of the agricultural interests, national debts and resources and expenses, sickness and death in the army, the composition of Congress and an abstract of the laws passed in 1863, foreign representatives and agents of the Government, names of all officers in the U. S. army and navy, and an outline of the heads of all foreign governments — these items indicate the rich contents of this annual.

9. — *Annual of Scientific Discovery ; or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1864 ; Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with Notes on the progress of Science during the year 1863 ; a list of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc.* Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A.M., M.D., author of *Principles of Natural Philosophy, Principles of Chemistry, First Principles of Geology, etc.* 12mo. pp. xiv., and 351. Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

THIS is a promising title-page, but the contents well sustain it. The work takes a wide and exceedingly fascinating range from “the Sewers of Paris” to “the origin of the Gipsies.” Anything new in Mechanics and the Fine Arts, the Science of War and its material, Natural Philosophy in its many departments, Discoveries in Antiquity, or the mental, animal, mineral or vegetable kingdom, in a word, all the newer or more profound, indicated or suggested by the title-page, is here well arranged, stated and indexed. Evidently the world moves, and this volume gives quite as convincing evidence that during the year 1863 we Americans did something besides the carrying on of a huge war.

10. — *Work and Play ; or Literary Varieties.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo. pp. 464. New York : Charles Scribner. 1864.

THE most of the articles in this volume are already widely and well known to the public, and it was a happy thought given to the author to embody them in a book. They are among the choicest productions of Dr. Bushnell’s peculiar pen. He calls them the “literary by-play of a laborious profession,” and for that very reason likely to be the gems of his intellectual work-shop. The spontaneity, the self-moving love for the theme, and the leisurely, long-continued labor with which a scholar works off some pet project in lit-

erature, insure the result to stand among his very best productions. This volume shows all the salient points in the author's style of thought and expression. Like all authors he delights to say things in his own way, but unlike most he succeeds in having a way of his own. Terse, brilliant, pointed and fully alive, he often gives us his thoughts in a backward, introverted and surprising way, as if the aim were oddity. Yet in reading him it is in this respect as a rural ride where the surprising crookedness of the road is a continual delight. We find many a sweet flower, and brook and dell in the windings, and are kept in the happy suspense of not knowing where we are going till we get there. Sometimes, it is true, it would be a relief if the Doctor would tell us where we are, or whether we have really reached a destination. This volume is full of thought, and the variety of themes makes it a delightful miscellany.

11. — *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, Jan. 29, 1864. pp. 512.

THIS is an exceedingly instructive Report, drawn up with research, care and fidelity. The section on "The Sources of Crime" we have especially read with a deep and painful interest.* It is a stern policy in government to punish crime, while it takes no cognizance of its sources nor tries to dry up the springs of evil. Among the sources, with many startling facts under each, the Report mentions the following: Grog-shops, brothels, theatres, gambling-houses and lotteries, (the French name for the last source of crime is *rafle*,) prisons, when badly managed, official neglect to arrest criminals, bad books, orphanage, insanity, ignorance, want of a trade or profession, poverty, inefficient police, immigration, contact with thoroughfares of travel and trade, density of population, Sabbath-breaking, loss of ministerial and religious instruction, and innate depravity. The Report estimates that two millions of books are sold on our public highways and at the centres of travel, a very large proportion of which are of "the worst character, tending to corrupt the principles, to inflame the passions, to excite impure desire, and to spread a blight over the powers of the soul." "Few prisoners who can read at all fail to enumerate, among the causes which led them into crime, the unhealthy stimulus of this depraved and pernicious literature." pp. 405, 6. What the Report says of insanity as a source of crime we should receive only with grave qualifications.

* This chapter is a reprint from the *Am. Theol. Review*.

ARTICLE X.

THE ROUND TABLE.

YES AND NO. There are no two words in the English language deserving so deep respect and reverence as these two Saxon monosyllables. They are to a man's uprightness and strength of character what the two pillars were to the house that Samson brought down on the Philistines; "the two middle pillars on which the house stood, and on which it was borne up." He who owns not these words belongs himself to somebody. Having no controlling will of his own he must suffer another's to enter into and possess him, and then he will become as the ass to Balaam. Sometimes enough of latent independence will arise to show itself, provoke the spur, and then subside by meekly replying, as that renowned beast of old: "Am I not thine ass upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine own unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?" The man who lacks the ability to use these two words lacks promptness, daring, persistence. Unable to pronounce them, he is obliged to pronounce the name of a master, and so he becomes merely something, an appendage to somebody. Yes and no constitute the Mason and Dixon's line between freedom and slavery, between the chattel and the man.

In one of his facetious announcements of "Books to be Printed," Swift proposed "A Political Essay on Monosyllables, Proving, That there's more Eloquence in the two Opposites of *Yes* and *No*, than in all *Cicero's* Orations." We devoutly wish the Essay could have been written for the benefit of shilly-shally nothingarians. We deeply commiserate them as seen in close places on moral, theological, ecclesiastical, political and social questions, vainly trying to say something definite and stand somewhere in particular. For the relief of such called suddenly to extemporize an answer or opinion we commend this general formula following. It can be committed to memory, and serve on various occasions, as Cicero made introductions for his orations. 'The question staggers me. The more I think of it the more I can not tell. As near as I can now judge I think I do not know. Much might be said both ways and neither way be right. Upon the whole, I think I would or I would not, just as I thought best or otherwise.'

LITERARY ANNOUNCEMENT. In that remarkable book ycleped "A History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch dynasty, by Diedrich Knickerbocker," occurs the fol-

lowing passage which recent events seem about to invest with the dignity of prophecy. We quote the learned and far seeing author :

“ It is astonishing how intimate historians do daily become with the patriarchs and other great men of antiquity. As intimacy improves with time, and as the learned are particularly inquisitive and familiar in their acquaintance with the ancients, I should not be surprised if some future writers should gravely give us a picture of men and manners as they existed before the flood, far more copious and accurate than the Bible ; and that, in the course of another century, the log-book of the good Noah should be as current among historians as the voyages of Captain Cook, or the renowned history of Robinson Crusoe.”

We have never been so struck with the probability of the verification of this remark as in the critical omniscience of the bishop of Natal's last volume on Moses and Joshua. The bishop's intuition of the making up of these venerable records is equal to a veritable Scotch grandame's second sight. He professes to have set down every word which was taken to compose these books, alike from the older assumed Elohist and Jehovistic documents, giving to each its origin from the one to the other, just as though he had looked over the penman's shoulder and seen the whole process from alpha to omega. This would be surprising if this were not the nineteenth century. The next thing undeniably must be the Noachian log-book. Of course the bishop can look it up, or else make it to order. Did he not finish his education among the Zulus? When that is done, perhaps he will give us Methusaleh's diary, or Adam's almanac. Either could hardly fail of being as entertaining and authentic as Robinson Crusoe.

“ A LIVING DOG IS BETTER THAN A DEAD LION.” And yet that depends much on circumstances. Some of the works of dead authors, men of renown, are like the carcass of Samson's lion, full of honey to give strength and fame to some men as they go by, and so furnishing the principal sweetness and power of many modern and popular volumes. In reading the new and then the old, within the range of literature, we have sometimes been inclined to think that he has the best reputation for originality of thought and good style who has gone farthest back among old authors, and has the most to do with dead lions. We will not deny originality to some modern and prolific literary men, while we quote the saying of Curran : “ The race of writers and reasoners and thinkers passes away, and gives place to a . . . superficial and overweening generation of laborious and strenuous idlers, of silly scholiasts and wrangling mooters, of prosing garulists.” Leaving out of the question works

on the physical sciences, and confining ourselves to metaphysical, religious, moral, social and literary themes, how much are we adding to the worth of our old libraries? Whose religious writings are to rank with Jeremy Taylor's? Walton well says of him: "Had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would, perhaps, have made one of the best dioceses in the world." We have a pretty way of telling incidents, writing fiction and getting up a literary entertainment, yet our English prose is jejune, degenerate and slipshod, compared with that of the Elizabethan age, while as to weight of thought in the larger part of the popular volumes, it requires no shoulders of Atlas to carry them through the drawing-rooms and the club-rooms. We are quite in the habit of publishing and puffing the fair conversation and remarks of those who read antiquated works. So it comes to pass that the modern literary thinkers are the men who most mouse about in alcoves and among old authors.

HINTS TO CANDIDATES. To outsiders and mere observers this calling of pastors must be covered with deep mystery. We offer a few hints to the man who wishes to succeed.

(a) Be good-looking. If one can not, it is his great misfortune, for the congregation think much of this. Absalom made a fine appearance, and so was very popular for a time. (b) Be unmarried. Young theologians make a grave mistake often on this point, if they desire an early settlement. (c) Preach but few sermons as a candidate. The third Sabbath has ruined the prospects of many a man. (d) Put no definite, certainly no controverted theology in the sermon. Nothing spoils the plans of some candidates sooner than to preach their theology right out. Preach no exegetical sermons. (e) Be as young as possible and disown all experience as a pastor. Years and practice in the ministry are against a man who wants a settlement. The church seems to prefer apprentice-work in the ministry. (f) The literary element is the most successful part of a sermon. This should be thoroughly elaborated and garnished. Scripture quotations may be inserted if they do not mar the beauty or break the connection of thought in the sermon. (g) Show some religious tendencies. This is fitting if not expected, and a measure of religion does not on the whole injure the prospects of a candidate.

It should be added that these hints must be used by the candidate with discrimination as to places. Some churches need to be approached under one head and some under another.

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ARTICLE I.

THE RELATIONS OF SIN AND ATONEMENT TO INFANT SALVATION.

AN aged woman long confined to her bed by illness, in a conversation respecting her spiritual state, was asked whether she still regarded herself as a sinner; when suddenly with unwonted animation she rose on her elbow exclaiming, "Why, yes; how could I go to heaven if I were not a sinner!" This unique reply was not more amusing than suggestive; and was evidently no accustomed form of speech, but the spontaneous utterance of her simple faith and experience. The logical idea of the sentiment is, that sin is a *sine qua non* to the entrance of man into heaven: not that heaven has any affinity for sin, but that none of our race enter heaven except through the atonement of Christ as the Saviour of sinners. The sentiment, if true of one at fourscore, were equally true of one at fifty, twenty, and ten years of age; and if true of one from his earliest discretion, it were true also from his earliest existence.

It is agreeable and therefore natural to entertain the hope that all who die in infancy are saved. The hope, however, must rest on a better basis than that it is agreeable, or the positive comfort to be derived from it must be indeed very little. The argument that we are so made that we cannot think otherwise without a painful revulsion of feeling, will not avail. Any opinion, at all adequate to console the bereaved parental heart,

must be derived from the word of God, which, though not very full and explicit upon this point, contains nevertheless, on this and points collateral, all the grounds which warrant the belief that any of this portion of the human race find a residence in heaven.

Man, in this world, is dependent upon divine revelation for all his knowledge of heaven. Heaven is revealed as the home of God, from everlasting to everlasting; as the home of the angels, from the instant of their creation so long as they remain holy; and as the everlasting home of the redeemed of mankind, from the moment of their entrance into it. There is no hint of any portion of the human race being in heaven, except through the merits of Christ. There is no proof that Adam, had he continued holy, would have been transferred from the earth into heaven. The fact that the holy angels are never removed to a higher and more blessed sphere of existence than that in which they were placed at their creation, is a presumptive proof that, had man never lapsed into sin, he would have remained forever in the terrestrial paradise. The claim, that man was mortal by the very nature in which he was created, is not valid; for all the data upon which that claim rests are derived from the constitution of things as affected and modified by the introduction of sin. The obvious implication of the record, that Adam, before he sinned, was permitted to eat of "the tree of life also in the midst of the garden," but after he sinned, was expelled the garden expressly "lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever," is that he was not originally mortal. But even on the supposition that he was originally mortal, and had remained holy, the evidence is entirely wanting that heaven would have been open and accessible to him. Even though the claim, that there was a pre-Adamite race, could be substantiated, there is the best of evidence that neither infant nor adult of such race is in heaven; for the Scriptures represent that all of human kind in heaven ascribe their redemption to "the blood of the Lamb," and that only so far "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

But whatever might have been the result in case the human race had remained holy, it is certain that the fall of Adam resulted in his own just condemnation and also in that of all his

posterity. "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." As though he would guard his declaration from ever being interpreted as less than universal in its scope, the apostle added, with other similar expressions, this: "By the offence of one judgment came upon all men unto condemnation." These passages, in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, evidently mean the same as the expression in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, "In Adam all die." The meaning intended in these expressions is no more doubtful, and no more unintelligible, than that intended in the expression to the Hebrews, "Levi also, who receiveth tithes, paid tithes in Abraham: for he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met him." But if all Adam's posterity be born sinful in consequence of his first sin, they can not be received into heaven by any merits of their own. If those who die in infancy be saved, therefore, they must be saved by grace. The Scriptures plainly authorize the belief, and the unqualified statement that no infant of Adam's race ever was, or ever will be, received into heaven, except on the atoning merits of the Son of God. For according to John also, "There shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life." In his vision of the judgment, which preceded that of the New Jerusalem, the apostle also "saw the dead, small and great, stand before God. . . . And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." The import of being "written in the Lamb's book of life," is, plainly, that all mankind who are received into heaven are received on the merits of the Lamb; and the import of being "not found written in the book of life," is, as plainly, that all mankind to whom the merits of Christ do not apply, and for whom they do not avail, are forever excluded from heaven.

In the investigation of this subject, it is obviously necessary to ascertain the moral condition of infants, and the provision which may have been made for their salvation. On these points there is considerable diversity of opinion; arising undoubtedly less from any ambiguity or comparative silence of the word of God, than from the speculative theories on which that word is

interpreted. The various and conflicting theories which need to be noticed, may be ranged in two classes ; those built upon the assertion of original sin, in the sense of moral depravity, and those built upon the denial of that doctrine, either altogether, or in that sense. The realism of that doctrine is undoubtedly denied, more than for any other reason, to make room for the salvation of those who die in infancy ; as though heaven could not be opened to them if they were by nature sinful, or as though natural exposure to the divine displeasure implied the inevitable infliction of it. The denial, however, is unfortunate, if it interpose the very difficulty which it is designed to remove.

It has been contended by some that infants are characterless. Moral character, it is thought, must be superinduced by conscious acts or choices, of which infants are incapable. But how can a moral act be put forth by a being that has not already a moral nature ? If any creature that has not a moral character may superinduce one by an act, why may not an animal, as well as a child ? Had the first man no moral character until he originated a choice in reference to the authority of his Creator ? Had that living soul, who was made in the likeness of God, no moral nature by virtue of that likeness ? If not, then the doctrine of the fall of man needs to be re-examined, and may be utterly exploded ; for on this theory, there is no proof that his first act, in reference to the known will of his Maker, was not an act of disobedience, and no proof that his first disobedience was a fall. The transition from neutrality into positive alienation were not necessarily a fall, unless the transgressor of a divine command thereby became of a lower order of being than the brute. If Adam's will, at the instant of his endowment with it, had no determination or movement, how could it have ever set itself in motion, either in the direction of holiness or in that of sin ? If the human spirit be at first undetermined and intrinsically indifferent, and may then leap out of that characterless condition into one positively moral, then may "a vacuum make itself a plenum by a vacuum's activity." The truth is, that, if Adam had possessed no moral character by virtue of the divine image in which he was created, he never would have had any apprehension of moral obligation, and would have been forever incapable of moral action ; and his posterity, begotten

in his image, would have been born and have remained under the same disability, whether the theory of traducianism or that of creationism be adopted as to their souls.

But let it be granted that infants have no moral character and yet are capable of becoming either holy or sinful. So long as they do not put that capability into exercise, they have neither merit nor demerit: they are objects neither of divine displeasure nor of divine complacency; they have nothing in common with holy or with unholy beings; they have neither incurred nor superseded the need of an atonement and a Saviour; and therefore, if they die in this condition, they can share neither the misery of the finally reprobate nor the blessedness of the redeemed. On this theory, parents may escape the conclusion that their departed infant offspring have been consigned to the world of woe; but, on the other hand, they are denied the conclusion that those objects of their deathless affection have been received into heaven. What, then, has become of them? Whither have they gone? Have they merely ceased to exist, and thus perished like the beasts? Surely such unsatisfied queryings can bring no relief to the stricken parental heart. But, according to Professor Shedd, Pelagius, by whose name this theory is historically characterized, "held that infant baptism is necessary in order to the remission of future sins; but children who died without baptism he thought would be saved, although they would experience a less degree of felicity than the redeemed enjoy." Prevention, not forgiveness, of sin, is the effect which he ascribes to baptism. Baptism derives its efficacy from Him to whom the subjects of the rite are consecrated. But God by his Son provided a propitiation, not for the prevention of sins in the future, but "for the remission of sins that are past." Or if baptism be the symbol of purification, it can have no meaning or efficacy in respect of such as are characterless and therefore not sinful. This seems to be conceded by the very claim that infants who die unbaptized are saved, and that the difference between the conditions of the baptized and the unbaptized in the future state is simply in the "degree of felicity." The advocates of this theory perceived that all deceased infants who enter heaven necessarily enter as redeemed, and that there was no plausible defence for the re-

demption of any but the baptized; and therefore, for the unbaptized, they resorted to a salvation, in distinction from redemption, in some indefinite state which is nearly but not quite equivalent to heaven, and which they called "eternal life." Hence Pelagius, when pressed as to what became of the unbaptized, was constrained to confess that, "though he knew where they did not go, he knew not where they did go." But as the word of God teaches that all the redeemed are redeemed by grace, and that grace is favor to "the children of wrath," it is clear that there can be no application of grace to the characterless, whether baptized or not, and therefore that none of them can be admitted into heaven. Were it true, then, that infants are neither sinful nor holy, and that some of them die in that condition, the yearning hope, indulged by so many bereaved parents, of ultimately rejoining their departed infant offspring in the world of the perfectly blessed, would be forever disappointed.

There is a modification of this theory, which has found considerable favor, especially with the popular mind. It is that infants, though neither holy nor sinful by any active voluntariness, are yet in a condition of moral innocence, which renders their salvation certain, if they die before they become guilty of any conscious and intentional sin. Here it is assumed that the mere absence of guilt constitutes a ground of merit, so that those who die in infancy may enter heaven by right of moral purity. This view overlooks or denies any real and essential connection of the native moral condition of the race, with that guilty nature which Adam introduced into his own being when he first transgressed the law of God. But the denial of original sin is a virtual denial of the fall itself; for the doctrine of the fall is, that Adam by transgression fell from a state of holiness into a state of guilt, so that he had no power to exchange this self-induced guilty nature for that created holy nature which he had destroyed. As a man is able to amputate his hand, but, having amputated it, is not able to restore it; so the first man, having fallen from holiness into sin, was not able to leap back from sin to holiness. The perfect could become imperfect, but the imperfect had no power to become perfect. The doctrine of original sin is, that all of Adam's posterity are "by nature the

children of wrath," because "begotten in his image" as fallen. But the theory of native innocence sets aside that inexorable law of nature, which pervades the vegetable and animal kingdoms as well as man, and by which like begets only its like; or else it sets aside the doctrine that Adam's transgression resulted in a guilty moral nature. These inconsistencies, however, may escape the notice of the unthinking, or be regarded as of no consequence by those who set their own reason above the word of God. It is now difficult to account for the fact that some strong and acute minds, who undoubtedly intend to adhere reverently to the truth revealed, adopt and advocate the theory of native innocence, as the basis for their belief in infant salvation. Some such minds are ready frankly to admit, that, in consequence of native innocence, infant children have no need of an atoning Saviour in order to their admission into heaven. If there be any such residents in heaven, the fact has not been revealed in the Scriptures; which is very strange, considering how large a proportion of the human race depart this life in infancy. The Bible reveals the existence of none of the children of Adam's race in heaven except as trophies of grace, which is favor to those who are worthy only of condemnation by reason of their sinfulness. This modification of the previous theory is no improvement; and whoever would make it tenable, should make himself sufficiently credible to assure a mourning host that he has had a deeper vision into the realm of the blessed than was granted to the exile of Patmos, who "beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb."

Another view, allied to the foregoing, and somewhat prevalent is, that mankind are all born with the same moral character with which Adam was endowed at his creation. This view may be held by those who regard every soul as a distinct and separate creation, and by those who regard the souls of all his posterity as individualizations from the soul of the first and generic man, and as propagated along with the physical natures in which they respectively tabernacle while in this present world.

One thing in its favor is the fact, that it does not deny to any individual the possession of a positive moral character at the earliest moment of existence; and another is the fact, that it assumes the truth of the obviously scriptural doctrine that the first man was originally holy by virtue of the divine likeness in which he was created. An objection to this view is, that it overlooks the fact, that Adam's rebellion against God at the same time resulted in a revolution within himself, which amounted to a complete and radical change in the quality and type of his generic moral nature. It is also an objection, that this theory takes no account of the fact, that while the perfectly holy but finite being of Paradise was, for probationary purposes, endowed with the hazardous capability of originating such a change, yet, for the sinful man to reverse it, is metaphysically impossible. Even regeneration by the Holy Spirit does not undo the effect of the first sin upon the generic nature of the race. In the believer grace and nature are in continual conflict. Regeneration does not change a man from total sinfulness into a condition of complete holiness; the change is only partial, the generation of a principle of holiness in the soul, which is to be developed, and made ultimately victorious in the individual, by the presence and power of the Holy Spirit restraining and subduing the sinful nature. So long as the believer remains on probation, the moment he should be forsaken by the Holy Spirit, his sinful nature, which he inherited from the first man, and which perhaps he has strengthened by his subsequent sins, would terribly overbear the principle of holiness. In the generic man the change from holiness to sin was instantly complete; in the regenerate individual the change from sin to holiness, is in this life, only partial. "So then," said Paul, "with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." Hence, whether Adam was regenerate or unregenerate, when he begat a son in his own image he transmitted a sinful nature. Consequently the apostle, who boasted that he had more than any other man whereof he might trust in the flesh, included himself, though "of the stock of Israel," with the Gentiles of Ephesus when he said, "We all . . . were by nature the children of wrath, even as others."

Or if, to maintain that every individual is born holy, the soul be regarded as a new and independent creation, at the instant of the birth, or of the generation, of the physical nature; the old objection, "Why does it deserve to be associated at very birth with a diseased and dying body, and to be stained and polluted with a corrupted sensuous nature?" cannot be satisfactorily answered. The sensuous nature being indisputably corrupted by the fall, God is made responsible for the unnatural and apparently unjust alliance; and those who die in infancy, at least, if not the entire race, ought in justice, not only to be saved, but also to be compensated with a great and positive additional reward.

(But, granting that the moral condition of infants is one of holiness whether by traduction or creation, what becomes of them when they die in that condition? They certainly can not be sent to perdition, and as certainly can not be received into heaven; for according to the word of God, there are none of our race in heaven but such as were saved by grace, and all who were saved by grace would have been lost by justice. On this theory, therefore, bereaved parents in vain indulge the hope of ever meeting their departed infant children in the realm of the "blessed"; the only legitimate consolation is, that they are not among the "cursed." Where, then, are they? Surely it would seem as if information concerning the future and eternal state of the unfallen portion of the human race were not less important than information concerning the unfallen angels. But their habitation has not been revealed; from which fact it must be inferred, that they are where they can feel no interest in the grand results of the redemptive work of Christ, or in the welfare even of their parents. Whether they have awakened into self-consciousness, or remain with all their intellectual and moral faculties infolded within their original latency can not be known.

The claim, that infants may enter heaven by virtue of their native holiness, must therefore be given up as untenable. There is no revealed support for it; and what is revealed concerning the character of living, and the condition of deceased, infant children, makes entirely against it. Not only were all the disembodied human spirits, already in heaven, admitted there as

trophies of redeeming grace ; but when their " mortal shall have put on immortality," and " death is swallowed up in victory," their shout of triumph over death and the grave will be, without exception : " Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

There is still another theory which should be examined : it is that mankind are born depraved, but not morally so ; and that, if they die in infancy, they are saved in some way in consideration of the merits of Christ. The idea of depravity, in this theory, is not that of a will already in determination against God, but simply that of a kind of nondescript proclivity which is not moral, whereby it is rendered certain that the first conscious intentions or moral exercises will be sinful. This is quite a prevalent view in some quarters, and quite plausible to minds who wish to adhere to the Scriptures, but are unwilling to accept as literally true either the poetry of David or the prose of Paul. Since a certain and inevitable connection between the sin of the first man and the sinfulness of his race, is too palpably taught in the word of God, to be altogether denied by the advocates of this view, they interpret this connection in the loose, indefinable, and merely nominal sense of one whereby in some way it is certain that all who attain to the years of discretion will put forth sinful acts. But this is only another way of saying that the fall had no direct and immediate effect upon the spiritual nature of the race, and thus that original sin, or native depravity, consists wholly in a vitiosity of the physical nature, in distinction from the spiritual. Accordingly, this theory, as regards the moral condition of infants while in this life, is substantially the same as that of the native innocence, and that of the native holiness, of the soul, and is liable to the same objections. It is unphilosophical, in respect of the established law, announced in the history of the Creation, as immanent in every kingdom and in every species of generic life ; namely, the law of propagation of like by like, and of like by like only. It is unscriptural, in that it proceeds on the assumption of no generic sin in Adam, and consequently of no original and unconscious voluntariness in the subsequent individualizations from his will ; and that, because a child can not justly be held guilty on account of any so called actual sin of his previously wicked father,

therefore the generations of mankind cannot be participants of the guilty nature consequent upon the first sin of the previously holy father of all. The first threatened penalty of disobedience was death, which included both the spiritual and physical nature, as is evident from the whole tenor of the subsequent dispensations of the law and the gospel.

Such being the deficiencies of this theory in respect of the native depravity of the race, it is necessarily unsatisfactory in respect of the future state of such as die in infancy. For it leaves no room for the application of grace to their souls, and limits the work of Christ in their behalf to redemption from the corruption of their sensuous nature. The peculiarity of Christ's redemptive act is, that he suffered, the just for the unjust, "pouring out his soul unto death," a sacrifice to God for the sins of a guilty race. Grace relates to ill desert, and ill desert presupposes guilt. But the theory in question excludes the element of guilt, and reduces native depravity to a mere corruption or vitiosity; and thus confounds effect with cause, and the proper work of the Holy Spirit with that of the Son of God. It was the work of Christ to expiate the guilt of mankind; it is the work of the Spirit to purify the soul from the pollution consequent upon guilt, which he never does except in connection with, and in subordination to, the piacular work of Christ. None but sinners, none but the guilty, could be condemned by justice; and therefore none can be saved by grace except those for whom Christ, by his self-sacrifice, satisfied the demands of justice. It is in vain to try to prop up this theory by the passage concerning the name of Jesus, that "he shall save his people from their sins," as if it had in view the prevention of future sins in those who have died in infancy; for the passage itself, as well as the very nature of ill desert, presupposes that guilt has already been incurred. Christ alone, who came down from heaven, ascended sinless, and on the ground of sinlessness, from this world into heaven. So far as the Scriptures inform us, all who are received into heaven by his merits unite in the song, "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood." There are indeed passages which allude to the cleansing efficacy of Christ's blood; but as he shed his blood primarily for the remission of sins, it is manifest that the sanc-

tifying is subsequent to, and consequent upon, the justifying and atoning efficacy of his blood. Besides, the whole theory is in direct contradiction to the apostle's logic as well as the Psalmist's poetry. It affords no solid ground of comfort to the weeping Rachels, and provides, with scriptural authority, neither habitation nor happiness for their departed infant children. Nor is the difficulty removed by the position taken by some, and fondly deemed less hazardous, that those who die in infancy are "safe," in distinction from being saved. Indeed this refuge from the logical inconsistencies of this theory is a virtual acknowledgment that it can not be defended by the word of God.

It is plain, then, that no theory of infant salvation, which is built upon the denial of a real native sinfulness, will stand the test of scriptural authority, and satisfy those minds that earnestly seek a ground of assurance for the belief that the multitudes who depart this life antecedently to the age of discretion are transferred to the home of God and of the holy angels and of the "redeemed from among men." But is there no theory whatever, that will endure such a test, and afford the desired satisfaction? If there be such a theory, it must spring from the divine oracles themselves.

What, now, according to the most obvious teachings of the Scriptures, is the moral condition of the human race by nature? This is the first inquiry towards the solution of the problem in hand. The Psalmist declares that, "The wicked are estranged from the womb; they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." But it is said that this is poetry, and therefore extravagant and ambiguous. On any just principles of interpretation, however, after abating all that can be set down to mere poetic license, the candid and reverent mind can not but perceive, that a profound and radical sinfulness is here ascribed to the very nature of this fallen race. Again, the inspired singer goes further, even from the root to the seminal principle: "Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." That this is not to be explained away into a mere exuberance of pious poetic feeling, instead of being taken in its most obvious meaning, is put beyond all reasonable doubt by its exact correspondence to the didactic statements of the

most logical apostle. Paul declared of Jew and Gentile that they "were by nature the children of wrath." It will not accord with his teachings elsewhere, if this be construed as referring only to himself and the Ephesians, or as asserting only a depravity of the sensuous nature whereby it is certain that the soul will, in its first conscious exercise, provoke the wrath of God. For he asserts that, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Whether the words, "for that," should be understood in the sense of "because," or in the sense of "on which account," or be displaced by the old rendering, "in whom," it is too plain to be denied, that the passage asserts an organic and vital connection between Adam and his race, by which they are born, and even begotten, in the likeness of his sinful nature. This interpretation accords with the very language of the first inspired writer; that, "Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image." The guilt of infants attaches not only to the activity but to the essence of their spiritual nature. As the law of gravitation is active and in force, even while a material body is at rest; so the law of voluntariness is active and in force, even while a spiritual being is unconscious of either purpose or motive. As the will of Adam at the instant of his creation, was in positive inclination towards God, or in the direction of holiness; so, after his fall, the wills of all his posterity, at the instant of individualization, are in positive inclination and force in the direction of sin. Consciousness or perception of voluntariness is no more essential to sinfulness in the infant, than it is in the adult in respect of that guilt concerning which he adopts the Psalmist's confession and prayer; "Who can understand his errors? cleanse thou me from secret faults." Christ taught that the sinful acts of men proceed out of the heart. If the stream be corrupt from the instant of its gush and flow, the fountain itself, while as yet unsealed and in positive force and inclination to flow, must also be corrupt.

If the posterity of Adam be sinful by nature, in consequence of their connection with him as fallen, they are not by nature candidates for heaven, but are liable by justice to everlasting exclusion. Though they had no control over his will, and

therefore can not be held responsible for his sin in his individual relation to God, yet they are participants of that generic guilt which he, as including his race within himself, incurred when he exercised the hazardous power of reversing the inclination of his spiritual nature from the direction of holiness to that of sin. This result of his fall was inevitable, from the very nature of freewill. One principle of the divine government, in this world, is, to "visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." If it be just in God to execute this principle at all, it were just in him to execute it universally and for ever. Left simply to justice, Adam and all his race had perished, and perished without a possibility of salvation.

Mankind, then, being "by nature the children of wrath," are also by nature in need of an atonement. The heart that has not yet sent forth its latent sinfulness is just as dependent upon the blood of Jesus to save from wrath, as the heart that has unsealed the fountain and issued the stream. "Neither is there salvation in any other." If infants be included in the Scripture, "By the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation," it is doubtless included also in the Scripture, "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." If Christ died for those who die in infancy, this fact proves that they are sinful, and that they may be recipients of the benefit of his atonement. The word of God no where excepts infants, in its declarations of the sinfulness of mankind, or in its declarations of the self-sacrifice of Christ as the propitiation for the sins of the world. The conclusion is therefore irresistible, that the atonement of Christ was designed to be, and is, broad enough in its provisions to allow of infants being made the subjects of grace.

If infants be sinful, and were had in view in the expiatory work of Christ, it is not probable that all of those who die in infancy fail of salvation. If the injunction of Christ, "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name," has reference only to such as may 'take heed what they hear,' the conditions of repentance and faith may not be essential to the application of his merits to those who die in infancy. Besides, regeneration is not the fruit of repentance and faith, in any case, and is not the work of the person regenerated. For

ought that appears in the word of God, or in the nature of the case, the Holy Spirit may consistently regenerate the infant without conditions, as well as the adult in connection with conditions.

God entered into covenant with Abraham and his seed, and appointed a seal. / That infants were included in the promised blessings of the covenant, is evident from the fact that the seal was applied to infants. / The Gentile who is converted to Christ, and is dedicated by baptism into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the Christian substitute for the ancient seal, becomes thereby a member of "the commonwealth of Israel," and an heir "to the covenants of promise." Being now of "the seed of Abraham" in the spiritual sense, he has the right and the privilege of dedicating his infant offspring to God by the application of the Christian seal of the covenant. Thus the converted jailer "was baptized, he and all his, straightway," because Paul and Silas had assured him, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." Here is one ground upon which multitudes of bereaved Christian parents have felt authoritatively assured of the salvation of their deceased infant offspring through the grace of God in Christ.

That all infants are regenerated, there is the best of reasons for denying; for multitudes grow up and die incorrigible sinners. Whether all who die in infancy are regenerated and prepared for heaven, is a question which those, who lay the emphasis of all certain assurance upon baptism, answer with only a hesitating affirmative, if with an affirmative at all. But those, who regard the ordinance of infant baptism as mainly important in its bearings upon the probation and welfare of such as attain to years of conscious obligation, are yet not without what is deemed, by some of the best expositors, scriptural authority for believing that all who die in infancy are prepared for heaven by grace. This authority is found in the declaration of the Saviour to his disciples, when they rebuked certain parents who presented their "infants" to him for his blessing: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God." As Calvin has been persistently charged, in some quarters, with holding that those who die in infancy are lost, and as Calvinists have had to share the

obloquy, a peculiar interest may be felt in his exposition of this passage.

“ He [Christ] declares that he wishes to receive children ; and at length, taking them in his arms, he not only embraces, but blesses them by the laying on of hands ; from which we infer that his grace is extended even to those who are of that age. And no wonder ; for since the whole race of Adam is shut up under sentence of death, all from the least to the greatest must perish, except those who are rescued by the only Redeemer. . . . That there is no other way in which we are reconciled to God, and become heirs of adoption, than by faith, we admit as to adults, but, with respect to infants, this passage demonstrates it to be false.” *

This should satisfy even those who, for the sake of a plausible theory of infant salvation, are ready to sacrifice the scriptural doctrine of native depravity. Avoiding the errors of those who deny the sinfulness of this portion of our race, Calvin, by asserting their sinfulness, and therefore their dependence upon atonement, was able to argue, consistently with what seems to be the authority of God’s word, that all who die in infancy are saved by grace, and therefore admitted into heaven.

The doctrine of original sin, or of native depravity, instead of being denied for the sake of a consistent theory of infant salvation, must rather be maintained for that very purpose. On the fact of their sinfulness rests the possibility of their being made subjects of grace ; and when this fact is admitted, it is easy to see how all the passages of Scripture, which bear upon the subject, harmonize one with another and with the general plan of salvation. On no other theory is there any authoritative encouragement for Christian parents to indulge the pleasing hope of ever uniting with their departed infant children in the ascription ; “ Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father : to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.”

* *Harmony of the Evangelists*, II, 390, 391. Calvin Translation Society’s edition.

ARTICLE II.

THE PUBLICATION OF FREE DESCRIPTIONS OF VICE.

Is it proper to publish free descriptions of vice? The question is often asked, but directly opposite answers are given among those who seem alike sincere in desiring the moral elevation of society. This difference of opinion is not to be settled by authority, but will only give place to perfect accord, when the true point, in human nature, upon which the whole subject hinges, becomes truly apprehended. We need not be hopeless of such a result. The principles which must adjust the issue, can be clearly beheld by the open eye, for they are intimated in all the processes of our rational or spiritual culture. The means by which this culture is secured, will be found chiefly to consist in the contemplation of some rational object. In the realm of beauty or fine art, the taste becomes refined, and the æsthetic susceptibility is rendered quick and keen, not by descriptions of beauty nor criticisms upon art, but by beholding the beautiful itself, as scenes of nature or works of art disclose it. No culture of the taste is practicable but in this way. Even the individual genius, however highly endowed with original insight, quickens his perceptions, and cultivates all his artistic powers by the models of perfect art which he makes his study, while the culture of the mass of men is even more dependent upon the same appliances. Tasteful productions only can elevate the community in taste. Their standard of taste will be high according as the works of art, which they contemplate, are lofty. In this respect a work of art is of far more account than all descriptions of it. A sight of Turner's paintings would do more to educate and elevate the taste than all the books of Ruskin.

The same principle controls all progress in virtue. A man is made good by goodness; we are only taught how to live by the exhibition of life. And the kind of life which we behold, together with the thoughts which we associate with it, will be quite certain to have its reflection in our own life. We are

made pure by the contemplation of purity, and are defiled by bringing before the eye images of vice, which we are to look upon unattended by any manifestation of virtue. This is true alike of the individual and the community. No man nor society is raised to any true moral elevation except as the moral virtues are contemplated not in the form of abstract principles which might describe or commend them, but in some personal representation which should give us their embodiment. In like manner both man and society inevitably deteriorate in the perception and the practice of virtue by the naked contemplation of vice. We change into the likeness of what we behold. Whenever any picture is brought before us there is a process of secret photography by which its outlines become traced upon our inner character, and we become more exalted or degraded, more pure or defiled according to the characteristics of the representation which has been furnished us.

We might exhibit this at great length, but it is only necessary that the principle we affirm should be clearly apprehended, and the decision of the question with which we started, is plain without further discussion. On these grounds, the publication of free descriptions of vice is an unmingled evil. The tendency of all such publications is to make those to whom they are familiar less virtuous or more vicious than they were before. But this position is seen to be more firmly established if we notice the objections often urged against it. Does not the Bible, it is said, give these free descriptions of vice, and can we improve upon its representations as a means for the moral education of mankind? The answer to this is plain. The descriptions of vice in the Bible are always accompanied by the representation of the divine justice which has been sinned against, and the divine love which seeks to sanctify, so that in every biblical picture these and not the vice are the prominent objects, or rather, they are the constantly revealing light in which alone the nature of the vice is made legible. How different, certainly, are such descriptions, from those prurient details with which a certain portion of the newspaper press is in the habit of inciting the desire and inflaming the passions of those who peruse them!

But from another point we hear the inquiry: Does not the

vice exist? Is not the actual condition of society far worse than is likely to be described, and can it be wise to hide from ourselves that which though so terrible, is still so true? Ought not men to know the danger in order that they may avoid it? To this last inquiry the answer is that the danger of vice is more likely to be incurred than avoided by seeing what it is. Instances are not unfrequent, where the profligate or the criminal has traced back his career to its source in some familiarity with vice or crime before he had committed them, but we have yet to learn of any warning voice which these have uttered, or of any revolting colors in which they have been dressed sufficient to turn unwary footsteps from the dangerous ground. Whether we can explain it or not, we cannot ignore the fact that there is that in human nature to which the attractions of vice, when held up before it, are more potent than its repel-lancies. But in reference to the question, whether we ought not to inform ourselves in all respects about the actual state of mankind, we may say that however desirable such information may be, there is only one way in which it can truly come. We do not know the vice as vice, except by comparing it with virtue. We are not conscious of the degradation into which man has sunk till we measure it by the height from which he has fallen. It is not the false and the wrong which can measure themselves. We can never say that anything is false till we test it by the truth. We can never affirm anything to be wrong until it appears as such in the light of the right. The dark recesses of guilt in the human soul, or the deep abysses of evil in human society, have no power of self-revelation, by which they can be disclosed as they truly are. We may talk about guilt, we may attempt to picture vice, but we do not see it in a reality which makes us shudder, we do not truly know it as it is, except as we behold it in the colors with which it is invested by all perfect righteousness and infinite love. No man ever comes to know himself as guilty but by comparing himself with one who is truly good. This is profoundly illustrated when the Bible represents Isaiah as overwhelmed with the knowledge of his own sinfulness by the vision which he beheld in the temple of the holiness of the Lord. It is universally true that what is impure can only be revealed as such by that

which is pure. The publication, therefore, of free descriptions of vice must be condemned on every ground. Unless when vice is seen there can be kept before the mind the thought of a purity which has been here violated, and a righteous authority which must here condemn, there is nothing which can make the vice revolting. On the contrary, without these counter influences, it is most attractive, The weak moral sense is made weaker by its contemplation, and the feeble purpose of virtue rendered more irresolute. The positively vicious become thereby more hardened, while the active goodness of the virtuous man fails to preserve itself from defilement.

ARTICLE III.

THE RABBIES, THE MISCHNA, AND THE TALMUDS, AND THEIR AID IN NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES.

CHRISTIANITY as a dispensation of revealed religion needs much the side-light of its first ages to elucidate some of its more difficult features. Specially is this true of its relations to the true religion as set forth in the Old Testament. For when Christianity came to claim attention and to take possession of the public mind, it affirmed as true some parts of the existing system, and incorporated and continued those parts with itself. Other parts it brought to an end and set aside as having served their design and day, while not a little of it was purified and restored to its original spirit and intent, that had been overlaid, misapprehended and perverted by scribes and Pharisees. Much additional to it was rejected totally as traditional only and the human accretions of ages. Certain parts were retained to be recast and put to new uses, as old tenements refitted for new occupants. Added to all these acts of the new dispensation there were many positive innovations, though more in the formal and ceremonial than in the essential and spiritual. As Christianity came thus doing the complex work of affirming,

denying, explaining, ignoring, purifying and supplementing this older form of the true religion, we would naturally expect to find some things in the New Testament, that could be fully explained only in the light of that older form as manifested in those days. Any contemporaneous history and literature, therefore, in the Jewish department, must stand among the first sources of information. As our Colonial history, the administration under the Confederation, the Debates on the formation of the Constitution, the Monroe papers, the Federalist, and Congressional, judicial and executive action under the Constitution for its first few years, must furnish most essential aid in determining the import of our Federal Constitution, so the writings, workings and phases of Judaism during the introduction and establishment of Christianity must be resorted to as the strongest outside light for the explanation of the Christian Scriptures. The ancient light of those first ages must be the best light for the student. Of this the main sources are the Works of Josephus and Philo, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Talmuds. It is proposed in this Article to treat of the origin, nature and historical worth of the Talmuds.

We shall make the best opening of this matter by reciting from Maimonides a fiction of the Jews. They say that when Moses received a commandment from God he received at the same time an explanation of it. Both these he repeated to Aaron, then to Eleazar and Ithamar with Aaron, then to the seventy elders who joined themselves to the previous company, and then to the entire congregation added to them. Moses then retired and Aaron repeated the commandment and its exposition to the whole company. Aaron then left, and his sons went through the repetition, after which they left, and the seventy elders went through it. So each party heard the recital four times. Thus it was with the six hundred and thirteen precepts, as the Jews reckon them, that Moses received of God, with the exposition of each given and repeated in connection with it. After receiving these precepts with their several explanations, the people repeated and taught them to each other, and the head men of the nation publicly expounded them, till they were generally and thoroughly understood. The precepts themselves, which we call the law, were committed to writing,

but the explanation of each to memory only. The former they call the written and the latter the oral law. Moses a little time before his death gave anew the explanations of the precepts to Joshua and the elders, and wrote out a copy of the law for each tribe and one for the Levites. Any questions of interpretation arising after the death of Moses were determined by a majority among the elders. Joshua transmitted, at his decease, the oral law to the elders that survived him, and they to the prophets, and so on. Thus each successive generation studied the written law and its interpretations as embodied in the oral law, and made such additions to the latter by their decisions as to them seemed good, and this continued till the oral law or traditions were written out in the Mishna.*

So much for the fiction. The fact is substantially this. After the return from the Captivity, B. C. 536, the leading men, constituting what they called the Great Synagogue, undertook to restore the Jewish church and state in Judæa. To this end the Old Testament canon was revised, completed and closed; and for the restoring of the manners, customs, usages and notions of their ancestors, they gathered together such floating and scattered traditions as returned captives and others could furnish. Prior to this the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms had been their rule of faith and life; but now these "traditions of the elders," assumed a form and authority, like common law; and they grew to be such a body and such a force as to overshadow and outweigh the written law. This unwritten digest of notions and customs, digested and conveyed only in the memory, they called the Mishna: מִשְׁנָה, from שָׁנָה to repeat. The collection was completed about the time of the death of Simon the Just, said to be the last of the one hundred and twenty who composed the Great Synagogue. He died B.C. 292. Prideaux's Connection, *annis*, 446, 292.

These traditions thus collected became a subject of study and explanation, and a class of men called Tannaim, or the Mishnic doctors, arose, who devoted themselves to this work. Their explanations and inferences imperceptibly and at the hands of their successors gradually were added to the body of tradition as left by Simon; and so as the years passed by the Mishna was

* Maimonides, Preface to Seder Zeraim, or the First Book of the Mishna.

enlarged. This was but a continuation of the process by which the Mischna was originally formed. For says Dr. Nordheimer, himself a Jew, but not one of those who exalt traditions to the authority of the Scriptures, a man of rare candor and scholarship in rabbinical literature, and who regards the Mischna as simply a human production; From the death of Moses to the middle of the second Christian century, "no book had been composed for public instruction containing the oral law; but in every generation the chief of the tribunal, or the prophet who lived at the time, made memoranda of what he had heard from his predecessors and instructors, and communicated it orally to the people. In like manner each individual committed to writing for his own use, and according to the degree of his ability, the oral laws, and the information he had received respecting the interpretation of the Bible, with the various divisions that had been pronounced in every age, and sanctioned by the authority of the great tribunal." *Bib. Repository*, Oct. 1839. Vol 14, pp. 266, 7.

These labors of the Mischnical doctors continued the cumulative process till past the opening of the Christian era, when the amount of collected traditions had become so great that the memories of men could not carry them. This, with other causes that we proceed to mention, hastened and necessitated the committal of them to writing. In A.D. 70 the second temple was destroyed by the Romans under Titus, and Judæa laid waste. In this terrible and long continued devastation of the Holy Land the most of the learned men were destroyed, their schools of learning were broken up, and a large proportion of the people who survived were driven into exile. Of course all this traditional knowledge was scattered with the people, and there was much danger that portions of it would be wholly lost. The temple service could not be observed, since those who remained in the land were not allowed to obey the law of Moses in many of its leading services. When the ritual of the temple ceased, the laws of tithes, offerings, first fruits, feasts and many other things ceased also, since they had a temple service for their basis. The knowledge of these traditions had been kept fresh in memory by the practical use to which they were put, but now the danger of forgetfulness was great as being two-fold:

the dispersion of the people and the suspension of their sacred ceremonies. Nor had the Jews the resort that cloister schools furnished for learning during the barbarian overflow in the middle ages. For persecution scattered them wide asunder, depressed literary pursuits and reduced the number of pupils in the few and feeble schools that were kept alive. Still true to the faith, which marks a Jew of any age or country, that the day would come when Israel should be reinstated in the promised land and all the freedom, peculiarities and glory of the chosen people be restored, they wished to put their Mischna in a form well digested and permanent, and hand it down so that their posterity would know, in the day of their restoration, how to be true and proper Jews in church and state and every-day life. These causes uniting led them to abandon the theory and practice of ages, by which they preserved their traditions in memory only and taught them orally, and to reduce them to writing; and so the Mischna was written out.

When the Mischna was reduced to writing is a question that has some variation in its answer. Nor is this strange. It was prepared by a people "scattered and peeled," a nation without a country, who in exile and under doom, despised and wasted, did their work in a corner, and shunned a publicity that their labors, and specially literary and religious ones, were in little danger of obtaining. The rabbies themselves say that it was compiled about one hundred and twenty years after the destruction of the second temple. This would give the date of its composition as near A.D. 190. Some of them, however, place it earlier, and in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138—161. Gesenius says it "was first reduced to its present form in the third century after Christ, about A.D. 190 or 220, but is in part composed of elements which are much older." *Bib. Repository*, Jan. 1833. Vol. 3, pp. 25.

Prideaux agrees with those Jews who fix the date of composition at about A.D. 150, and in the reign of Antoninus Pius. *Connection, sub anno*, 446.

Wotton speaks of "men of the greatest weight" among the Jews who fix the date of its writing as early as A.D. 130, and adds: "It is certain that there is nothing in the book itself which betrays a later date than the highest period. And then

why should not the Jews be believed in a matter which so entirely relates to themselves? No possible reason of interest can be assigned why it should be antedated." "There is nothing in that book by which its age can be determined; nothing in the style, no mention of names or things, nor any other chronological indiscretion occurs there by which it betrays a younger date."*

In the article above cited from Dr. Nordheimer he says that Rabbi Judah the Holy compiled the Mischna. He "is said to have lived under Antoninus Pius." Kitto. This must place the writing of the work between A.D. 138 and 161.

But though the work itself was then compiled we are not to suppose that all of it was then for the first time committed to writing; for as Nordheimer remarks, the chief men of preceding times made memoranda of the traditions, which notes they used in their oral instructions; and individuals wrote out for their own use the oral laws and interpretations given to them by the masters in Israel. So Gesenius says that it "is in fact composed of elements which are much older" than the time of its compilation. Therefore though we have no historical proof of it, we make no strange assumption in supposing that Rabbi Judah used in the composition memoranda and documents written by men of the apostolic age.

Having thus indicated the time when the Mischna was written out and how ancient some of the written documents were, that were incorporated into it, we proceed next to speak of the Gemara, or Commentary on the Mischna. As the *תוספתא* is the traditional or second law, *δευτέρωσις*, a repetition of the oral law given to Moses, so the rabbinical explanation and commentary on this is called by the Jews the Gemara, *גמרא*, completion or filling up, from *גמר*, to bring to an end.

The writing out of the Mischna gave a new life to the wasting body of Judaism. Their oral law, long hanging in ill-defined forms like mist along the streams of tradition, now assumed the definite outlines and positiveness of the written law. Rabbi Judah, the Holy, had edited the Mischna, and the Jews now had it as manuscripts *a prima manu*. Fortunately its first

* Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees, etc. In two volumes. By W. Wotton, D.D. London: 1718. Vol. 1: v. and 80.

editor lived to correct it, and, so to speak, issue a revised edition. For being the most eminent lecturer of his times on Judaism he had a great number of students. When closing a lecture he was accustomed to ask the opinions of his pupils on what he had taught, and to answer their inquiries and objections. As his language was more professional and learned than vernacular, he had an amora or speaker who repeated after him his lecture with a loud voice and in the common idiom. In these lectures of Rabbi Judah the laws and decisions that he had embodied in the Mischna were subjected to a rigid scrutiny. Omissions of old writings were supplied, doubtful passages were thrown out and obscure ones made plain, and the varying readings of negligent transcribers were reduced to the original and accurate one.

Thus revised and authorized by what the rabbies considered as a divine superintendence in Judah the Holy, the Mischna became the one book of authority and enthusiastic study among the Jews. It was made the sole text-book of their schools and the foundation of their lectures. The law of Moses and the Old Testament proper gave place to it in interest, study, explanation and authority. Special direction was given to investigations and philosophizing on the grounds or first reasons for the laws and decisions of the Mischna. So a vast field for speculation and Jewish neology was opened. All this exegesis, exposition, illustration and speculation went on busily and with ardor constructing, though without design, a Commentary, having the Mischna for its text. To the doctrinal and more religious body of this commentary were added scraps of history and biography, discussions on medicine and astronomy, pithy sayings, legends, parables and moral exhortations.

This Commentary makes two Gemaras, the one of Jerusalem, and the other of Babylonia. The former is the older and originated at Tiberias. In the schools of Palestine, but particularly in the one at Tiberias, the study of the Mischna was followed up with intense ardor. The conclusions of the rabbies and their pupils at this and other schools in the Holy Land, as well as the various other elements above mentioned, grew to be a ponderous body of notes on the brief and sometimes enigmatical text of their one book. Prominent among these expounders

and teachers was Rabbi Jochanan, the principal of the academy at Tiberias, about A.D. 230. Some fix his era later, but most writers agree with Buxtorf and Nordheimer in this date. Using his own notes as well as those of other Palestinian Jews he acted as author and compiler and composed the Gemara of Jerusalem.

Many years later the Babylonian Gemara was compiled. From time to time the Jews under their defeat, subjugation and persecutions had sought refuge in the valley of the Euphrates and in the region between it and the Tigris, the ancient Padan Aram of the Hebrew, and the Mesopotamia of the Greek. As exiles and outcasts their religion, literature and language became corrupt, though they became numerous and powerful. When the first Gemara was being written out at Tiberias, they formed the larger part of the population of Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and other large cities in Babylonia besides having many small towns wholly Jewish. Teachers and learned men were sent to them from the schools of Palestine, and so they were restored and kept in some strictness to their religion. At length they established schools for themselves and educated some eminent rabbies. Among these was the celebrated Rabbi Ashi. In his time and country the Mishna had become quite corrupt, while the annotations on it had grown to a voluminous and confused mass. The decisions of the Babylonian teachers differed so much from those of Palestine that the Gemara of the latter could not serve those exile Jews. Rabbi Ashi therefore undertook to purify the text of the Mishna and edit the authoritative annotations on it. He set his pupils to collecting and arranging the materials as different rabbies had furnished them. He classified the collected expositions and notes, and read the digest to his pupils at the spring term in his college, and then charged them to compare, during their long summer vacation, his digest with the teachings in other schools, and at the autumnal session be prepared to report to him any additions, variations or corrections. With the data so gained he made a second revision of the intended Gemara, and for thirty years was engaged in thus going through the Mishna and its collected annotations. Still another thirty, the Jews say, he spent on revisions and correc-

tions, till at last there was compiled and issued the Babylonian Gemara.

In the composition of the Babylonian Gemara Rabbi Ashi undertook these four things. 1. To explain the Mishna and give the different possible senses of the text, the arguments of the different rabbies for the different senses, and his own opinion. 2. To decide every controverted case as to the correct reading or meaning or inference from any passage. 3. To give the different opinions of the rabbies, uttered since the compilation of the Mishna, with their reasons for them. 4. To give mystical explanations of those passages where the literal sense would confuse or lead to absurdity.*

It will be noticed that the two Gemaras have one and the same text on which to found themselves. The Mishna and the Gemara constitute a Talmud, the first being the Jerusalem Talmud and the other the Babylonian Talmud, alike in their text, and differing only in their annotations. Scholars vary somewhat on the date of the composition of the latter. Nordheimer puts it at about A.D. 330, but others much later.

When Rabbi Judah compiled the Mishna he divided it into six books. The first treats of agriculture; the second of festival and holy days; the third of marriage, divorce and the general relations of the sexes; the fourth of the obligations and laws of civil life; the fifth of sacred offerings; the sixth of ceremonial purity and the rites pertaining to it. These six books are each subdivided into tractates, and these again into chapters, and each chapter into single decisions. In the entire and original Mishna there are sixty-three tractates, having five hundred and twenty four chapters. Four tractates were added at a later date. Neither Gemara extends over the entire Mishna, several of the tracts being left without annotations. The tracts without comments are nearly one third of the whole sixty three, though not the same ones in both works.

It will be noticed that the contents of the Talmuds are of a great variety, as embracing religion in both its doctrines and ceremonials, philosophy, history, medicine, civil law, social obligations, fables, trifles, absurdities and impious sayings.

* Maimonides' Prefaces to his Commentaries on the Mishna, Preface to Sedar Zeraim, or First Book of the Mishna. See also Dr. Pococke's *Porta Mosia*.

Says Lightfoot; "The almost unconquerable difficulty of the style, the frightful roughness of the language, and the amazing emptiness and sophistry of the matters handled, do torture and vex and tire him that reads them." But it should be added that the unworthy portions here indicated pertain rather to the Gemaras than to their text. For the Mischna as a whole is weighty, brief, sententious and aphoristic in its composition. Of its material and its utility Dr. Nordheimer remarks :

"The Mischna is a highly interesting object of study, since it thus enables us to become acquainted with the whole circle of ideas of the most intelligent men among the Jews in that remote age. In it they discuss the natural history of almost every animal then known ; they mention a great number of field and garden plants and fruits, and describe the uses to be made of them, as well as of a multitude of utensils, instruments and productions of art. These discussions are made without in any degree neglecting the graver questions of civil economy, and other matters of like importance ; so that a careful examination of this work would scarcely fail to be rewarded by the solution of many interesting problems in the archæology of that period."—*Ut supra*, pp. 277, 8.

As to trusting to the Talmuds and making them a source of authority we must use the common discrimination and good judgment that we exercise with any ancient and uninspired author. Josephus is allowed as authority, yet we remember, when reading him, that he studied the gratification of the Romans quite as much as fidelity to his own people. He sought favor with those who had conquered and devastated his country, and so wrote rather in policy than truthfulness, and in his style was more elegant than historically exact. All this we bear in mind and trust him where he is in no temptation to prove an unfaithful historian. The editor of the Mischna lived and performed his work only about half a century later than Josephus, and there seems no good reason for not receiving his writings with the same discrimination and judgment. Where the rabbies have incorporated fables, trifles and absurdities into the Mischna or the Gemaras it must be obvious to the reader, while evidently the most that they say is truthful to the doctrines, ethics, ceremonies and opinions of their day. The obvious fable must not lead us to reject the obvious fact. Their logic,

specially on theological and moral questions, is often childish, but this does not vitiate their honestly stated data. Their follies in moral, social and ritual life can not affect the fidelity of the picture. The wrinkles and deformities in the photograph really praise the skill of the artist. Some of the most faithful and profitable chapters in the history of scholasticism, literature and ethics in the middle ages are chapters of absurdities and trifles. Yet withal the great facts of mediæval history are thus imbedded, and where the probabilities are favorable to a statement of fact, we credit the author for fidelity and quote his statements as authority. The Talmuds must be read in the same spirit of analysis, trust and distrust. When a Jewish Doctor of Divinity gravely discusses the question: "Is it right to kill a flea on the Sabbath?" we take his logic for what it is worth, but the discussion as a fair picture of the moral and ritualistic temper of his times. If no good reason can be shown for prejudice, prevarication, mistake or intentional deception in the rabbi we accept as historically true what he says of any religious belief, ceremony, mode of civil or social or domestic life in his times, and he who refuses assumes the burden of disproof.

In estimating the authoritative worth of any portion of the Talmuds we should consider whether the Mischnical writers were under any temptation to swerve from the fidelity of a historian. They were being dispersed among all nations. Their temple service was suspended, and by disuse their ritual law was becoming a dead letter. Their sacred ceremonies and customs were growing obsolete, and, through their own dispersion and consequent want of consultation and uniformity, were becoming corrupted. Yet they fully expected a Messiah to come, and they believed that when he did come they would repossess the land of promise, rebuild the temple and reestablish their religion in Judæa in all its primitive purity of ritual and spirit, with more than its former show and power. When such a time of restitution should come they foresaw that their posterity, the regathered children of Abraham, would both wish and need an appeal to the law and the testimony, that all might be reconstructed after the pattern of the fathers. To meet the necessities of such a time they wrote out the Mischna and its Gemaras, much for present use, but far more for that bright future.

These writings were to lie by, patient and immutable witnesses, to give testimony when again the Jews as one people should build the waste places and inhabit the former desolations, and order the service of God in Mosaic and Aaronic fidelity. Their sincerity in this expectation can not be questioned, nor can we see any motive to unfaithfulness in the records they should make. As they thought that they then had every doctrine and custom just as it should be, whatever their actual errors may have been, we see no reason why they would not write it out with a most punctilious exactness. There is an utter absence of any temptation to the contrary. If they affirmed any doctrinal, ceremonial or ethical fact we should receive it as so held and practised by them at that time. They wrote for their own people and not for others, and had no motive for variance from truth and fact to please either Christians or Gentiles.

Moreover the writers lived among the very things of which they write. Rabbi Judah, the compiler of the *Mischna*, and they whose memoranda he used, must have known something personally, though in youth, of the second temple, and were the children of those who sacrificed in it and saw its terrible destruction by Titus. And as the head of the sect of the Pharisees Rabbi Judah could not have erred as to principle and fact in what he wrote. What, therefore, the sacred and profane histories of the early Christian centuries do not contradict in the *Talmuds*, ordinary obligation to accredit authors binds us to receive, so far as a declaration of facts is concerned. Their ethics and philosophy and exegesis of the Old Testament, as well as fables and absurdities, we receive as we do like things in Josephus. Yet what is credible we really receive, not on the testimony of one author, as is common, but on the united and aggregated testimony of the learned men of the entire Jewish nation, since the literati of that people as a body were the real authors of the *Talmuds*.

The authority of the *Mischna* in determining what were the religious views and usages of the Jews at the time it was written out, ought not to be disputed. Where it throws light on any custom, passage or phrase alluding to them in the Old or New Testament, it should be taken as testimony of the first class, since it was contemporaneous, and without the motive of

testifying falsely. Moreover such testimony or light is national and not individual. This is very evident from what we have shown of the way in which the Mishna originated, became compiled, and settled finally into manuscript form and outline. Its utility as an auxiliary in interpreting the New Testament may be seen in the fact that no tradition, belief or custom of the Jews is mentioned in it that is not stated and explained also in the Mishna. The idea thrown out by Vossius that the compilers of the Mishna accommodated it to the New Testament and so wrote a book unworthy of credence, is no way admissible and not at all creditable to that learned man. The Jews had too low an estimate of Christians and were too tenacious of the traditions of the elders to do such a thing. All the history of that strange people shows their intense regard for the faith and usage of the fathers, their hostility to innovations and improvements, and their innate national and individual tendency to isolate themselves, and maintain their isolation by a boldly and sharply marked religious creed and ceremonials. We must suppose, therefore, that they would and did in scrupulous and sacred exactness record in the Mishna the doctrines and practices of that people as held and observed in the times of our Lord and the century following.

In coming, therefore, to the study of the New Testament on any question of faith or practice as then held in the old Abrahamic church, or quietly assumed, admitted, or used in the Christian church without specific divine teaching, these writings of the Jews must be a great aid. As we read the New Testament some things seem to be believed, assumed and done, as a matter of course, and without any particular instruction so far as the record shows. They appear to be part and parcel of the religious current of the times, recognized by Christ and the apostles and accepted by simple assent as a part of the Christian current that was from them to run on through the ages. It is as a contemporary and collateral light in such cases that these rabbinical writings have their great worth.

The same remarks hold true of the Gemaras or Commentaries on the Mishna, with allowance for a later date of compilation. So far as the germ of these is found in the text of the Mishna we see no reason for discrediting their statements of

doctrine, usage and ceremony as held in the times of the writer. Their special utility lies in aiding any genetic exposition of any faith or practice of the Jews in the fifth, fourth and third centuries. They make it easier, and give a kind of certainty to the scholar as he presses his investigations backward for the origin of some article of faith, civil or social practice, or ecclesiastical ceremony. The discovery of its sources in the first Christian age, or even in a time antedating, diffuses that so useful side-light through the New Testament, to which we have referred, solving many a mysterious allusion; just as the discovery of the sources of the Nile has shed light on so many dark questions in African history.

The object of this article is obtained if we have succeeded in directing attention to the origin, nature and worth of the Talmuds, and in stimulating some interest in the study of them. It does not lie within our purpose, nor would our limits allow, to illustrate the utility of such study by quoting freely from them in casting light on any doctrines, usages or facts set forth in the New Testament. The *loca Talmudica* in the New Testament, or passages illustrated more or less by these ancient writings, are very many. The gospel of St. Matthew alone has more than one hundred and twenty of them. The second of the six books of the Mishna, being devoted mostly to the law of the Sabbath, is by itself quite a volume; and by its most minute, abundant and surprising detail of rabbinical observances and violations of that commandment, shows how the Jews in the times of our Lord made void the law through their traditions. The more valuable part of this talmudical lore is what throws light on provincial expressions and allusions in the sacred writings, and on peculiarities, forms and ceremonies in the Christian church, that found a place there apparently without formal introduction and yet with apostolic sanction. These seem to have been parts of the religious materials of the age, and of the ecclesiastical structures that were then decaying and ready to vanish away. By assumption and assent on the part of our Lord and his inspired organizers of the Christian church, these passed over and became parts of the one and ever continuous church of God in its new form. The Talmuds, as in

part a contemporaneous literature, indicate the sources of such materials, and their changes in the transition state from Jewish to Christian uses.

ARTICLE IV.

HUXLEY ON MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE.

Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature. By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1864.

IN the reprint of this work of a learned Professor in England, a very interesting subject is discussed. It is a wonderful fact that such discussion is necessary, or that it has been tolerated by learned men in this age of the world, nearly six thousand years at the lowest computation since man has been a dweller of earth, and after his philosophy and literature have become so extensive and rich and glorious.

By "man's place in nature" is meant his rank among the creatures of earth. He is indeed called the "lord of creation," because all creatures are subdued by him. But, in a reasonable, systematic classification of creatures and things of earth, must man be the chief and head? The universal answer is in the affirmative, because he has properties, characters, endowments, by which he can accomplish greater works than all others united.

In the views of these characters or properties men may greatly differ, some selecting one, some another, and some several; but all come to the same result, the superiority of man. This has been settled from the earliest history. Among barbarous peoples this distinction is as palpably made, as among the highest civilized and most refined. It has been shown in all the discoveries of explorers in the interior of unknown countries and the recently discovered islands of the oceans.

The difference in the views of men on the "place of man" depends upon their notions of classification, the objects at which they aim in making it, the means or ways of effecting it, and the ultimate purpose to be accomplished by it.

There are two great methods of determining the "place of man," both of which have been adopted, and both are well understood by investigators, and are easily appreciated by all ordinary thinkers. The one is, by the consideration of the powers of man and mere animals; and the other, by the examination of their structure or organism. The powers are shown by their operations, and the structures by their contrivance and resulting actions. Both require careful and discriminating analysis.

The first method is to ascertain the peculiar powers of man, or what distinguishes him from other objects. This, whatever it is, is accessible by all; the analysis is that of external things or actings, palpable before all open eyes.

Matter, and mind or spirit, with their actions or operations and laws, embrace all the objects of our knowledge.

Matter is inorganic or organic; the former the earths and rocks, water and air, etc.; and the latter, living things, and their remains of organism. The inorganic present certain general and special properties of matter, but they are destitute of any structure fitted for particular operations. Organic matter, on the contrary, has various structural contrivances or apparatus, and is distinguished into plants, animals and man; three kingdoms.*

Plants are characterized by vegetation, life, as shown by nutrition and by reproduction of species.

Animals are separated from plants by having animal life added to vegetative life, or animals have also sensation and voluntary motion, and are conscious creatures with various affections, desires, emotions and passions.†

* System of Geoffry St. Hilaire.

† A correct and adequate view of the powers and functions of the higher animals is accessible by all and should be familiar to all. The facts are numerous; only a selection is here necessary. Of the highest zoölogical class, the mammals of Linnæus and Cuvier, have certain animal properties or powers which fully prove their possession of mind or understanding. They know their sensations of hearing, sight, feeling, taste, and smell, though they have no words or articulate language for them; they choose and refuse, love and hate, remember well, provide for some wants of the future, are docile or obstinate, exercise natural affection, resist an attack, unite for defence, attempt protection, make some conclusions; and they have vast power of instinct so as to act successfully for the most important ends about which they have had no instruction or experience. In his animal nature man has these actings in common with the animals. But, besides the sense of moral obligation, man has the power of abstract reasoning and articulate language, for neither of which have the animals any power or fitness. The evidence is clear, that, with all their powers, the animals are brutes.

Man possesses besides all these powers in his animal nature, a moral nature added to the animal ; a "two-fold constitution," "natural and spiritual," body and soul ; the highest endowment being a conscience, sense of right and wrong, even all that constitutes human life.

This is the most obvious division of living things for the unlearned and the learned, and the only one possible before the modern discoveries of science. It was implied in the teachings of Socrates in relation to man ; it was more prominent in the philosophy of Plato ; it was distinctly enforced by Aristotle, under the three aspects above presented. This has been nearly the universal opinion of all ages. What ancient philosopher taught morals to horses, dogs, oxen or monkeys, or held them to be subject to the claims and duties of moral obligation ? What heathen, or Indian, ancient or modern, ever attempted the like ? What reformer of later ages has shown his stupidity or folly in such an effort ?

These are radical differences separating each of these three kingdoms from the others, depending on three vital functions which are entirely distinct. They are characteristics too of the highest importance, while they designate the rank of these three kingdoms.

The results of this analysis of the highest characters of the plant, the animal, and the man, comport exactly with the place of the three great organic departments as given by Moses. We put out of consideration now the notion of his being inspired, and view his statements as the philosophic conclusions of the oldest known philosopher among men. In this aspect we have the same reason for trusting the conclusions to which he comes, as those of Plato or Cicero, and are bound to pay the same deference. Learned in all the wisdom of Egypt, Moses saw that as all animal life is ultimately supported by the vegetable world, the earth must have been first clothed with plants for the support of man and beast, each bearing fruit after its kind at the creative will. Then followed the animals of the waters and of the air, and the animals of the land, clearly distinguished from all other things by enumerated animal characters : and last of all, man, created in the image of God, and that *image* having the highest divine likeness to the creator's moral

power. Thus, the oldest philosophy on record, for under this aspect the words of Moses are here now viewed, speaks of only three created kingdoms of life, plants, animals and man, and separates man by a specific character from the animals around him. The oldest, the later, and the modern arrangement of living things, considered according to their peculiar and distinguishing powers, are one and the same.

This is a natural classification; it reveals the thoughts and doings of the wise creator. It is the expression of a great purpose in his system. It is not a mere contrivance to render our knowledge more accessible and more available, whether there is or is not any special fitness in the principle in the classification; nor is it natural merely because it involves real facts in nature, for such a system may be very defective and show a human and not a divine arrangement. Thought, reason, and moral sense, are objects of nature as really as the vertebral column of man or ox or whale, the wing of a bird, the fin of a fish, the muscular organs of motion, or the structural contrivance for respiration. Life is a natural object, whether it is plant life, animal life, or human life, as palpable and distinct, as are the eyes or organs of vision, the teeth, the nails, or any of the obvious organs found in the lower animals. Moral power is natural, as well as intellectual, or sensual, or chemical, or physical power or properties.* There can be no reason, therefore, for considering the organs of animals the only objects on which a natural system of arrangement can be or ought to be established. As thought is a power superior to that of structure, and moral power higher than intellectual, this first method of classifying is the highest; and it most fully exhibits the thought of the infinite creator. In it, man is placed in a division by himself, separate and distinct from all others. So let it be, as it should be, in accordance with the common sense of our race, as well as

* This distinction between the animal and man is so obvious, that it becomes a first principle in our reasonings. On this account it is, that the difference is so rarely adverted to by authors, or that it is only casually referred to even in modern systems of ethics, or in the application of natural history to moral relations in society. But this can no longer be tolerated. The essential difference between man and even the higher animals, must be seen and felt and declared. The rational course has been begun; it will be pursued. Man can not be brought to the character of a mere animal, a brute as Prof. Huxley writes the animal: nor can the brute be elevated by any truthful view to the place of man. Let the distinction be maintained.

with the philosophy of Genesis. The time will come, ere long, when man will be placed in the highest and most consistent zoölogical system in a separate, distinct class, the human kingdom.

Professor Huxley does not adopt this zoölogical system ; but the reader will refer with much pleasure, to three statements of his which fully support this superior method. In his "Evidences," he characterizes the man-like apes as "creatures approaching man in essential structure, and yet as thoroughly brutal" as the goat or horse. p. 10. The word brute includes all the animals, but especially the higher or beasts, but excludes man. It is clear that Prof. Huxley did not intend to call these apes human, when he used "brutal." For, again, he speaks "of the vastness of the gulf between civilized man and the brutes," and that "whether from them or not, he is not of them," or does not rank with the brutes, and then designates man as "the only consciously intelligent denizen of this world." p. 130. He speaks of the "gulf" in still stronger language, viz., "the immeasurable and practically infinite divergence" of man from the ape ; and gives another most important difference, "that the possession of articulate speech is the grand distinctive character of man."

In a truthful system of zoölogy, one which unfolds the full history of organic life, shall not the human be separated from the brutal ; man from the brute ; "the consciously intelligent" and the possessor of "articulate speech" from the creature which has no organism or fitness for either, and the high intellect and the higher soul of man be placed above the mere organic and animal powers of the brute ? It would have been wonderful, if Prof. Huxley had not discovered and felt and expressed "the vastness of the gulf" which separates man from the brute, in these three particulars, though they fully sustain the zoölogical arrangement which he does not adopt, but which in honesty and truth has thus far been urged and illustrated by the great body of thinkers.

Let us come then to the second method, or the structural arrangement of zoölogy. This was first embodied in the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus, and highly improved by his years of study, as published in 1766. He arranged all animated

creatures under six classes ; as, 1. Mammalia, or mammals ; 2. Aves, or birds ; 3. Amphibia, or the amphibious ; 4. Pisces, or fishes, &c., each depending on peculiar structures. He then divided the mammalia into different orders ; as, order 1. Primates, the superior or highest structure ; order 2. Bruta, antectus, and the like ; order 3. Feræ, as lion, cat, dog, bear ; order 4. Glires, gnawers, as beaver, squirrel, mouse, &c., depending again on peculiar organs. Under order 1. Primates, Linnæus placed four genera, a very singular association, as, 1. Man ; 2. Higher apes ; 3. Lower apes ; and 4. Bats, characterizing each by the structure. The great change by Cuvier in that arrangement of man is, that he divided the first class, mammals, into order 1. Man ; order 2. Apes ; order 3. Carnivorous, &c., wholly structural also, so that man occupies the first order, and alone, of the first class. Organism, with its physiology, constitutes the base of the system. For nearly fifty years Cuvier's classification has been the zoölogy, not as perfect, not as incapable of improvement, but at the least a most excellent structural zoölogy. This great system is supported in general by Professor Agassiz in his "Essay on Classification," and in his "Methods of Study in Natural History." The great change in Cuvier's arrangement, most desirable to make it consistent with the first method, is such a distinction of structure as shall place man alone in the first class, separated from the animals or brutes. This is not effected as yet,* because the desired structure has not been seen ; but it will be discovered, or its equivalent will be ; for true science can not long sustain a false or inadequate ranking of the subjects on which divine thought has impressed its seal. Now, the zoölogy is the expression of facts in nature viewed under a certain aspect, but when seen under the highest and purest view it will no longer be considered "science, falsely so called." At the present we take structural zoölogy as the most perfect the author could

* This is not strictly true ; for two structural systems of zoölogy have been published by men highly distinguished in science in Europe, in which man is separated from the animals. One is that of I. Geoffroy St. Hilaire, already alluded to, where the animal kingdom is distinct from the human kingdom : and the other is that of Erenberg, where the first division is mankind alone, and the second division animals, in many classes. The design was to say, that no such system had become so prominent as to supersede or exclude that of Cuvier. The plan of St. Hilaire commends itself to the common sense of all, and may find more support ere long than any other.

form it. We see that in its classification, it makes no account of the mind and soul, the intellect and heart, the logical or the moral power. It takes hold simply of the material organs or physical structure, and does not consider any psychical powers. It sees that man has an animal nature, and therefore it classes him with the animals, describes him as an animal, and estimates him as an animal. Some may hence believe that all zoölogists hold man to be only an animal, having only a higher animal nature. But it is a great mistake and wrong so to judge. For many of the most distinguished zoölogists, and a host of others among naturalists, the learned in the colleges and educated men, as well as the thinkers of the people, maintain that man possesses psychical powers or endowments exclusively his own, which place him in a rank far above the animals. Such zoölogists adopt the general principle of Cuvier's arrangement because they find no other equally comprehensive and satisfactory, and which, while it involves only the material organs or structures for description, does not forbid or oppose their high estimate of those intellectual and moral powers they know to be only in man.* They see him to be both material and spiritual; the former connecting him with the animal, and the other allying him to his maker.

Professor Huxley does not accept this division of mammalia by Cuvier, but insists on that proposed by Linnæus. This backward track may be ominous of darkness rather than of light, though the Professor asserts that a "century of anatomical research brings us back to his (the Linnæan) conclusion, that man is of the same order (for which the Linnæan term, primates, ought to be retained) as the apes and lemurs." p. 124. He excludes the bat tribe, and confines primates to man and

* It ought to be remarked, perhaps, that Professor Agassiz holds or assumes that man has no power or properties of body or mind which in kind distinguish him from other mammals, but that the characters or powers of animals differ only in degree from those of man. Professor Huxley seems to adopt the same views, for he believes "that even the highest faculties of feeling and of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life," than that of man. In this view, these two zoölogists are exceptions probably to the general belief; though they are not alone, there appears to be a great majority of scientific men of the contrary opinion. It is not so strange perhaps that Prof. Huxley adopts this view, as he asserts the probability of the origin of man from the ape-tribe, or the "divergence of the human from the simian stirps." This Darwinian notion of Prof. Huxley is opposed, however, by Prof. Agassiz with all the might of his herculean arm.

the ape tribe. Of this order, primates, thus reduced, Prof. Huxley gives the following extraordinary and glowing description: "Perhaps no order of mammals presents us with so extraordinary a series of gradations as this, leading us insensibly from the crown and summit of the animal creation down to creatures, from which there is but a step, as it seems, to the lowest, smallest, and least intelligent of the placental mammalia." p. 125—6. This alone, if true, is sufficient to make one doubt the propriety of the proposed change, and to lead us to see the wisdom of Cuvier in placing man alone in the first order of his system. Linnæus had not facts enough to see the absurdity of his primates, which had been accumulating for half a century longer upon the hands of Cuvier. Indeed Linnæus said, in his early zoölogy, that he was not able to produce any character which is sufficient to distinguish man from an ape. Only thirty years made him a far wiser man, as his *Systema Naturæ* of 1766 fully proved by its multitude of discoveries then announced. And yet Linnæus had not the adequate knowledge for the most fitting classification, as is true in his zoölogy as well as in his botany, though much less structural in the latter. But since the change was made by Cuvier, why revert, after its use for fifty years, to a less perfect arrangement?

The answer is, that it allies man more nearly to the ape, and makes less repulsive the supposed relationship and possible origin from a common ape-like progenitor. Dividing the ape tribe into the two popular divisions, the higher and the lower, the higher or anthropoid apes are admitted by anatomists to approach the structure of man more nearly than do any other animals. Of these there are four; the orang-outang and gibbon, from the East Indies, and the chimpanzee and gorilla from Africa. Professor Huxley gives them the following characters in common; viz., the teeth same as man, but not all of the same length as in man; a narrow partition of the nostrils which look downwards; they are tail-less and without cheek-pouches; legs always and unequally shorter than their arms; hands with thumbs terminate the fore limbs; and their lower limbs have a foot with a small and short great toe, which is moveable like a thumb. p. 34—5. The first two are commonly considered less like man, and hence Prof. Huxley com-

compares the organs of man with those of a gorilla or chimpanzee, and especially of the former, as the most resembling man. In this opinion Professor Owen coincides. But our accomplished Professor Wyman ranks the chimpanzee nearest to man, which opinion is also adopted by the Professors Isidore Geoffroy St. Hilaire and Duvernoy.*

From his extended comparison, Professor Huxley gives the conclusion, "that the structural differences which separate man from the gorilla and the chimpanzee are not so great as those which separate the gorilla from the lower apes." p. 123. For this reason he contends that man is not to be placed "in a distinct order," as Cuvier has done.

This conclusion can not be admitted for obvious and satisfactory reasons.

The first is the absurd principle that the orders must differ by equal or nearly equal differences, or that as the gorilla differs more from the lower apes than from man, man can not be placed in a separate order. No such law or principle is or can be adopted by zoölogists. In the existing orders of the Linnæan system, no one maintains that there is the same or nearly the same difference between his Primates and Bruta, as between Bruta and Feræ, and so on. The only question is, the amount of difference between the two, and not between the second and third in order to determine that amount. Man may differ enough from the gorilla to be put in a higher place, and yet the lower apes may so resemble the higher or man-like apes, that they both should be retained in the same division. In such a relation the whole ape tribe has ever been considered by zoölogists from Linnæus onward, even while most have made the separation of the ape from man. If, however, the difference should be considered too great, then the ape tribe should be divided into the necessary orders, and man at least be put in his due place. This is demanded imperiously, if the statement of Prof. Huxley is believed, that "primates" contains man, "the crown and summit of the animal creation," and others, "the lowest, smallest and least intelligent" of the common mammals. The "crown and summit" should not be associated with the "lowest, smallest, and least intelligent," which belong

* Owen's Classification of Mammalia. p. 69.

not to his kind even, unless it should be fully stated that mere structure does not show the "crown or summit," or in other words, the rank of creatures, so that the principle of classification would be seen to be false, and therefore valueless. This would be perfectly consistent with his statement, "that in the present creation, at any rate, no intermediate link bridges over the gap between *Homo* (man) and *Troglodytes*" (gorilla). Though the Professor did not intend all this meaning, the truth would sometimes break out even while his sympathies opposed. That no link is wanting in the chain which connects the man-like apes with the lower tribe of apes, is palpable. When he shall find any "creation" but the "present," all will be happy to learn the result. In the mean time, his place of man is untenable.

The second reason is that man has the structure for articulate language, or the organs of speech. Professor Huxley admits and asserts that the "grand distinctive character of man" is his "possession of articulate speech." The most distinguished writers on this subject maintain that man is the only being of earth endowed with this power. Whatever sounds, tones, cries, barking, mewling, grunting, neighing, roaring, braying, bellowing, singing, etc., the different animals make, not one uses words with a meaning or articulate language. The gorilla is as far removed from this possession as a rat or a duck, a sheep or a hog. This grand difference is complete between man and all the apes. The fact is, that man has the organs, for he uses speech; but the others have not, as they never employ it. The one is endowed with the power of speech, the other is not. Man, and the gorilla and others, have locomotion, because they have the structure fitted for it. The power implies the existence of the organs. Here then is a particular in which the structure of man differs equally from that of the man-like apes and all other apes, and all other mammals. Professor Huxley can not urge his great conclusion against this structural power as less between man and the gorilla than between the gorilla and the lower apes. For man is placed at an immeasurable distance above them all, while they are in this respect on the same low level. For only this reason, man should be separated from all the animals, not only into an order by himself

as Cuvier has done, but into the first great division, as man alone, and thus leaving all the animals in the second great division. So far would the classification comport with that of Erenberg and I. G. St. Hilaire, and better still, as the head and lord of creation, with that old plan where the world has ranked him.

Will Professor Huxley, or any one, say that the organism is more obvious in muscular structure for locomotion than in that of speech? Admit this; is the certainty of the structure diminished in the least, or its purpose less obvious? Not at all. Man, gorilla, or bird, thinks to move the foot, and it moves; or a fish to move the fin, and it moves, or an oyster to open the shell, and it opens; man thinks to speak, and intelligent articulate speech comes forth from his lips. Every one knows that the structure is fitted, not by his power and wisdom for this purpose, but by the divine author of his being. So no doubt, the first man was created in the full maturity of his powers, in the midst of a world of goodness, a complete man, fitted for the activities of his place and constitution, moving, acting, and speaking as he thought to do.

How many millions of men are moving and acting according to their thoughts, and not one in a thousand has any particular knowledge of his structure or peculiar organism, and how many less understand the mechanism of their vocal powers, or ever heard of the vocal chords and arrangements for producing articulate speech and the interchange of thought. Yet they know the contrivance exists, because the power is exercised. If we consider the voice of man compared with that of woman, and the soft, musical, harmonious tones natural to the expressions of female interest, who has ever discovered the cause in the same identical structures on which this difference between the articulate voice of man and woman depends? Yet it exists; there it is, an effect with its unknown structural cause; on which you can no more indulge in doubt or uncertainty than on the existence of your own thought or words, tones or actions.

Then consider the myriads of animals from the highest ape to the lowest animalcule, existing, acting, at this instant, conscious of thoughts, desires and will, but which have never thought to speak a short sentence or even one articulate word,

because they are wholly destitute of the necessary organism. We know that the organism or contrivance must exist, when the manifestation of the power or character is made. This structural difference is peculiar to man, and no animal can take rank with him.

The consideration of Professor Huxley's "only consciously intelligent denizen * of this world," would be pertinent in this connection, as it must tend to similar conclusions. The truth of this testimony to the high rank of man and of his "place in nature" above all other "denizens of earth," gives moral grandeur as well as vast importance. If Professor Huxley can not find it in structure or connected with definite organism, science demands of him one of two things, either to show from what it derives its power or in what it is located, or to remove man from this place of degradation.

The third consideration is founded on the difference of structural adaptations for posture and motion.

It is not enough to know the resemblance in mere structure; for this structure is to subserve certain purposes. We must understand the physiology of the organism, and know the uses to which the organs are applied. We may find differences not to be anticipated from the simple structure.

We need correct knowledge on the workings of the systems of the man-like apes. Prof. Huxley supplies his readers with this abundantly, and from him is taken the following account:

Take first the orang-outang from Borneo, "standing upright, four feet," yet "always goes on all fours"; as "he runs, he assumes," from his "long arms," nearly "the posture of a very old man bent down by age"; "can not put his feet flat on the ground," and is supported by the fore limbs on the "inner

* Perhaps the Professor intends more by this character than is here presented, even a moral power in his "consciously intelligent." Probably all animals, certainly the higher, must be conscious of their sensations, and purposes, and the like. The hen must be conscious of her watchful provision for the feeding of her chicks and of her care over them. The fox that leads her young to their hiding place, knows what she is about or is seeking for, and is consciously knowing or intelligent. This is a lower kind of conscious understanding. He must intend more than this. May he have intended an intelligent conscientiousness, an understanding or correct feeling of conscience, such as one of old felt in regard to the truth of God, as he exercised himself to "have always a conscience void of offence toward God and man?" Here is moral power and action, such as no mere animal, dog, ox, or gorilla ever felt. Let us hope for this; though it may mean only the consciousness of possessing that higher intelligence which belongs to a cultivated mind without religious regard to truth.

edges" of the hands ; "never stands on his hind legs" as some figures have falsely shown him to do, and is far from erect.

Take, next, the gibbon from Borneo, and adjoining lands ; about "three feet in height" ; he "walks in the erect posture when on a level surface ; and then the arms either hang down, enabling him to assist himself with his knuckles ; or, what is more usual, he keeps his arms uplifted in nearly an erect position," as an equipoise ; at a rapid speed the gibbons let fall their hands to the ground, and assist themselves forward, rather jumping than running, nearly erect ; in walking, "their progression was not by placing one foot before the other, but by simultaneously using both, as in jumping." pp. 37—41.

The erect posture, and the locomotion must be sustained by the arms as balancers, or supporters, or lifters. The feats of leaping among the branches of trees performed by the gibbon, are most graceful and astounding, showing great muscular power, in which the "hands and arms are the sole organs of locomotion." The figures given of these two man-like apes show only the brute.

For the third, take the adult chimpanzees "from Sierra Leone to Congo" ; nearly "five feet in height" ; generally take "the sitting posture," when at rest ; sometimes "standing and walking, but when thus detected they immediately take to all fours, and flee" ; their organization does not fit them "to stand erect, but to lean forward. Hence they are seen when standing, with the hands clasped over the occiput, or the lumbar region, which would seem necessary to balance, or for ease of posture." In truth "the natural position is on all fours, the body resting anteriorly upon the knuckles," which "are greatly enlarged, with the skin protuberant and thickened like the sole of the foot," also, "they are expert climbers," and "swing from limb to limb at a great distance, and leap with astonishing agility." Their hands are the chief locomotive organs in these feats. In this, as in various other respects, they greatly resemble the gibbons. pp. 56—58.

In the last place look at the gorilla under the like aspects. "Its height is about five feet" ; "neck short, thick and hairy" ; "chest and shoulders very broad," and body large ; "the gait is shuffling ; the motion of the body, which is never upright as in

man, but bent forward, is somewhat rolling, or from side to side." "It makes progression by thrusting its arms forward, resting the hands on the ground, and then giving the body a half jumping, half swinging motion between them. When it assumes the walking posture, to which it is said to be much inclined, it balances its huge body by flexing its arms upward." The gorillas "are exceedingly ferocious; they are objects of terror to the natives; never running from man." The gorilla "always rises to his feet when making an attack, though he approaches his antagonist in a stooping posture." pp. 60—66. The two figures of gorilla, given by Professor Huxley illustrate the description.

It is evident that no one of the man-like apes is erect like man or can sustain itself in the partially erect posture without aid of the hands; that in walking and running they take to all fours or use their four limbs for locomotion; that their posture at the best is only partially upright; and that most of them are expressly said not to be erect. The walking and standing of the chimpanzee is not erect, as the organization is opposed to it, and its "natural position is on all fours." Even the gorilla does not move upright like man; and his walking or running is far different from that of man. Indeed, the great length of the arms of the man-like apes, is a full indication that this is a compensation only in part for the leaning or stooping posture.

This difference is anatomical; it depends on a diverse structure. In man, the form of the bones and the articulations of the joints make the truly erect posture natural; but even in the highest of the man-like apes, the form and the working of the organism prevent this. These apes, like the other and next lower animals, are quadrupeds, and do not belong to the same order with man. This difference of structure, so overlooked by Professor Huxley, is wholly opposed to his Linnæan place of man.

It should be noticed distinctly also, that while the upper and lower extremities of the animals are used for locomotion, in man this is not the fact; but the upper are employed for the purposes of the head, and not for moving the body about. The nourishment and support of the system and the execution of the designs of thought, are specially made the work of the hands.

In this way man is raised above the anthropoids immeasurably. Their animal necessities are provided for; but in man the spiritual or mental power has the great elevation. The immortal stands forth in his form and adaptations. Though Professor Owen noticed, in his classification of mammals, the fact of the liberation of the "upper limbs" from the "service of locomotion," he does not press this structural fact to its great importance, and Professor Huxley makes no account of this distinguishing difference. But this has been accomplished by one of our well known and honored zoölogists.* Professor Dana's conclusion is from this obvious cephalization, that man is not "one of the primates alongside the monkeys: he stands alone, the archon of mammals."

How truly and forcefully Mr. Dana adds: "Man was the first being that was not finished on reaching adult growth, but was provided with powers for indefinite expansion, a will for a life work, and boundless aspirations to lead to endless improvement."† Had he not data sufficient to place man the archon of animals? We think he had on the great and good view.

To these considerations, there should be added the differences in the skulls and brains. These two are most important and distinguishing structures. However much these organs may differ in the higher and lower apes, in man and the lower apes they differ far more; so that the real inquiry should be the actual difference between them in man and the man-like apes in settling the place of man in zoloögy. This difference is great and striking, and should be carefully considered.

The elements of the comparison will be chiefly derived from Prof. Huxley's statements.

He speaks of the skull as the "more characteristic organ," "by which the human frame" is "so strongly distinguished from all others." He proceeds to say, "The differences between a gorilla's skull and a man's are truly immense. Then the skull must distinguish them in all cases. The articulation of the skull with the spinal column is such that the whole, skull and contents, are easily balanced in the erect posture." This is different

* *Manual of Geology*; by Prof. J. Dana, LL.D. 1863. pp. 512, and *Silliman's Journal*, 1863 and 1864. † *Ibid.*

from the fact in all the man-like apes, so that in them the articulation is suited to their different posture. In the figures of the skulls of man and gorilla, given by Professor Huxley, the truth of his remarks is obvious. One can only wonder that this difference should not always make a separation by all who know it, even though only partly "immense."

As the skull is filled with brain, the capacity of the cranium is the volume of the brain; and Professor Huxley asserts that the "absolute capacity of the [gorilla's] cranium is far less than that of man." p. 93. This is palpable on his figures, and is most striking as you look at the head of the mature gorilla; there you will see the great depression of the skull above, not arched but straight, and little cavity for brain. But he gives us measures of capacity of skull, and thus of the brain, for our direction. Of the human skulls measured by Dr. Morton, the largest, a German, contained one hundred and fourteen cubic inches, and the smallest, an Australian, sixty three cubic inches. To these, given by Professor Huxley, let us add several more.

Of 18 Germans, the largest	114,	smallest 70,	and mean 90	cubic inches.
5 English, "	105,	" 91,	" 96	"
7 Anglo-Americans	97,	" 82,	" 90	"
10 Pelasgic, "	94,	" 75,	" 84	"
18 " Ancient "	97,	" 74,	" 88	"
20 Malayan "	97,	" 68,	" 86	"
155 Peruvians, "	101,	" 58,	" 75	"
161 Am. Indians, "	104,	" 70,	" 84	"
62 Native Africans,	99,	" 65,	" 83	"
12 Am. born " "	89,	" 73,	" 82	"
8 Hottentots, "	83,	" 68,	" 75	"
8 Australians "	83,	" 63,	" 75	"

Of the gorilla, the largest brain contains only thirty four and a half cubic inches and the smallest only twenty four inches. The smallest brain known of an adult male, Professor Huxley states at sixty two inches; a German? Dr. Morton gives the smallest Peruvian brain as fifty eight inches, which was probably that of a female, as he gives the largest at one hundred and one cubic inches.

Comparing the brains of the Hottentot and gorilla, we see in the table, that the brain of the smallest capacity of the Hottentots (sixty eight inches) is nearly double the largest of an adult

gorilla (thirty four and one half inches), and nearly thrice that of the smallest (twenty four inches). Yet the gorilla is nearly double the Hottentot in weight of body; so that the Hottentot's brain is, relatively to size, about four times as large as that of the largest gorilla, and at least five and a half times larger than the smallest. Professor Huxley states that "an average European child of four years old has a brain twice as large as that of an adult gorilla." pp. 93—5.

With all these facts, we might expect to hear Professor Huxley declare with force, "It must not be overlooked, however, that there is a very striking difference in absolute mass and weight between the lowest human brain and that of the highest ape." p. 120. What means this difference? Is this organic diversity to have no consideration? Professor Huxley makes the admission that it "doubtless will one day help to furnish an explanation of the great gulf which intervenes between the lowest man and the highest ape in intellectual power," and he should have added, in moral power also in a special manner.

How then, is this to be settled? Professor Huxley asserts that this fact has "little systematic value," because "the difference in weight of brain between the highest and the lowest men is far greater, both relatively and absolutely, than that between the lowest man and the highest ape." Take this statement to be exactly true, though it is in fact somewhat too strongly made, why should the wide range of the brain volume of man, from sixty two to one hundred and fourteen inches as given by Huxley, be dependent for its just value on the less difference between the smallest brain of man and the largest of the apes? The difference between the largest and smallest human brain, and also the smallest human brain itself, far exceeds the largest brain of gorilla, showing the wide difference of this organism in the two, and corresponding in part at least to their vast physical difference. Besides, other characters are always associated with those of skull and brain in the description of either man or gorilla. Wherever is man, there is his absolutely and relatively large brain with his other peculiar structures; and wherever is gorilla, there is its absolutely and relatively small brain with its other peculiarities. This difference should have "systematic value," and show the high place to be assigned to man.

The question recurs, what means this great difference between the brains of man and gorilla, and yet so similar in all points found by Professor Huxley, except volume or size? Does it direct to a corresponding difference of function? It is admitted by him and all, that the functions of man are, in intellectuality, far superior to any of the man-like apes; by him, in articulate speech, entirely different in kind from any power of any animals; and finally by common belief, in moral powers and moral feelings, of an order far superior to, and of a nature wholly distinct from any ever acted or shown by even a gorilla. These are distinguished functions, vastly excelling all possessed by brutes.

Now Professor Huxley says; "It is no doubt perfectly true, in a certain sense, that all difference of function is a result of difference of structure; or, in other words, a difference in the combination of the primary, molecular forces of living substance." The explanatory clause will not be apprehended by most, if it can be by any; but the first statement is obvious. The brain is the organ of the mental power. The obvious difference in structure is its far greater volume in man, and this is the structural reason to be given for the high and definite spiritual functions peculiar to man.

If we take the different combinations of "primary molecular forces of living substance," as producing the difference of functions, then organism or structure is given up as the cause, and there is substituted the action or force of the proximate or ultimate particles of organic matter, of which forces neither Dr. Huxley nor any other man can pretend to have any definite knowledge. Indeed, the meaning of such language can only be, that there are such forces operating in man as result in different functions; a truth which no materialist would deny, or be much the wiser for the knowledge of it.

We are compelled to recur to the brain as the structural cause of the "vast intellectual chasm between the ape and man," and the still greater moral chasm. As Professor Huxley does not discover it in the brain, it is right to say explicitly in his words, that his "science is incompetent to detect" the difference in structure on which the functions depend. p. 122. The Professor admits the validity of this charge, if the "intellectual power depends altogether on the brain," which he de-

nies, and then proceeds to increase the power of the brain, by the "organs of sense and the motor apparatuses, especially those concerned in prehension and in the production of articulate speech." p. 122. Now, these organs are only the more important nerves which originate in the brain or belong to it and operate with it as dependent parts, so that they can not act when separated from the brain. What increase of power are these to the brain, when they form a part of it? Besides, the apes and all the higher animals have all these organs or nerves passing to the very structures themselves. Even the nervous power, or whatever name be given to it, passes from the brain by the same nerves for the objects of sense and prehension and voice, in man and the apes, and yet man alone has articulate speech, and the great difference between them is in the far greater quantity of brain. To this we must add the important and distinctive functions of man, dependent upon the psychical operations of the brain.

To this special pleading Professor Huxley adds the illustration here following; that is, of two watches, apparently equally well made, one of which keeps accurate time while the other moves not at all; because a "hair in the balance-wheel, a little rust on a pinion, a bend in the tooth of an escapement, or something so slight" as to escape easy detection, "may be the source of all the difference." Is then the real reason that the vocal organs of gorilla never produce "articulate speech," to be found in some external cause, or accidental defect, or trifling malformation, and this in the vocal organs of every gorilla, and of all the apes and higher animals ever existing? To believe this, is to employ a constant miracle, which would be absurd. We must come then to the admission of the adequate difference in the structure of the vocal organs; so that man speaks, but the apes have no such power; man uses articulate speech and language, the ape has not made the slightest approximation to it. For this the structural difference is man's greater volume of brain.

Let it be observed, too, that the higher functions of man require superior organization. This is seen to be a general principle in the system of structures. This may be, in this case, the greater volume of brain to indicate to every man the rank of the creatures.

Besides, as "the brain is only the organ of psychical action, and not the intellect or soul itself," the higher functions must originate from distinct powers of the soul, and for this difference a greater amount of brain may be essential. The mere materialist may consider only the structure or organ itself, and rest satisfied with entire ignorance of the causes by which the endowments of mind are to be exhibited. If the cause be assigned to mere structure or organism, it is impossible to be satisfied with it, on the grounds assigned by Professor Huxley; if, to mere spiritual energy, this is opposed to his fundamental principle of structural difference. But if we unite the brain-volume with structure and psychical endowments, we may find an adequate solution. Not only may we say with Professor Huxley that the brain may "help to furnish," but it actually does "furnish an explanation of the great gulf," so puzzling to the mere materialist, and so perspicuous to the true psychologist.

It remains only to notice Dr. Huxley's notion of the close relationship of man to the gorilla and their common origin. Three quotations will show the Professor's views. In one case he adverts to the "lower pithecoïd (ape-like) form, by the modification of which he (man) has, probably, become what he is." p. 183. "Our reverence for the nobility of manhood will not be lessened by the knowledge that man is in substance and in structure, one with the brutes." * p. 132. Again, he speaks of the "inconspicuous structural difference" that "may have been the primary cause of the immeasurable and practically infinite divergence of the human from the simian (ape-form) stirps." p. 122. The primitive stock, then, was originally ape-like; and from its pristine form a divergence has continued through "the gradual modification of a man-like ape" to man; or, these two may be only a "ramification of the same primitive stock" from which

* The "nobility of manhood" consists not in the things in which the higher animals resemble man, but in those of a different kind. The former are very numerous and obvious; as in their propagation, development, birth and growth, organs of respiration and nutrition, structures for circulation of blood and nervous power, kinds of food, life and death. These, and far more, belong to the animal and make him what he is: man is not dishonored or ennobled by them. We turn for the nobility of man to properties or powers which are not to be found in even the higher animals, and constitute the spiritual developments of the race, illustrated especially by their rational, articulate speech and their social and religious relations, duties, and institutions.

also some lower kinds of apes have originated. p. 125. Professor Huxley does not allude to the origin of this primitive stock, as having begun to exist from the plan and power of the infinite Creator. He speaks of creatures and of "the present creation"; and considers man, in his attained position above the other creatures, to have been "transfigured from his grosser nature by reflecting, here and there, a ray from the infinite source of truth." p. 132.

But, however the creatures began, the changes in them, by which the "genera and families of ordinary animals have been produced," Professor Huxley holds to have been and to continue to be, only "secondary causes," or physical causes. He points to only "one such process of physical causation," as scientific and supported by evidence, "that propounded by Mr. Darwin." p. 125. This is the principle of "natural selection," or "selective modification," as used by Professor Huxley. For all structural differences of the animated world, Professor Huxley maintains this is adequate physical causation, "amply competent to account for the origin of living species, and of man among the rest." p. 126.

We have not space to point to the absurdity of this conclusion, and turn to the grand difficulty alleged by Professor Huxley himself, that "one link in the chain of evidence is wanting," as it certainly is wanting. For the proof he refers to the facts of hybridism, which have been urged with such power to sustain the permanence of species.

These facts generally are, that hybrids, the product of two different species, are unnatural, and require in their production constraint or force which is hateful, as the etymology of the word shows; or as Dr. Morton states, "hybrids, as a general law, are contrary to nature"; that they are very rare; and that they are not fertile; or, as Professor Huxley writes, the "hybrid is unable to perpetuate its race with another hybrid of the same nature." p. 126. In him it is highly honorable to state the absence of this link in the chain of the proof, which compels him, in a distinctly guarded manner, to qualify his concession, as follows: "I adopt Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, therefore, subject to the production of proof, that physiological species may be produced by selective breeding." p. 128. The

production is to be without any constraint upon the parent species, or when they are in their natural or "wild state." This had not been done when Professor Huxley published, and has not since been done. The necessary "physical condition" has not been attained, and Professor Huxley actually leaves the scientific world on this point, where it has ever been.

Now, just inquire, what is this natural selection, or selective modification? Is it a power, like gravitation, or a property, like cohesion, or a force, like magnetism, or an attraction, like chemical affinity? None of these. It acts in consistency with the nature of a plant or animal. How then can it change or modify that nature? We can only promote the natural action of the plant or animal. It must mean only this; that a plant, more favorably placed as to soil, water, light and heat, nutriment, air and all things, will more advance in its growth and in unfolding itself and maturing its fruit, than another in a less favorable condition; or, a plant in a less favorable soil may, for some unseen cause get the start of another, and continue to take its nutriment and make a finer growth than the other. In either case the plant can act only according to the plant-nature and laws, and can not alter that nature. In either case the former plant must appropriate more plant elements to its use than the latter, but each acts on its own laws of vegetable life. This is "natural selection." It must be continually operating, as the vital power of vegetable expansion. It is only a new name for an old principle. It can never modify wheat into rice, or rice into maize, or buckwheat into sugar cane. In the brute creation the proofs and result of natural selection must be the same, operating according to its peculiar animal nature.

The nature of the animal constitutes it what it is. It acts according to what it is, to perpetuate its existence, that is to continue the same nature. The development of an animal into another animal becomes a physical impossibility, a physiological absurdity.

With this accords the common decision of mankind. In the ways before pointed out, they know that man has powers and characters entirely different from those of a brute, which raise the former immeasurably above the latter. It is from this knowledge, and not from any overweening vanity or foolish

pride of position or rank, that the general opinion of mankind is so opposed to the Professor's conclusion concerning "Man's Place in Nature," amounting to a violent "repugnance," which, he says, will be heard "on all sides," in the language, "we are men and women, and not a mere better sort of apes," possessing "the power of knowledge, the conscience of good and evil, the pitiful tenderness of human affections." p. 129. "We are men and women"; this involves the grand conclusion, and the Professor heard and repeated the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: "Man is a man."

ARTICLE V.

TEACHINGS OF THE REBELLION.

EVERY political era and revolution has its own peculiar lesson, differing from every other in so far as the causes which produce and govern it, and the circumstances which attend it differ from those which attend every other era or revolution. Certain general laws there are which apply to every revolution; but those special ones which each develops and which are applicable only to the same state of facts in other instances, are what a wise statesmanship will seek to know, and what we all should endeavor to recognize.

In seeking to understand the lessons which the present rebellion of the Southern States is designed to teach, we must first know the condition of society in those States, and in what it differs from those which yet remain heartily loyal.

It can not have escaped the observation of the watchful student of our rapidly enacting history that even the upper classes in the seceded States, to whom we might naturally look for that intelligence and information which is one of the great safeguards of a republican government, and which the poorer classes, having less leisure for self culture, are unable to obtain, have joined

in the rebellion with a surprising degree of unanimity. Why is this when the loyal and seceded States are under a government which extends its privileges and blessings to North and South alike?

Every observant traveller in the Southern States has noticed that, except in the large towns and cities, school-houses are met with almost as rarely as gold mines. One may travel, as the writer has, twenty miles along the principal roads of Virginia and North Carolina, and if he takes the trouble to seek for the public schools, he will be told that there are none. The poorer classes are scattered too sparsely over the country to maintain schools for their children; and the wealthier ones educate theirs at home, employing private teachers upon each plantation. The rich do not desire to maintain a system of public schools which they do not use, and the poor being unable to support them the opportunities of education are denied to the many.

If the organization of society were such as to distribute the wealth more equally there would be less ignorance in the masses. But the "peculiar institution" of the Southern States tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The South is mainly an agricultural country; but so is the West, and it can not be said that the agricultural character of the country is the cause of its ignorance. Precisely the same condition would be found if commerce were its principal employment. The error is that capital owns labor; and where this is the case the poor are dependent upon the rich; and as the rich have no interest in supporting schools they almost cease to exist.

One of the fundamental laws of God and of human nature is violated when the healthful inter-dependence of capital and labor is broken down; and one of the results is the ignorance of the masses of the people. In the Northern States, where slavery does not exist, it is for the interest of the capitalist that his workmen and laborers should be as intelligent as possible. They do more work and do it better than those who are less informed. Hence free schools are for the interest of all; and, if they were not, the number of the laboring classes is so great that they are able to control the ballot box and thus secure the system.

But in the South knowledge is by far too dangerous a power to be intrusted to bondmen ; it spoils them for servitude, and unfits them for the performance of the tasks required by their masters. And as slavery not only enables the wealthy planter to control the ballot box directly, but also gives him such power over his white dependents as to enable him to control that class of voters, schools are, in one respect at least, like angels' visits, few and far between. Thus the South is left to the ignorance of nature and to all the vices which are sure to follow close upon its heels. And this result is directly attributable to slavery inasmuch as the wealthy only can be successful in any branch of industry where slave labor is employed. The large slave population and the system of large plantations and rich planters scatters the population thinly over the country.

In addition to this the direct moral tendency of slavery is to idleness, by leading the white population to look down upon employments which are considered the proper sphere of the slave. And this is a legitimate result of the system ; the employments of the bondman have ever been regarded with disdain by the freeman in all history. The servile system creates, by instinct, a subtle but decided line of separation between the master and the slave. For what result can we look when a people are thus left to idleness and ignorance ? It is a law of mind that it will have some occupation ; it cannot remain utterly inactive ; and if a healthful, beneficial employment is not found it will break out into violence and sin.

This condition of ignorance, which is almost universal at the South, leaves the popular mind open to the deceptions and temptations of the designing to a degree which we at the North, in a land of busy industry and open schools, can hardly imagine. At the South it is the rule that all classes are unable to read or write, and the rare exception that a person can do either. This may stagger belief ; but it is too sadly true as tested by actual observation in several of the seceded States ; and the masses (we speak of the white population,) are thus reduced in a great degree to the condition of savages ; for, as they can neither read the newspapers and books which might teach them better things, nor communicate by letter, they are almost wholly

dependent upon the educated few who as public men are relied on, and who can deceive without the risk of detection.

This condition would be less deplorable if there were any hope of its amelioration ; but such is not the case. The demagogue knows too well that his power is gone when his hearer becomes sufficiently intelligent to judge for himself, and he therefore seeks to rivet the chains still closer. The planter, too, feels that the sceptre may be snatched from his hands by those who are in subjection to him rather through moral than legal power, if they become wise enough to understand their power ; and he throws the whole vast weight of his slave vote into the scale, and the cause of human progress flies up. Thus the poor white gropes his way through life with no glimmering of the blessed star of hope to illumine the night of ignorance and moral darkness which surrounds him.

In thus destroying the counterpoise which should steady the social and political structure the path is left clear to the knowing few, and a result has been silently produced which has utterly astonished the people of the North. We could not believe that the Southern mind could be so grossly in error, so utterly deluded ; but we have at last opened our eyes to the fact, and we may well be startled ; for, much as has been said upon this subject, the half has not been told. But we must not suppose that the case is hopeless ; for the reaction will be as sudden and complete when the light is once let in as was the original madness. Day by day and year by year, at the grocery and in the market, by the fireside and in the street, at the horse race and upon the political platform, the one theme has been dwelt upon that the North was seeking to overpower and crush the South, until hatred of the North has become the gospel and confession of faith of the Southern mind. But once let in the light, show them that we are their friends and well wishers, and come with the sword in our hands only to protect the right and not to enforce the wrong, and they will love the freedom of the North as heartily as they now hate it.

We of the North started in life with the system fastened upon us. Did we, as some of our statesmen would have us believe, throw it aside because our climate was unsuited to slavery, or because the intelligence of the North saw that it

was a great moral and economical blunder? Is not this one of the first great services of our free schools and other educational influences? We saw that the oppression of one class made labor disgraceful, and fostered a false pride in those who were able to live without it, while it discouraged the poor because it placed them upon a level with the uneducated slave; and, as compulsory, unrewarded toil was productive of slovenly husbandry and third rate products in all the branches of industry we resolved to free ourselves from the incubus. Here labor is honorable and its results are paid for just in proportion to the amount and excellence of the work; and, thus encouraged, we have continued to prosper until the result has become so apparent to the influential men of the South that they see their own subordination to a system of free government and paid labor is inevitable, and hence their rebellion.

Knowledge and slavery cannot coexist. They are antagonistic in their very natures. A slave once educated would not long remain a slave any more than a starving man would remain hungry when food is once placed within his reach. And, as slavery tends powerfully to crush free labor, the ignorance of the slave necessitates the ignorance of all who have an interest in his education. An ignorant people can not be an enterprising and prosperous people in the best sense of the term. Thus slavery has not only left the great masses of the Southern people in ignorance and idleness temporarily, but has directly crushed enterprise by withholding knowledge.

In all communities there are many unprincipled persons to be found, who with respectable abilities have no regard for anything but selfish aggrandizement, and who, if they can only obtain the places of profit and power, are willing to use any means of deception and wrong to excite the popular mind. This method has been systematically practised through the whole South for many years, and we are now reaping its baleful fruits in a rebellion which has already cost us hundreds of millions of treasure and countless thousands of far more precious lives.

Another evil effect of slavery is that it produces complete ossification of all the moral and benevolent feelings of those who are engaged in it. Accustomed from infancy to look upon the blacks only as property, to be fed and cared for only in such a

manner as will make them most profitable, the slaveholder never comes to look upon them as human beings with intellectual faculties and moral and social feelings which seek exercise and culture the same in kind as the white race; and his nature is developed only in a one-sided ill-balanced way; so that every question, social and political, is discussed and settled just as it will affect, favorably or otherwise, this one peculiar institution. Slavery thus draws a broad line of distinction between the rich, slaveholding portion of the community and the poor non-slaveholding class. The power is in the hands of the few rich and educated whose every interest, under the system, leads them to deceive the ignorant masses; and we find that just this course has been pursued in all the seceded States.

In the Free States, on the contrary, where all the laboring classes are politically upon a level with the rich, and for that simple reason, the interest of the few and of the many is alike best served by a general intelligence; and accordingly we find a radical difference in this respect between the two sections. This difference began in the far past. Perhaps it first sprung from the stern, uncompromising determination of our pilgrim fathers to maintain the education of all as a fundamental doctrine of social and political life. And this article of their creed was not a mere abstraction, but a vital principle warm with vigorous, progressive life. It was a thing not merely to be dreamt of and desired, but to be acted on; by the fireside and in the school-room, in the church and the prayer-meeting, in the town house and in legislative deliberations; and it has continued ever since to expand, growing daily and yearly more utterly at variance with all ignorance and servitude, until it has come in contact with the one great curse of the South which must succumb to it or be forevermore victorious. The two systems can not coexist in peace.

Here, then, is the great, fundamental law which has been violated. The South has made slavery "the stone which the first builders rejected the head of the corner" in violation of a law not of man's enacting, but which is the fiat of the Eternal, and her sin must be expiated in blood. God, when he sent the last and most perfect being of his creation forth from his forming hand ordained that he should be free, and attached the

heaviest penalties, self-inflicted, to the violation of it. Much has been said of the wrongs of the black, and the half, nay, the hundredth part has never been told. The darkest pencil has never shaded the picture as deeply as the truth would warrant. But, great as has been the evil to the black, it is small in comparison with what it has brought upon the white race, inasmuch as the latter is by far the most numerous, and because the evil of doing wrong is ever vastly greater than the evil of suffering wrong. Look at the hardness of heart, the want of moral development, the unchastity; in short the state of moral obliquity which is the fruitful parent of all sin, that this institution has produced among slaveholders, and the utter darkness, moral and intellectual which has settled down upon the poor whites in the South by reason of it, and say to which race the evil has been greatest.

Had the South enjoyed a system of general education, they would not have been in a condition to be deceived and spurred into rebellion; but slavery required, for its own salvation, that ignorance should abound. The West is not more by nature an agricultural country than the South, its climate is not more salubrious, its soil not more fertile and its products not more a necessity to the civilized world; but she is established upon a basis of individual enterprise and individual intelligence in accordance with the great law of human progress ordained of God, and she is fast becoming, nay is now the centre of power in our vast republic.

Let the South discard that political blunder and moral sin, slavery, and throw wide open the doors of her colleges and common schools, take down her long neglected Bible from its dusty abiding place, educate the masses, and make toil honorable by honorably paying for it, and the wheels of her prosperity will again begin to move; her wharves and harbors will be crowded with the rich fruits of commerce, the hum of busy industry will be heard along her rivers, and peace and prosperity will again cover her long silent land.

But let us of the North not take to ourselves the glory which is not ours, but humbly and devoutly thank God that his hand has overruled and guided our affairs so that we are not left in the night of tribulation and darkness which has shut down upon

the South. Let us be grateful that He inspired our fathers with a strong, yearning love of education and liberty, and the courage and strength to maintain both. We can now look back through the long past and see how the cloud first began to rise "no bigger than a man's hand," spreading slowly at first, while anon the deep, distant rumblings of the coming tempest rolled along the distant horizon, and, spreading still until it overshadowed the whole heavens with a more than Egyptian darkness, at last broke in fury upon our devoted heads. But the star of hope is now shining serenely in the heavens; and, ere long, the sun will break through the clouds, and the land will smile again in a green prosperity. Only let us not feel that by our own might and wisdom we have triumphed, but that a greater than man has guided the course of events and ordered the results which are beyond our finite powers, for our good and His own great glory.

And the future, what shall that be to us and to the South? With free labor and the right to enjoy all its fruits unmolested, with no cause for sectional jealousy and sectional hate from the old source, we shall see a new order of things. It is, perhaps, not yet time to predict what will be our domestic condition and foreign influence. But if America, enfeebled as she was by slavery, could so command the respect and confidence of the civilized world, what will she be when her national health is fully restored and she stands before the eyes of mankind without spot or blemish, clothed in her wedding garments?

Such a nation, a unit for freedom, will be a resistless guardian of liberty in this western world which European despots will not dare to encounter; while its influence will do much, how much we can hardly calculate for the progress and well being of the whole world. Let us hope that the fiery trials of the present are working out, under God, a great salvation, not only for us but for all mankind; and learning the great lesson of the present, that all wrong doing brings down upon the doer speedy and often terrible chastisement, guide our steps in the way of justice and truth.

ARTICLE VI.

PASCAL.

IN the year 1623 one of those great lights arose in our world, which has been blazing more brilliantly and more clearly with the progress of human society, and which Christendom now gazes at with a wonder it takes no pains to conceal. Pascal was a prodigy, from youth to manhood; his country early conceded his amazing genius; but all nations are now proud that such a man has lived. This pride is allied with another sentiment, somewhat sad, that he did not live long enough to complete his mighty work; that he showed what a boon he was capable of bestowing on the race, and sought to bestow, but which he was not permitted to give, from the violation of certain laws of health, and false notions of duty, which detract from the greatness we are still compelled to admire. His great idea was, the greatness and misery of man, and of which no man's life is a more impressive illustration than his. We extol, and pity, at the same time; and are astonished that so mighty a giant could be vanquished by such degrading superstitions. His career is a mystery, a contradiction—type of all that is glorious and weak in human nature.

But his life and labors suggest lofty thoughts, and bring us back to the first condition of things; to elemental truths; to the principles of ethics; to the eternal laws of our moral nature. They divert us from the contemplation of the finite, to the infinite; from the miseries of earth, to the majestic destiny of man.

Such a subject may be grave, for us, but if Pascal is to be comprehended, we must also enter upon those themes which gave to his mind so much loftiness and grandeur. A flippant notice of this philosopher would be an insult to the human understanding; we must skip him altogether, or dwell, for a time, on his ideas.

When Pascal was three years of age, his father, a respectable judge, in Clermont, was so impressed with his remarkable tal-

ents, that he resolved to devote the remainder of his life to the education of his son ; and, for that purpose, retired to Paris, then, as now, as it ever has been, a great intellectual luminary, where facilities for instruction in every thing were the greatest in the world. At twelve years of age the young scholar, without books, without lessons in mathematics, simply with a piece of charcoal, had drawn upon the tiles of his chamber floor circles and triangles, and made geometrical demonstrations, until he had arrived, unaided, to the thirty second proposition of the first book of Euclid, all from the definitions and axioms he had made himself. At sixteen he wrote a treatise on conic sections, which was allowed by the greatest mathematicians of his age to be unsurpassed since the time of Archimedes. Even to Descartes his mathematical genius seemed almost miraculous. But mathematics did not satisfy him. Like Bacon, when he explored, as a boy, a brick conduit near his father's house, he sought a reason for everything. At twelve, he wrote a treatise to account for the phenomena of sound. At nineteen, he invented an arithmetical machine which almost reduced the science of numbers to a piece of machinery ; but it proved too complex for practical utility. Soon after, he was led to observe the mechanical properties of the atmosphere, which had previously been investigated by Galileo, who, however, had only discovered that it had weight, without perceiving that it opposed a definite force to any agent by which the removal of the atmosphere from any space was attempted. But what the Italian philosopher failed to discover, Pascal found out by his celebrated experiment, on the Puy-de-Dôme, of the mercurial column, which he was the first to substitute for water—the most beautiful example of an *experimentum crucis* in the history of physics. His subsequent treatises on the equilibrium of liquids, and the weight of the atmosphere, spread his fame throughout Europe, and he was consulted by all the eminent philosophers and mathematicians of his day. His treatise on the weight of the whole mass of air forms the basis of the modern science of Pneumatics, and which has associated his name with Torricelli and Boyle.

The most remarkable peculiarity in the mind of Pascal, when pursuing science, was its sceptical character. He would accept nothing, believe nothing, which he could not demonstrate either

by mathematics or the observations of nature. No man, in this field of inquiry, ever attached more dignity to reason. Nor did he ever afterward disdain reason. He only hesitated to bring to the cognizance of reason those things which are beyond its sphere. His marvellous insight taught him, and taught him early, that there are some things which reason can not explain, while his candor and love of truth and submission to truth led him to disdain to pretend to a knowledge which was not knowledge; to feel that the senses can not take cognizance of the realm of faith; that deductions from natural phenomena are preposterous when applied to the revelations of God to the soul; that earth cannot fathom heaven; that the infinite can not be measured by the finite; that the ultimate purposes of God can not be deduced from the wonders of nature.

Had Pascal continued his labors in the realm of science, and his health been equal to his labors, there is no height to which he might not have aspired. He had a great scientific genius. He could examine minute details, and draw inductions from them. He had the clear perception of an artist, and the logical precision of a philosopher. He was inexorable in logic, and would thus have escaped those puerilities in which the lovers of science have sometimes indulged—a weak and silly desire to make deductions from trifling data—to gain *éclat* rather than add to the domain of truth. Like Kepler, he would have thrown away theories which could not be substantiated. Like Newton, he would have planted his ladder to the skies on certitude alone. Some men have a remarkable faculty of observing minute differences in the objects of nature; they can collect a vast number of facts; they can scrutinize bugs or shells as a cunning watchmaker can see the minute defects of watches; but when they begin to make inductions, or generalizations, from the specimens they have collected, they make fools of themselves, and degrade the science which they affect to exalt. Yea, sometimes they are such charlatans, that they pretend to reveal truths in the spiritual world from the false discoveries they parade in science. There are those, again, who have no faculty for minute observation; but who have great logical power, and great talent for generalization. They make use of the talents of others—workmen to them—to draw inferences which may be

applied to the great objects of life. These latter, men who love deduction better than induction, like Adam Smith and Calvin, are the greater men, are the true thinkers who advance society, the wise men who deliver cities in trouble. Now Pascal combined the excellences of both these classes of students, and we hardly know which to admire the more, his searching observations, or his philosophical creations.

Pascal had the misfortune to possess a feeble body, with an ardent soul. The earnestness of his disposition led him to despise those conditions by which a great success only could be gained. He disregarded the laws of health, while he sought to explore the laws of nature. Some men can, apparently, set at defiance all dietetic rules, all gymnastic exercises. It is said that German students can study all day, and smoke and drink beer all night, and yet thrive. Mirabeau, Dr. Johnson, Lord Brougham, Professor Wilson had such sound bodies, so magnificent a physique, that they could defy rules. Fortunate is it for a scholar to have great physical energies and endurance. The greatest men have been thus blessed, like Plato, Cicero, Michael Angelo—men who can work when they are old, and achieve fame when it is time for them to die. But Pascal was not one of such. He had a sickly, morbid, ailing body, a delicate organization. In short, he had the dyspepsia, and what dyspeptic ever yet was happy or fortunate—ever did any thing worthy his aspirations?

From dyspepsia to asceticism, it is a *facilis descensus*. His stomach rejected, like that of the great St. Bernard, every thing he ate, and he lived on the simplest food. He allowed himself not even the superfluity of a sofa or a carpet, or an arm chair, or a servant to make his bed or cook his miserable dinner. He wore an iron girdle, with sharp points, next his skin; and in his whole manner of life he resembled a Syriac monk. He gave what he had away, like Ambrose and Gregory, and scorned riches, like St. Jerome. He even rooted out of his soul his earthly loves, and reproached his sister for alluding to a beautiful woman, although among his "Opuscules" is an eloquent treatise on the passion he affected to despise, and which, it is thought, he did not escape, even if he succeeded in concealing.

It would, however, be unfair and unjust to attribute the lofty

asceticism of Pascal to a deranged stomach, or morbid views of life, in consequence of broken health. He had, doubtless, pursued his labors with more ardor than his feeble constitution could bear, and he paid the penalty. But it is also recorded that, about this time, he escaped death, almost miraculously, by an accident that happened to him in taking a drive. This directed his mind to the unseen and future world, and led him to contemplate the vanity of fame and the littleness of all mortal pursuits. The finite and the earthly, to his clear vision, dwindled into insignificance when compared with the infinite and eternal. This is not an unusual experience, as confirmed by the example of Luther in his Augustinian cell, of Loyola in his Mauresan cave. Great minds, when seriously awakened to the realities of a future existence, are terribly in earnest, and ever appear like enthusiasts to men chained to the follies of earth.

It was so, preëminently, with Pascal. He resolved to devote the remainder of his life to the study of greater truths than what natural science reveals. He was still young, only twenty six, when moral and spiritual philosophy had greater charms to him than those researches which had raised him so highly in the estimation of mathematicians. "I call geometry," said he, "the most beautiful occupation in the world; but it is only an occupation, good for the trial, but not the employment of our forces." The question of all time, "what will it profit?" pressed upon his soul with amazing power, as it did upon St. Augustine amid the luxurious revelries of Carthage. As soon as he was persuaded of the superiority of spiritual truth to temporal knowledge, his ardent soul repelled the idea of attempting to harmonize them, like Newton or Chalmers, and he resolved to dedicate his life to the greater alone. Paris became hateful to him, and he fled, as Jerome did from Rome, and sought repose and greater opportunities of study, in the vale of Port Royal, where, with a few kindred spirits, he would lead a life of the severest intellectual toil in attempting to establish the grounds of moral obligation, and harmonize the system of Augustine with the innate ideas of the Cartesian philosophy.

Pascal, be it remembered, was a Roman Catholic, and was not emancipated from those errors which, at an early period, entered into the creed of the church. The oriental notions of

self-expiation, which the Eastern ascetics borrowed from the philosophy which they had not wholly repudiated, were engrafted on the Christian system, were endorsed by the authority of the loftiest saints, and consecrated by the poetry and traditions of mediæval ages. These had been taught him from his earliest years, and were resplendent in the glories of chastity, poverty and self-abnegation—those which embalmed the memory of St. Bernard in the heart of the church and which ravished the soul of St. Theresa with a longing to join her divine Spouse. Now Pascal, having, as a man of profound genius, repudiated reason in the solution of spiritual certitudes, so, as a Catholic, he did not allow himself to question the customs and the forms which his church had endorsed and defended from remote generations. As a devotee, he would no more allow himself to question the utility of an iron girdle next his skin, than the authority which had attested miracles, after the necessity for miracles had passed away. He would not use the weapons of reason to assail the holy mysteries; and, with like reverence, he dared not bring his mind to scrutinize the elements of a piety which the church had sanctioned, unless clearly controverted by the Scriptures. Christ himself had fasted in the wilderness, and the early disciples had given away their goods. Nothing was said in the Scriptures against the intercession of saints, or symbolic forms, any more than against an imposing ritual or three orders of the clergy. So these were accepted on a blind authority. The difference between a Protestant and a Catholic is, that the one calls in the aid of reason in those matters which the Scriptures neither establish nor refute; the other repudiates reason when, in these matters, it clashes with the authority of the church. Had Pascal been a Protestant he would have still pursued his lofty inquiries in the same spirit, but would have avoided that asceticism which cut short his days and disfigured his beautiful character.

But we hasten to survey the labors of Pascal; those which have given him immortality; those by which he rendered important services to mankind, by which all great benefactors are to be judged, and which attest his genius as well as his philanthropy.

These were chiefly directed to expose the sophistries of the

Jesuits, and establish the doctrines of St. Augustine ; or, in other words, he is to be viewed as a moralist, measuring all ethical questions by the standard of an immutable morality, and, as a theologian, vindicating the fathers of the church.

In both respects he rendered great services to society. He did not meddle with institutions, with the organizations which the church had adopted or combatted, but advocated those great ideas which are eternal and majestic, and which, when applied to institutions, must eventually confirm or weaken them. This is the true mission of a man of genius. It is thus that his influence extends through all the ages. In assailing the favorite soldiers and servants of the Pope, he merely treated them as the enemies of the cause which they professed to serve ; and just so far as the Pope endorsed their errors, his authority was necessarily undermined. Neither Catholicism nor Protestantism can be long upheld by lies. They can only flourish in consequence of the truths which are linked with them. It is the idea of the unity of God which gives to Mohammedanism the vitality of which it boasts. To suppose otherwise were to make error as powerful as truth, and to assume this doctrine would be to cast a funereal veil over all the aspirations and destinies of man on earth ; to lose all faith in the final triumph of truth itself, and to lead, logically, to the necessity of miracles again in order to save the world—a sensuous doctrine to say the least of it, and not in harmony with the developments of history the last thousand years. But Christians are exhorted to live by faith rather than by sight—faith in the majesty of truth, and in the promise of God that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head.

Let us first consider Pascal as a moralist, such as his country, his church, and his times imperatively needed, when religious earnestness was passing away, and despots, in church and state, were seeking to enthrall the minds and the wills of men ; when absolutism was crushing out all independence in France, and when wars and tumults and commercial enterprises were confounding the ideas, and undermining the principles of mankind in every country of Europe.

He did not write a system of morality, any more than Bacon wrote a system of philosophy. Systems belong to scholastic

and pedantic ages, to ambitious men, to speculators, to those who think that wisdom will die with them, to those who pretend to grasp all the great relations of truth, and who generally think more of confirming their theory than of the advancement of science, or the welfare of society. But Pascal pointed out the errors and dangerous principles which had crept into moral philosophy, defended by consecrated guides, and generally accepted by those whom they led and deceived. And these errors and dangerous maxims he not only stated clearly and luminously, but mercilessly attacked with ridicule, irony, and terrible invective. In his "Provincial Letters"—a model of style and clear writing—he exhausted every weapon of assault, he made the Casuists so supremely ridiculous, he came down upon them with such terrible denunciations, he proved that they were such insidious enemies of truth, that all Europe equally despised and detested them. Nor have they since recovered from his blows, but became, from his time to ours, watchwords for duplicity, sophistry and hypocrisy.

These Casuists were chiefly Jesuits, whom he detested, partly because they were relentless persecutors of the Jansenists, a body to which he belonged, and partly from the disgraceful corruptions of the order itself, and the shifts and miserable expediences to which they resorted in order to secure the ascendancy which they had over the corrupt countries of Europe. We can not believe that the Jesuits systematically endeavored to undermine the principles of morality and religion, merely because they loved darkness rather than light. We can not suppose, in all charity, that they were such devils incarnate. They had their ends to accomplish, which they deemed good, and simply were unscrupulous about their means. It was their ambition to control the mind of Europe, and secure allegiance to the church whose agents they were. To secure this outward allegiance they promulgated most dangerous maxims. The "Society" had spread rapidly from the zeal, intelligence and devotion of its early members. Their missionary exploits, their eloquent sermons, their admirable schools, and their austere private lives had secured the confidence of Europe. Their great generals, Loyola, Laynez, Aquaviva, and Borgia were remarkable men. The piety of Xavier and Marquette was the admiration of Chris-

tendom. They effected reforms such as had secured to Dominicans and Franciscans fame and power, without ever personally exposing themselves to reproach. They were decent and respectable in the worst times. They were always gentlemen in manners and language. They never lost either learning or culture. They were, from first to last, the most accomplished scholars and preachers in the Catholic church. In the time of Pascal they filled the chairs in the universities, and occupied the great pulpits of Christendom. They were everywhere sought out in the work of education; they were confessors to monarchs, and to them were entrusted momentous interests. They were the most obedient servants of the Pope, and defended his throne with consummate tact. They exercised a vast moral power over ordinary minds, and were cordially admitted into every family. And they were rewarded for their fidelity and virtues with honors, riches and offices. They became enormously rich, and their churches shone with gold and precious stones. They became powerful for their worldly possessions as well as their posts of honor and office. All these they wished to retain, after their early virtues had fled. The conservation of their influence and wealth became the first object of the Society. And is not this natural? Were they sinners, in this respect, above all those who took up stones at Jerusalem? Do men ever part with their powers except upon compulsion—kings or communities? But with wealth and ease and power the institution became corrupt. They were determined to preserve their influence by any means and at any cost. The members became crafty, worldly-wise and inordinately ambitious. They did not fall into the vices of the old monks—into idleness, sensuality, and indecorous follies. They were never a popular scandal. But their faults were more dangerous, since they were based on hypocrisy and selfishness. They became tyrants who aimed to suppress every virtuous insurrection of human intelligence; they formed a closer union with despotic princes; they became advocates of unbounded absolutism in church and state; their schools were machines to break the wills of their pupils; their confessors accommodated themselves to the inclinations of the great; their minions imposed on the credulity of the people over whom they ruled.

But in spite of their degeneracy, and adaptation to corrupt governments, they found great difficulty in controlling the wicked instruments of their pride and tyranny. In the more ignorant and degraded sections of Europe, such as Spain and Italy and Portugal, human nature was too corrupt for them to work as teachers of morality, and retain their power, unless they accommodated themselves to the corruptions and vile customs of the people. They must make the yoke of Christ easy, or the nominal Christians would rebel. They were ambitious of converts, of *éclat*, of a great show. They sought trophies which would dazzle and give them a name. They became bigots and sectarians, believing that a sect is greater than Christianity. They reversed the law of great interests, consulting first their order, and then the church, and then the welfare of society. Unwilling to lose prestige among those whose follies they perhaps deplored, they adapted to their circumstances a code of morals which would excuse or extenuate the enormities they could not otherwise absolve. They endorsed certain notions of the Casuists which were plainly antagonistic to all previously established principles. They were not blinded. They were ashamed of their practices when brought to light. They knew well enough that simony and theft and murder were inexcusable. Nor would they have accepted false doctrines if they could have managed with true ones. They doubtless inculcated the true so far as they could without jeopardizing their interests. But they dealt with fanatics, murderers, thieves, and prostitutes; all desirous of the external privileges of the church. So, in accordance with the same policy as induced Ricci to tolerate idolatry, and Nobili to trace his lineage to Brahma, the Jesuits, in Spain and Portugal, altered the code of Christian morals in order to suit the debauched people of those superstitious and ignorant countries. And this is the spirit and gist of Jesuitism everywhere. It is sectarianism, preferring the interests of a party to those of mankind. It is expediency, setting aside the immutable principles of moral obligation to gain immediate or favorite ends. If the society could only retain its influence by lowering the standard of morality, it must be done; for, to those bigots, both their society and the church were greater than truth and Christianity. This is Jesuitism, sectarianism and ex-

pediency, and is seen wherever either of these abominations has sway, whatever the name, whatever the pretence, such as that "might makes right," as advocated by Carlyle, in reference to the rule of despots, in disorganized societies; such as justifies Louis Napoleon in his usurpations; such as selects incompetent men to fill posts of honor and emolument; such as fills the country with useless colleges, not to give dignity to letters, or advance the interests of education, but to add to the domain of a sect.

It is almost incredible to what length the Casuists went in perverting truth, morals and religion, in order to compass their ends, and we doubt if the exposure of Pascal would have been believed had he not pointed to chapter and verse. Pascal, however, was a genius rather than a man of learning, and was doubtless assisted by his friend Arnauld, the most learned theologian in Europe, and the most renowned of the Port Royalists, who was versed in all the writings of his adversaries, as well as in the lore of both fathers and schoolmen. It was Arnauld, the great doctor of the Sorbonne, brother of the Mère Angelique, the illustrious author of "*La Frequente Communion*," the pupil and friend of St. Cyran, the object of Richelieu's early admiration; the indefatigable scholar whose writings are so numerous that the printed list of distinct treatises occupies twenty six closely printed octavo pages—it was he who furnished Pascal with authorities and citations, and it was Pascal who artistically arranged them, and shot them, like deadly arrows from his Ulysses bow into the heart of that great society which monopolized the most lucrative and important offices of the church, which controlled the proud Nebuchadnezzar of France, which extended its Briarean arms over all the potentates of Catholic Europe, and watched with forty four thousand inquisitorial eyes every European cabinet and institution. The world had begun to fear that monster which had guarded the avenues of thought, which had stolen the secrets of courts and cabinets, which had engrossed the revenues of states, and which sought to imprison every fearless advocate of the rights of man. It had been shocked by that barbarity which filled the prisons of the Inquisition, which waylaid the Protestants at St. Bartholomew, which enacted the cruelties of Alva, which instigated

Gunpowder Plots, which kindled the fires of Smithfield, which flayed Fra Diavolo, and which had marked the steps of persecuting bigots throughout Europe with a trail of blood : but it was scarcely prepared for the horrid exposure which revealed sophistries of so subtle and demoralizing influence, that, if acted upon, no king could be safe on his throne, no family secure from the treachery of servants, no traveller from the attacks of robbers, no husband from the infidelity of his wife, no woman from the slanders of foes. It was shown that two hundred and ninety six writers in Spain, Portugal and Flanders, endorsed by the Society of Jesus, had put forth the most demoralizing doctrines, and that these again had been systematized by twenty four Jesuits, called the four and twenty elders, the chief of whom were Molina and Escobar, the latter of whose works were printed no less than sixty times in one single year. These were diffused throughout Europe ; and while they did not openly vindicate murder, robbery, simony, and adultery—crimes which peculiarly prevailed in the South of Europe—yet they excused them by a specious casuistry which mocked all reason, all authority and all Scripture, a casuistry which would be laughable, if it were not diabolical. Perjury was allowable, if the perjured were inwardly persuaded not to swear. Fasting may be dispensed with, provided a man is hungry. Servants may steal, provided they deem themselves not well paid. A son may exult in the death of his father, provided it is for the sake of the profit which is to accrue, and not from personal aversion. A man may fight a duel, if he is in danger of being called a coward, *gallina et non vir* ; he may kill his neighbor for an insult or a blow ; he may slay an enemy, if he have any reasonable fears of being attacked ; he may betray the confidence of his friend, if the betrayal will benefit his party or his cause. Says Escobar, “it is perfectly right to kill a person who has given us a box on the ear, although he should run away, and the reason is, that it is as lawful to pursue a thief who has stolen our honor as him who has run away with our property.” Father Baldelle, one of the four and twenty elders, declares that you may lawfully take the life of another for saying you have told a lie, provided there is no other way of shutting his mouth. Even the great Lessius shows that it is

lawful to kill merely for a single gesture or sign of contempt. Molina decided that it was right for a judge to take bribes, when given for friendship's sake, or to oblige him to pay special attention to a cause. "Usury," said Escobar, "is allowable, if exacted as a debt of gratitude." "Female gallantries," said Father Bauny, "are to be tolerated, since a woman has the sole possession of her own honor." "The celebration of the mass is complied with, provided a man hears, at four different times, four different parts of the same mass." Father Aunat maintained "that if a man could bring himself not to think of God at all, everything would be well with him in time coming." Ignorance and forgetfulness of God justify sinners more than grace and repentance. According to the four and twenty elders, a man is bound to give in charity only from his superfluities, but a worldly man has no superfluities, since he needs everything for self-gratification. Father Bauny says "that a man may frequent profligate houses, with a view of converting their inmates, though the probabilities are that he will fall." But all these maxims yielded in absurdity to those relating to the doctrine of probability, by which a man could adopt any opinion, however false, provided some doctor of reputation had pronounced it probable. Father Filutius says, "that it is allowable to follow the least-probable opinion, even though it be the less safe." No one is bound, according to Mendoza, to love God but once a year, and that it ought to be regarded as a great favor not to be bound to do so oftener. According to Father Cormick, once in three or four years, and according to Filutius, "it is probable we are not strictly bound once in five years," and as probable opinions are safe, a man may go on with impunity in any sin, provided, at less intervals, he seeks absolution. It was not enough to permit men to indulge in forbidden things, under these wretched palliations, but the Casuist doctors went beyond this, and struck at the very heart of piety by holding out the monstrous doctrine that to love God is not necessary to salvation; that the dispensation from loving him is the privilege which Christ introduced into the world. Thus all the principles of morality were upturned in order to gratify the inclinations of rich and powerful people. Sin was made to consist in the intention, and not the act. Perjury and lying

were divested from criminality by mental reservations. Even absolution was given to him who candidly avowed that the hope of being absolved induced him to sin with more freedom. Boilau may have well ridiculed these absurdities when he wrote

“ If Bourdaloue, a little too severe,
Cries, ‘ fly from pleasure’s fascination ’ ;
‘ Dear Father,’ cries another, ‘ Escobar
Permits it as healthy relaxation.’ ”

Pascal, however, was shocked, both at the puerility and atrocity of these Casuist doctrines ; he was indignant, filled with amazement that such absurdities and impieties could have been sanctioned by a society which claimed the homage of mankind, and the gratitude of the church. The very foundations of Christianity were assailed, as well as of law and order. The understanding of the world was insulted ; all distinctions between virtue and vice were destroyed ; the heart was systematically hardened, and the conscience hopelessly seared.

Pascal, in view of these great dangers, resolved to come to the rescue of the church and of morality, as Bernard did on the report of Abelard’s sophistries. He came armed with every weapon of sarcasm, irony, and awful invective. He wanted war, uncompromising war ; and would neither spare nor pity. He abandoned himself to a full exposure of these casuistic doctrines, fearless of results, and indifferent to danger and hatred. Yet he protected himself behind a rampart which no one could approach, behind an invisible defence. He became an enemy, all the more to be dreaded since he could neither be reached nor punished, nor even suspected.

“ I fear you not,” writes he to Father Aunat, “ either on my own account, or that of any other. I shall elude all your attempts to lay hold of me. You may touch Port Royal, if you choose ; but you cannot touch me. You may turn people out of the Sorbonne, but you will not turn me out of my domicile. You may hatch plots against priests and doctors, but not against me, for I am neither one nor the other. I am beyond your reach, without engagement, entanglement or business of any kind, qualified to deal with your errors, well versed in your maxims, and determined, as God gives me light, to discuss them without any earthly consideration to arrest or slacken my endeavors.”

“And with what natural fire,” says Villemain, “with what pitiless irony, with what humor worthy of the ancient comedy, did Pascal fulfill his mission. Have not the doctrine of probability, and the regulation of motive become immortal by the ridicule with which he clothed them? That art of pleasantry, that mockery which Socrates made use of, that instructive and comic piquancy which Rabelais soiled with the cynicism of his words, that inner and profound humor that animates Molière, is the imperishable merit of the ‘Provincial Letters.’”

After a rapid, humorous, and familiar exposure of the casuistry of the Jesuits, which smote the public as with the plague of ridicule—like St. Jerome in his writings against Jovinian, Tertullian in his apology against the folly of idolators, and St. Augustine against the monks of Africa—all to indicate the wounds that might be given, rather than what were really inflicted, as a tiger sports with his prey before he devours it; after turning the Casuists over in every part, and presenting everything that was ludicrous, or false, or disgusting to the gaze of astonished Europe, making them to appear as madmen, fools, and blasphemers, perfectly hideous and monstrous, and so clearly and truthfully that he could not be gainsayed, and they could not rally from the ridicule and obloquy with which he covered them, Pascal then changed his weapons, and overwhelmed them with reproach, invective and serious reprimand, in language stronger and more sublime than ever fell from Demosthenes, or Chrysostom, or Bossuet, burning with the highest eloquence of logic and wrath.

We need not dwell on the effects of these masterly and immortal letters, written and rewritten with the greatest art, and corrected by the most learned theologian of the age. They were read by everybody, as Junius was read one hundred years ago, devoured by all classes alike, and enjoyed by the secret enemies of the Jesuits, so that nothing was talked about, either in court, or the green rooms of the theatres, but probabilities and mental reservations. “Tartuffe became pale before Escobar.” Old Cardinal Noailles, the prime minister, shook his sides with laughter. Prelates, philosophers and poets united with statesmen and jurists in admiration and praise. Even ladies gossiped about this new revelation, and became theolo-

gians, for the seventeenth century was a theological age. In the court of Louis XIV. as well as before in that of Henry VIII., grand seigneurs and noble dames assumed to discuss free will, decrees, and predestination. There was a charm in such disquisitions, then, which we, engrossed by the greater matters of railroads, spindles, bugs and gases, cannot well appreciate. How our popular writers would open their eyes, if required by the public for whom they cater, to discuss such questions as interested Plato or Anselm, or John Howe. But the "more advanced" men of our generation, dwelling on the progressive developments of civilization, prefer to magnify the majesty of man rather than the majesty of God. What are such dry and obsolete themes as theological inquiry delights in, to our more cultivated communities, with all the wonders of science and political philosophy which are yet to be explored? What are the holy certitudes of our moral nature, and our relations to God and the future, compared with the facts of chemistry, new breeds of horses, agricultural improvements, railroads, and electrical experiments? What a miserable age that must have been when our fathers engaged in the sports of logical tournaments, or lost interest in present evils from the contemplation of the infinite and eternal!

But we return to the baffled Casuists who had been made ridiculous by a man of genius. The Jesuits were utterly confounded. They were incapable of making even a respectable defence. They were driven from the field as divines and teachers, and their name became synonymous with art and cunning and unscrupulous selfishness. They were abhorred and despised. They never recovered from the blow. They never raised their heads again with that proud defiance which they wore before upon their brow. The barbed shaft which had been shot from a bow doubly strung, and which genius allied with piety alone could have bent, penetrated to the heart of the argus-eyed monster, even as the pebble from the brook pierced the Philistine giant who had defied that God in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.

See the wondrous power of an immortal book. Great in the majesty of ideas, it overturns systems and thrones, and creates revolutions that the mightiest monarch cannot resist. Great

was Rousseau when he sent forth his "Centrat Social," and his "Nouvelle Heloise." They produced the French Revolution. But Pascal overturned a greater throne than that of a Bourbon king, and removed from the necks of Christendom an intolerable yoke.

Nor was that book immortal from the force of ideas alone. Like Schiller's "Thirty Years' War," like Voltaire's "Charles XII.," like Hume's "History of England," like Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," its power is in style. Learned works pass away like encyclopædias. The knowledge is stolen by the next generation and put in more pleasing form. Neander's "History of the Church" is the most learned that has been written, but it will soon be reproduced in another form, and be laid aside. It is not sufficiently artistic to live. What preserves the orations of Cicero, or the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard"? It is style. It is art. Any real work of art lives like the marbles of Lysippus, or the pictures of Raphael. So the "Provincial Letters" live, long after the subjects to which they relate have lost all interest to the common mind. So "Corinne" will live, and the letters of Madame de Sévigné, long after the novels and histories which delight our generation have passed away. Let no one sneer at style. It is art, and art is as imperishable as thoughts.

But Pascal not only rendered invaluable services by exposing the sophistries of the Casuists, but his influence was equally great in confirming the principles of theology. These had been perverted by the Jesuits as well as the principles of moral science. But the church had lost sight of them, and no longer truly endorsed them.

What were these doctrines which he deemed so vital, and which had been systematized by the great fathers of the Latin church? Everybody knows that Augustine, the great oracle of the Catholic church, maintained what are called by theologians, the doctrines of grace, by which alone a man can obey the injunctions of Christ, in opposition to Pelagius, who advocated the natural ability of man, by his own self-determining power, to conquer all inclination to evil. The opinions of Augustine were accepted by the Western church, and his theology was the thesaurus of the schools for one thousand years.

In the Middle ages the great questions which were supposed to be settled, were reproduced by the metaphysicians, and controverted in a dialectical spirit. Among those who took the deepest interest in these semi-theological and semi-philosophical questions were the Dominicans and Franciscans. The former, with Thomas Aquinas at their head, took the side of Augustine; the latter that of Pelagius. The controversy, however, was conducted in a dry and technical manner, and had but little interest except to metaphysicians. Hence the interminable disputes about "free will, fate, and foreknowledge absolute." The Jesuits, when they had succeeded the old monks in the chairs of universities, took the side of the Franciscans and the old Pelagians. The Dominicans, especially in Spain, who still possessed considerable influence, and who hated the Jesuits, by whom they had been supplanted, revived with fresh ardor the Augustinian doctrines. In 1588, Molina, the Casuist and Jesuit wrote a book on the concord of grace with free will, which made a great impression. The Dominicans raised a storm, and represented the book as more thoroughly Pelagian than had yet appeared in Europe, and as Pelagianism had been condemned by the church, the orthodox party was grievously scandalized. The university of Louvain entered the lists as a defender of the doctrines which the church had endorsed. One of its most learned doctors, Jansen, spent thirty years in writing a book to refute the Jesuit Molina. This learned treatise, called *Augustinus*, made a profounder sensation than the work of Molina. It was a blow aimed against the Jesuit theology. Catholic Europe perceived that Molina's doctrines, right or wrong, were not those of the great oracle of the church. The Jesuits, therefore, were not orthodox. Yet they were the great defenders of Romanism. Rome was puzzled and placed in an awkward dilemma.

If the Pope maintained the authority of the great father of the church, as his predecessors had done, he offended his best friends: if he sided with the Jesuits, he repudiated St. Augustine. Hence he prevaricated, delayed judgment, attempted to stifle inquiries, tried to reconcile what was irreconcilable. But all Europe was agitated; all the leading universities took sides; all the universities were divided among themselves. Some of

the doctors of the Sorbonne sided with Jansen. Among them was the illustrious Jean du Verger, abbot of St. Cyran, the early friend and companion of Jansen, a man of commanding talents and learning. He had still more illustrious disciples; among them were Arnauld, the greatest theologian of the age, Lemaitre, De Sacy, Nicoli, De Sericourt, Pascal and others; historians, philosophers, lawyers, scholars—an illustrious galaxy of wit and learning. Opposed by the university, and the leading powers of France, they retired to Port Royal des Champs, and consecrated themselves to study and piety. In this secluded valley, six miles from Versailles, where the Mère Angelique had presided with so much dignity, these recluses performed prodigies of labor. They were subsequently joined by some of the most distinguished people of France, the Duke de Liancourt, Tillemont, the Duchess of Lonqueville, the Marchesses of Sévigné and Sablé, the Prince and Princess of Conti, the Queen of Poland who visited this sacred retreat for advice and consolation. An ascetic pietism became fashionable. Dukes and duchesses mingled with scholars and philosophers, and rivalled each other in self denial. In all the freedom of untrammelled thought, and in all the harmony of Christian love, these illustrious people discussed the great questions which Augustine had expounded to his admiring disciples in the gardens of Como. The great charm connected with them is, the exhibition of Christian virtues blended with the most cultivated social life. Every inmate was a gentleman and scholar. No one of them ever brought a stain upon their association. They were bound together by a lofty friendship such as existed between Jerome and Paula, and Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna.

Thus Jansenism arose. The Jesuits saw in this body of scholars and theologians their greatest enemies. And not without reason; for they exposed their wicked casuistry, as well as their unsound divinity. And they had sufficient influence with Louis XIV. and with Rome to secure their condemnation. The Port Royalists were cruelly persecuted; their famous abbey was destroyed, and they were driven away as fugitives and wanderers.

Pascal, fortunately, who had inflicted the heaviest blows upon the Jesuits, and who had done the most to establish the doctrines which St. Augustine had defended, was unmolested. In

his chambers at Paris, he showed with exquisite raillery the absurdity of the distinctions which the Jesuits made between efficient and efficacious grace. He exposed all the sophistries and quibbles to which they resorted to reconcile these heresies with the received doctrines of the church. He made them as ridiculous as theologians as they were as moralists — unscrupulous and false guides of the youth over whom they had ruled.

And then, having demolished their absurdities in the "*Lettres Provinciales*" with infuriating sarcasm and remorseless logic, he sung another song, and soared to higher flights. In his "*Pensées*," that priceless gem of genius, he proposed on the Cartesian principle of consciousness to erect a system in harmony with Augustine. In these, the deductive method was alone observed, and this was in accordance with his genius, as with most of the great thinkers of the seventeenth century. Theology has nothing to do with facts. It assumes divine declarations as immutable truths, and reasons from them. No theological truth can be made more evident by reasoning to it, from outward phenomena. So far as theology is a science, it can only be advanced by deductive processes. The omniscient benevolence and omnipotence of God are fundamental verities, which consciousness attests. They are premises in all reasoning. From them we deduce the ultimate triumph of virtue and truth, and also doctrines not in harmony with the dogmas of mediæval priests. The justice of God and the degeneracy of man are also theological premises. From these the theologians have deduced the punishment of sin. But the truths of Scripture are vast and various. Hence the clashing of systems; hence the disputes of theologians. No man has yet proved himself able to harmonize these, or the deductions made from them. It is the remorseless and fearless logic of Calvin which perpetuates his fame, in reasoning from a certain class of truths. So of Edwards and the Scotch theologians. But no doctrines can be established in the realm of theology except from the deductive method. Induction has very little to do with them, and can scarcely substantiate them. This is a lesson to those who peculiarly consider themselves as scientific. The school of Buckle would repudiate theology altogether, for lack of facts.

The "Provincial Letters" had been mere play to Pascal, compared with his reflections on the great revelations of the Deity. Considered technically, the doctrines which he sought to establish have but little comparative interest. Free will and ability became to the theologians of the Middle ages, as to the Greeks, philosophical dogmas, and were unduly magnified, especially by Dominicans and Franciscans. The dogmas and pedantry of their discussions make us lose sight of the verities from which they were deduced—the majesty of God, and the comparative littleness of man. These were unsatisfactory, since they neither elevated the soul, nor prepared it for the higher life hereafter. Metaphysics are as barren in fruits when they seek to explain theological difficulties, as when they descend to such puerilities as amused the schoolmen. They are absolutely repulsive when proposed as tests of religious belief. It is a perversion of Christianity to draw attention from the declarations of God to fine spun theories as to our power to obey him. It is monstrous to compel the same assent to theories which come from the brain as those sublime mysteries which belong to the domain of faith. This is the rock on which theologians have split from the time of Athanasius to Jonathan Edwards. A mystery of faith can not be explained by reason. It is to be received as a test of our obedience. Better reject it than play with it, or dogmatise upon the speculations which it suggests. The "Thoughts" are lofty inquiries on the destiny of man. They are religious rather than dialectical, in the sense understood by theologians. They pertain to the soul rather than the intellect. They tend to draw attention from the finite to the infinite; they do not seek to measure the infinite by the finite. Human reason is finite. Faith can take no more cognizance of the deductions of reason, than reason can of the revelations of God, or physics of the laws of the mind. The spheres of each are eternally distinct. The unrivalled intellect of Pascal led him to perceive this truth, and his modesty and reverence kept him in the path of legitimate inquiries. Persuaded of this, he would waste no time in vain efforts to harmonize, with his intellectual pride, the things which angels desire to know. Here he was like all the great master intellects who have shed light upon our world, and was a striking contrast to those quacks and pre-

tenders who claim to have scaled the heavens ; such as the flip-pant Manicheans whom Augustine combatted, and the critical observers of rocks and shells who defy the testimony of the Scriptures.

It was not Roman Catholicism which induced Pascal to repudiate intellectual discussions as a means of solving the truths of Christianity, but the exalted grasp of his reason itself which told him how hopeless would be the attempt. And further it was his exalted reason, not piety alone, which reminded him of the infinite sublimity of the themes which religion presents to our consciences, over those outward facts and phenomena which are furnished by sense and observation. So that when he relinquished the pleasing occupation of his youth in the solution of natural phenomena for profound meditations of the spiritual life, he only fell in the estimation of men too shallow and worldly to appreciate the superior dignity of religious certitudes. If the soul is of more importance than the body, if immortality is grander than mundane experiences, if God is greater than man, then should we revere that moral wisdom which led him to prefer the greater to the less. What he says of human frailty, he verifies by an appeal to individual consciousness, and he equally recalls the mind to its innate sense of greatness. He gazes upon man as a noble ruin, and longs to see him restored to his primeval dignity. His "Pensées," those scattered thoughts which he wrote on scraps of paper as they occurred to him in his intervals of pain, have reference to the primary truths of all religion, rather than worldly interests or scientific discoveries. Hence all sects and parties accept them. He was too broad to be a sectarian partizan, although his tenets were, in general, those of St. Augustine, and at which the great Christian philosopher of the fifth century arrived by the same processes, and in the same spirit, amid the wrecks of the dissolving world, as it must have seemed to the contemplative classes, in the destruction of the ancient civilization. Yet there is no despair nor doubt in those immortal aphorisms, as Cousin intimates ; no cynicism nor scepticism seeking refuge in blind credulity. "*Le fond même de l'âme de Pascal est une scepticisme universel, contre lequel il ne trouve d'asile que dans une foi volontairement aveugle.*" "He does not deny

that there is sufficient evidence of the many great principles to which scepticism objects; he only maintains that we do not arrive at them by demonstration." "The knowledge of first principles," says Pascal, "as the ideas of space, time, motion, numbers, matter, is as unequivocally certain as any that reason imparts." Pyrrhonism controverts the certainty of principles perceived by intuition, and boasts of victory when it has shown that they can not be demonstrated by reasoning. But who was more severe on these universal sceptics than Pascal himself? He may have his doubts; what earnest thinking man has not? In seasons of depression and physical ailment he may have cast some gloomy shadows on the magnificent fragments of the edifice he sought to build. "*D'en avoir vu jours les preuves presentes, l'est trop d'affaire.*" But the habit of his mind was a profound rest on the great truths which filled his mind. If these were not certain, nothing was to him. On the *cogito, ergo sum*, he would plant his ladder, on which, like that of the Hebrew patriarch, he would mount to the gates of heaven. From innate ideas he would evolve a series of consequences with which the mighty fabric of revealed truth should harmonize. "From a review of the relations and analogies between the nature of man and the revelation of God, he would work out a chain of evidences, linking together those primary verities which our consciousness attests, and those ultimate truths which Christianity declares." Doubts he may have had, even as the monks of Syria were assailed by devils; but amid their torments he would feed his soul, with ardent and sincere enthusiasm, on the certitudes of life. Yea, he would not leave unanswered any of those doubts which are so prone to distract the mind, and which he, more than any other man, had anticipated in his own experience. Not on a mystic theurgy, would he, like Plato and Porphyry, repose; nor on a blind credulity, like a Spanish devotee, but in the arms of Christian faith, which alone explained the origin of life, and the destiny of man. Only a positive religion could bring him consolation, or seemed worthy of his belief. "What are all the interests and passions of earth, in comparison with that great interest of the spiritual being searching after itself?" All his struggles were against doubt and scepticism. He had sought to emancipate reason,

but only secured the authority of conscience. Then he consumed himself with efforts to construct a barricade against the limitless invasion of scepticism. Nothing but the dogmas of Christianity seemed a safeguard. These he attempted, with the arm of that reason which he repudiated, to reconcile with consciousness. We do not discover in him the practical piety of Vincent St. Paul seeking to make converts, or the tenderness of Fenelon with that affection which the gospel breathes. He did not speak to the heart, but to the mind, in his loftiest dissertations on the "greatness and misery of man." There is a sublime sadness in all his meditations, sometimes approaching to bitter invective against human nature, sometimes rising to an incomparable eloquence, yet always sublime by good sense as well as genius. The instinct of a spiritual philosophy inspires him with almost preternatural power, and sets at defiance his mental weakness in the comparison between the nothingness of earth and the majesty of his Maker, from which, amid the turbulence of doubts, his soul derives hope and joy.

But his great work he was not destined to complete. It is doubtful if even he could have completed it had his health and life been spared. It was a task beyond the energies of man. Had he succeeded he would have rendered a greater service to theological science than Augustine himself. But it only remains a fragment, like the "superb porticoes amid the sands of Egypt which no longer lead to a temple which the ages have destroyed — the vast debris which preserve their frail immutability in the midst of ancient ruins." But fragments as they are, they still constitute the most effectual succor by which the Christian philosopher would relieve his mind from the burdens of scepticism. The "*Lettres Provinciales*" are immortal as a work of art, the "*Pensées*" for the richness and originality of ideas. The former contributed, more than any other book in the French language, to establish it; the latter to give dignity to the highest studies which can task the intellect of man. He could not have developed language by words alone. He is eloquent by the thoughts which exalt the mind. He drew his inspiration from the purest fountains. "He approached Port Royal pre-occupied with the philosophy of Epictetus, and the uncertainties of Montaigne," the only two writers who ever

deeply fascinated him ; he left it absorbed with the verities of St. Paul. In the gospel he buried both his reason and his pride. He was the precursor of Moliere in the comic dialogues of the "Provincial Letters," and of Voltaire in the clearness of his style. In his "Thoughts" he was the founder of innumerable books, subtle and comprehensive as Bacon, original and searching as Leibnitz. Not a single word he uttered has become obsolete, and his books, after two centuries, are as fresh as if they had been written in the last generation. In severity of taste, in brilliancy of wit, and profundity of thought he stands without a peer. He combines, as a writer, the excellences of Moliere, of Bossuet, of Voltaire, and of La Rochefoucauld. The "Horæ Paulinæ" of Paley are but an extension of one of his ideas. In one paragraph he has exhausted all that is contained in the "Bampton Lectures" respecting the contrasts between Mohammedanism and Christianity.

Such, O Pascal, thou miracle of universal genius, were thy mighty labors, and who can tell the influence of these? Who can measure this influence in giving a blow to infidelity, in demolishing the casuistry of the received teachers of the Roman Catholic church, in planting morality on an immutable foundation, in re-establishing the creed of the ancient doctors, in undermining the power of the Jesuits, in animating the Jansenists with courage and fortitude, in breaking the yoke of spiritual despotism, and, indirectly, of destroying the bondage of Bourbon despots and preparing the way for those great agitations which may yet result in the recognition of truths which save cities and empires? Yea, and more, thy bright example shall shine through all the ages as one of the monumental pillars of progress to remind mankind of that moral wisdom which makes all attainments subordinate to the life which is to come.

ARTICLE VII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“He that covereth his sins shall not prosper.”—*Proverbs*, xxviii. 13.

THE right treatment of sin is to confess and to forsake it, as we are directed in the last clause of this verse. The contrary of this is what is meant by covering our sins. Observe these points :

1. Sinners are ever trying to cover their sins. Adam and Eve began it, and every tempted soul is a copyist of their folly. It is done (a) By denying individual depravity. (b) By confounding moral distinctions. (c) By concealing separate acts of wickedness.

2. How these shall not prosper. They do not (a) In satisfying themselves. Nor (b) In deceiving or misleading others. Sins so covered are like dead men buried in the snow. It will melt by and by, and discover the skeleton, perhaps the whole undecayed corpse. Nor (c) In deceiving God. He finds “a hole in the wall” through which to look, as in Ezekiel. Rather, all walls, to his eye, are the most transparent crystal.

3. Why they shall not thus prosper. They are at war with the moral order of God’s government: at war with truth, and right, and benevolence, and omnipotence: at war with the day and purpose of final and eternal judgment.

“Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, are mighty in power?”—*Job* xxi. 7.

SEVERAL answers suggest themselves, in the light of observation and the Scriptures: as,

(a) To aid in carrying forward the general business of the world.

(b) To be employed as agents of God’s executive power and justice among men.

(c) To aid the Christian growth of the regenerate in the way of discipline, attrition, self-sacrifice.

(d) To show, in a full grown manifestation, how essentially corrupt is human nature.

(e) To illustrate the divine long-suffering — God’s goodness and grace.

(f) To become subjects of that saving grace, though the effectual work of the Holy Spirit in souls receiving his mercy.

Conclusion. Though all human souls are not eventually saved, yet, in important respects, no one can be said to have lived altogether in vain. God is glorified in each and all of his rational creatures.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

- 1.—*A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life.* With a Complete Bibliography of the subject. By WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER. Philadelphia: Geo W. Childs. pp. 914. 1864.

WE have in this goodly octavo a work of great research, and of rare value to the student as a book of reference in relation to a subject of the last importance. It is, what it purports to be, a history. The plan is comprehensive and philosophical. The whole is arranged in five divisions or parts, of which the first, under the general head of "Historical and Critical Introductory Views," gives, in four chapters, "Theories of the Soul's Origin"; "History of Death"; "Grounds of the Belief in a Future Life"; and "Theories of the Soul's Destination." Part second, under "Ethnic Thoughts Concerning a Future Life," presents, in twenty four chapters the history of almost as many doctrines of a future life, as held by various nations, barbarous and enlightened, in different ages of the world. In Part third, Mr. Alger gives, in seven chapters, the "New Testament Teachings Concerning a Future Life." Part fourth, under "Christian Thoughts Concerning a Future Life" contains, in three chapters, a presentation of the doctrine of the early Fathers, the mediæval church, and the modern religious sects. Part fifth comprises nine "Historical and Critical Dissertations Concerning a Future Life." This part is of wide range, embracing some topics that are speculative and curious, as "Metempsychosis," and "Recognition of Friends in a Future Life": and others that are fundamental, as the "Resurrection of the Flesh," and "The Five Theoretic Modes of Salvation."

An exceedingly valuable feature of the work is the Appendix, containing the "Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life: or a Catalogue of Works Relating to the Nature, Origin, and Destiny of the Soul." By Ezra Abbott. This catalogue fills two hundred and thirty eight closely printed octavo pages. It is classed, with a chronological arrangement of the titles in each section, making the "catalogue in itself almost a history," as the compiler remarks. The libraries in which the various works are found, and other interesting facts in relation to them, are indicated by convenient abbreviations. A copious index of authors and anonymous works, and an index of subjects complete this unique catalogue, for the great labor and research bestowed in the preparation of which Mr. Abbott will have the sincere thanks of scholars.

The work, as we have said, is a history, as it claims to be, and it bears unmistakable marks of ability and scholarship. It also exhibits, we take pleasure to say, a commendable spirit of candor and fairness. That it should betray the theological proclivities of the author, is a thing to be expected. We have no fault to find with that. We do not, of course, accept Mr. Alger's theological conclusions, and we think that the manner in which some of these conclusions are put—possibly the best which the case admits—is an obvious plea of weakness. Thus the doctrine of future punishment is traced to "poets, rhetoricians, and popular teachers," nursing and developing the popular and vague idea of a hell, and still more to "hierarchic selfishness, dogmatic pride, and personal cruelty"; and then the fact that the doctrine is found in the New Testament is explained on the ground that Christ adopted the current phraseology of the age in which he lived, phraseology borrowed from "the Egyptians, Hindus, Greeks": and so this belongs not to "the inspired utterances of Jesus," but was "an error which crept in among others from the surrounding notions of a benighted pagan age." pp. 525, 6.

That is to say, Jesus Christ, in his preaching, employed the strongest possible language in relation to this subject—"hell, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched"—repeated the language with awful emphasis, and that in the way of a threatened punishment of the sins of those whom he was directly addressing, and yet this language was borrowed from the popular superstition and paganism, and meant nothing! Jesus Christ therefore, while he proclaimed himself the light of the world, became accessory to "hierarchic selfishness, dogmatic pride, and personal cruelty," not by silence but by plain, repeated, emphatic assertion; and the apostles, sent into all the world to teach, with the promise that the Holy

Spirit should guide them into all truth, never did the first thing to correct the popular, pagan superstition, the error that had crept in, but nourished it by preaching about "the terrors of the Lord," and "fiery indignation," leaving it to men of higher illumination, or greater courage to set matters right!

The particular point at which we should find ourselves, if we adopted Mr. Alger's book as a theological guide, is sufficiently indicated by a passage on page 518.

"Give up the material fire, and you lose the bodily resurrection. Renounce the bodily resurrection, and away goes the visible coming of Christ to a general judgment. Abandon the general judgment, and the climacteric completion of the church-scheme of redemption is wanting. Mar the wholeness of the redemption plan, and farewell to the incarnation and vicarious atonement. Neglect the vicarious atonement, and down crumbles the hollow and broken shell of the popular theology helplessly into its grave."

In other words, adopt Unitarianism, and we have not a single distinctive feature of Christianity left. We are clean back to paganism, with the added disadvantage that the old pagan belief in future retribution has been frozen out by magicians whose light is like that of the moon reflected by arctic icebergs.

2.—*The Mercy Seat; or, Thoughts on Prayer.* By AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, D.D., author of "The Better Land," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.

THIS is a very valuable manual, good for daily closet reading, and might be read through repeatedly in this way with advantage. The all-important subject of prayer is considered in a great variety of aspects, with much clearness and force, and with copiousness and felicity of illustration, from the Scriptures and many other sources. We like particularly Dr. Thompson's views on fasting, and commend what he has written to special attention. We believe these views are sustained alike by the word of God, philosophy and Christian experience. We believe that one main reason of the shallow and noisy piety of the present day is the fact that scriptural fasting has passed so strangely into neglect, and to sustain this neglect, incorrect views have been adopted.

We take leave to suggest that Dr. Thompson passes rather too hastily over the subject of posture in prayer, making it of too little importance. We suppose that there is an ultimate law which has a bearing in the case. Different states of the mind are expressed naturally by different bodily postures. And just as a different state

of mind, whether of anger and proud defiance, or of humility and devotion, assumes spontaneously the corresponding attitude, so, on the other hand, the attitude will tend to excite the corresponding mental state. We consider kneeling in prayer to be better than standing, and standing much better than sitting, the now so prevalent and deeply to be lamented custom in our Sabbath worship.

—*Hannah Thurston. A Story of American Life.* By BAYARD TAYLOR. New York: G. C. Putnam. 1864.

MR. TAYLOR is mainly and well known as a writer of his own travels. He has seen much of the surface of the earth and of human society and carries an easy pen for sketching what he has seen. He has observed and written, not as a philosopher or man of science, but simply as an observer. He has travelled for those who could not, and acted as a good recorder for them. So he has deservedly had a large constituency of readers, and a good reputation in his chosen field. In this volume he enters on untried work, and does not succeed. Mr. Taylor is no novelist. He has done surface work too long to analyze successfully the human passions and the interior structure of social life. Yet undertaking to do this is not the greatest mistake in this book. It is an attempt to satirize and slur some of the best interests of the larger and better portion of American society. The volume in its aim and substance is an attack on Temperance, Revivals, and Christian Missions. This is impolitic, ungenerous and unchristian in Bayard Taylor. It is impolitic, because in his proper field as an author he has a fair name, and for him it is worth preserving. It is ungenerous in him so to malign the better enterprises and feelings of so many of those who have given him patronage, wealth and a position in society. It is unchristian to sneer at the great moral campaign and victories of the temperance reformation, the revivals that have characterized the church from the day of Pentecost to this present, and the glorious work and fruit of Christian missions. How much of Christianity has the man in our day and land who heaps ridicule, to the extent of his power, on the noble endeavors of the whole church of God to obey the last command of our ascending Lord: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature"? As coming from Mr. Taylor the book lacks taste, tact and good principle. It belongs, so far as its ruling spirit is concerned, with the soft and yellow covered progeny of a more obscure press. It is too late in the progress of our civilization and Christianity for good writers in good society to sneer at the great philanthropic and Christian enterprises of the day.

Mr. Taylor has shown much talent in Hannah Thurston in representing or rather misrepresenting the leading features in American society by the choice of his characters and the speeches he assigns to them, and the parts generally that he gives them to perform. In all this he studiously endeavors to degrade the enterprises in question and to disgust the reader with their aim, spirit and management. The talent of his characters and the force of his story are made to fall on the side of those who sneer and laugh at "the coats and garments which Dorcas made," and the "two mites" of the poor widow, and the humble piety that has planted so many Christian missions and made so many dark lands to bud and blossom as the rose. This is not well. Mr. Taylor has mistaken the tone of the reading public, even if he has not misrepresented his own. Perhaps he has travelled so long abroad as to have lost the progress of his own land. We advise him to make the tour of the Northern States of America, seek entrance to the best society, and catch the spirit of the noblest enterprises of the day. If Hannah Thurston has a younger sister, yet unmarried, we think she might find a better settlement than the one of whom we now take our leave.

4.—*The Freedom of the Will, as a Basis of Human Responsibility and Divine Government*, elucidated and maintained in its issue with the Necessitarian Theories of Hobbes, Edwards, the Princeton Reviewers and other leading Advocates. By D. D. WHEDON, D.D. 12mo. pp. 438. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864.

THE distinguished editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* throws his banner to the breeze with sufficient dauntlessness, in the above title-page. As in the title-page, so in the preface of this volume:

"Upon such a subject it is a matter of course that, agreeing or disagreeing, a writer would have something to say of President Edwards. Disagreeing with him fundamentally, the present writer has taken an unequivocal but respectful issue with that great thinker. Whether he has not demonstrated forever the existence of a number of undeniable fallacies in the "Inquiry" on the Will, fallacies that vitiate its most important conclusions, it is for the reader to judge." p. 3.

"In acuteness the intellect of Edwards has scarcely been surpassed. No cause, perhaps, ever had a keener advocate. *Advocate*, we say; for the intellect of Edwards was not, we venture to suggest, like that of Bacon, *judicial*, but *forensic*. He was not the Chancellor in the high court of thought, but the Attorney. He was born to his case; he ac-

cepted it as of course ; his mind was shaped by and to it ; and if his philosophy and theology are not triumphant, it is not, we repeat, for the want of about the acutest advocate that ever framed a special plea." p. 4.

This is explicit. We might criticise these paragraphs, by saying, that to have shown some difficulties in the Edwardean doctrine of the will is not consequently to have demonstrated its falseness ; nor to have shielded the antagonist theory of this author from the just charge of equally serious objections. To find or drill cracks in a wall is not always to build a stronger one. Further, as to special pleading — there is doubtless such an offence among disputants ; but this is so common a fling at an opponent, that it would have better comported with the dignity of the challenger of so respectable an advocate of the other side, to have omitted this preliminary effort at belittling ; especially as the better class of minds competent to judge the case will certainly take issue with this opinion of Dr. Whedon. But these personalities are not of much moment.

As may be already surmised, this volume is an earnest plea for the self-determining power of the will — the "choosing to choose" theory of those who can see no way but this out of fatalism. So, this author lays it down that any law of invariability destroys the liberty of the will. This amounts to the statement that the will to be free must be wholly clear of all extraneous determining influence, as it swings on its pivot hither and thither. Yet an attempt is made to reconcile this with the actual uniformity noticeable in human choices — a uniformity much too constant, in our view, to be rationally accounted for on the loose, hap-hazard philosophy of this treatise. We detect nothing particularly new in the arguments, inferences, objections which are again marshalled to buttress this theory. In the prosecution of his work, the author criticises and condemns various reasonings and opinions not only of Edwards and Hobbes, (we see not why they should be thus coupled) but of Mackintosh, President Day, Mill, Locke, Upham, Lawrence, Pond, Haven, and other defenders of the many modifications of the Calvinian philosophy. We are amused to find the latter gentleman written down as "absurd" and "ludicrous" for merely not going quite so far as Dr. W. in his attempts to overturn Edwards on the Will. The book throughout is controversial. This gives it great spirit and point. We see not how its doctrines, if fairly carried out, could fail to take the human soul entirely out of its Maker's hands and government, so far as any decisive divine power over us is concerned. The argument is a very able defence of the metaphysical ground of the Arminian theology. Its definitions are carefully phrased if not always sound. Its style is lucid. Its tone gentlemanly though often caustic. Without

attempting, in a notice like this, to controvert its sentiments, we thus give as good an idea as we can of the character and pretensions of the work; while we greatly doubt if it carries much conviction to any who are not already persuaded of its correctness. Edwards, we fancy, will not surrender his Gibraltar for this broadside.

5.—*The Story of the New Priest in Conception Bay.* By ROBERT LOWELL. A New Edition. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 282—284. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1864.

WE thank the publishers for a new issue of this book. Re-reading it leisurely, after a few years' interval, we are more than confirmed in our first impressions of its very unusual power. This, with the same author's recent volume of poems, is an ample basis of a high and enduring literary fame. We put such works in contrast with the wordy fecundity of some of our writers, and honor the genius, with a peculiar homage, which is content to ask for the public ear so seldom, in the consciousness that, when it speaks, it has something to say worth the hearing.

The excellences of this "Story" are many. Its location is new and strange. The author's long residence as a clergyman in Newfoundland has enabled him to give us its physical features and the peculiar life of its people as graphically and intelligibly as Scott has introduced us to the Orkneys in his "Pirate." He thus has enlarged our geographical knowledge very pleasantly, where most persons would look for nothing of this description. But Mr. Lowell's strength lies in the study and portraiture of character. He has the genuine dramatic insight and sense of truthfulness which grasps the essential differences among men, and never confuses these in outlining their careers. In the dozen or more actors in this insular drama, each is a clearly cut figure, from the honest dullard Jesse and his echo Izik, to the other and uppermost end of the series. Running along this ascent we have, in various distribution, among others, a marvellously concentrated quintessence of Yankeeism in that brilliant Needham-er, L. Nathan (Elnathan) Rangs, whose attempts to be brought over to the Roman Catholic faith (which he winds up by an original magic-lantern "mirycle" of his own contrivance) are as good a specimen of the *reductio ad absurdum* as logic and wit ever perpetrated. Bangs is the incarnation of the mercurial, inventive, sharp-witted, irrepressible spirit of our Northern people, in its middle-class development. Very different from him, in William Ladford, we have the wild, rough free-booter regenerated into the tender, childlike piety of a Mary Magdalene; and in good skipper George,

a model of patriarchal faith, simplicity, and submission which reminds us of no one so much as the old Hebrew emigrant from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan. His love for his lost Lucy, and his resignation and self-command are morally sublime. In all this, there is no taint of a mawkish sentimentality. The religious tone of the volume is thoroughly healthy.

Its chief interest centres in three Roman priests who are fine types of their respective classes: Father Terence O'Toole (who tried so unsuccessfully to convert Mr. Bangs) the easy, old fashioned, charitable papist, who dies almost a Protestant, and we would hope, quite a Christian; Father Nicholas, the handsome, "ivory-faced" intriguing, unprincipled, rising Jesuit; and Father Debree, a pervert from the church of England, a noble, generous, pure-minded man, who finds no place for conscience or heart in his new church; and, after terrible strugglings, escapes back from its meshes into his former fold, and dies most sorrowfully yet triumphantly, at almost the same moment. He is the "New Priest." The most difficult part of the plot to manage is his relations to his discarded wife, who is closely blended with the narrative throughout, a woman worthy of such a man. We do not think it could have been done better; we can think of no task more delicate.

The *morale* of the book is a most telling dissuasive from going over to the Romish church for spiritual repose. The ever present contrast running along between the life of a pure Christianity and the spirit and fruits of Popery is admirably effective; and all the more so because we never once are so much as requested to observe it. It grasps and holds us by its own resistless reality.

6. — *America and her Commentators.* With a Critical Sketch of Travel in the United States. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. 8vo. pp. viii, 460. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864.

WHAT our country is, and what foreigners and others have thought of us, are the topics of this book. It bears marks of patient, honest labor in its construction. It shows a vast amount of pertinent reading, and a healthful digestion thereof. Its plan may be seen in the larger titles of its chapters: Early Discoverers and Explorers; French Missionary Explorations; French Travellers and Writers; British Travellers and Writers; English Abuse of America; Northern European Writers; Italian Travellers; American Travellers and Writers.

It is obvious that the author has struck upon a very prolific vein of metal; just as obvious that all of it is not gold or silver. Plenty

of brass, pewter, and pinchbeck is turned up by the pick, and labelled accordingly. The reading public owe thanks to this critic for this segregating and stamping process. It has given him a fine opportunity to use his scholarship, discrimination and good sense. He has done it good-naturedly but faithfully, showing up a great many absurd things in our commentators from abroad, and honestly allowing for not a few of the same absurdities in ourselves. Our British cousins figure somewhat ridiculously in this procession of travelled gentry. Grouping them as here into a constellation of not very shining stars, they quite excite our commiseration in their evident want of the school-master *abroad*. Continental visitors have grasped the idea of our distinctive life much better as a class. The conclusions which we gather up from this *resume* are full of honorable stimulus and expectancy concerning the future of our national career when we shall have cast off the weights which have heretofore hampered our progress in Christian civilization.

7.—*Hillard's Readers*. New Series. Boston: Brewer & Tileston.

HILLARD'S Series of Readers has been used in our public schools more or less extensively for some years past, and has acquired a high reputation. This "New Series" comprises seven volumes, commencing with the "First Primary," a most attractive book for children, with large clear type on tinted paper, and beautifully illustrated with original designs by Billings, engraved by John Andrew, pp. 72, and closing with the Sixth Reader for the use of advanced classes, with an introductory treatise on elocution, by Prof. Mark Bailey; pp. 424.

It is a very complete and a very admirable series. All except the fifth and sixth have pictorial illustrations. The progress, from the First Primary to the last of the series, is well adjusted. In the preparation of the rules and exercises for training the vocal organs and securing a clear and full articulation, Mr. Hillard has wisely availed himself of the aid of experienced instructors, leaving nothing to be desired in this respect. The selections in prose and poetry are made with Mr. Hillard's characteristic taste and sound judgment, embracing a very wide range, and making the concluding volumes of the series an excellent introduction to English literature.

Of one feature in these books we wish to speak in terms of very particular commendation. It is that the words for spelling are arranged in columns, instead of being jumbled together in the form of paragraphs. We assert confidently that words arranged in columns are much more pleasant to the eye of children; each word is seen distinctly as a picture, and the art of spelling is acquired much more

readily. We assert this confidently because we have seen the thing tested by experiment in several schools at once of different grades, and with a uniform result.

8. — *European Mosaic*. By HOWARD PAYSON ARNOLD. 12mo. pp. 339. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1864.

WE commend Mr. Arnold's volume to our readers as an uncommonly well written and discriminating account of life, institutions, and scenery on the Continent of Europe. It is a series of leisurely and thoughtful studies of the salient features of this subject, evincing a ripe scholarship and a Christian spirit. The exposure of the Papal worship and policy is most damaging to that establishment, especially as the writer only sets down what is absolutely unavoidable, if one undertakes to say anything truthfully on that topic. The book merits a liberal patronage.

9.— *A Woman's Ransom*. By FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBINSON. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1864.

THIS novel has two good points. It keeps its *denouement* so skillfully wrapped up that no one foresees it till the end; and it paints an accomplished, genteel, intellectual villain without throwing around him any of the dazzle which, from Milton to Bulwer Lytton, has been the evil of putting genius and rascality into the same creation.

10.— *Christian Memorials of the War; or Scenes and Incidents illustrative of Religious Faith and Principle, Patriotism and Bravery in our Army*. With Historical Notes. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, Professor in Newton Theol. Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

WE reach the high level of our Christian patriotism, there is much of it in our army and out of it, in this volume. The Editor has culled these choice fragments from a vast amount of similar material. He has done his task with a faultless judgment and a warm sympathy with the records which it perpetuates.

11.— MISCELLANEOUS. The Mass. S. S. Society has published "The Sabbath-school Chestnuts," written by Mr. Bullard, the Secretary. It is a beautiful story and all true about Mr. Constantine, the young Greek, and the Shutesbury Sabbath-school, the old lady in it and her offering of chestnuts, and the energetic Secretary's profitable use of them. In his hands they have been as "a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains," and the fruit thereof has shaken well into the treasury of the Society. One of the most

truthful and attractive features of the book is an engraving of the author's face.

The Boston Tract Society has added Vols. V and VI. of the Temperance Tales. Admirable, always new and welcome everywhere. "Letters to a Theological Student" by the same Society, is a comforting, encouraging, stimulating book to a godly student who desires the office of a bishop. We have read many larger volumes and obtained much less profit from them in matters pertaining to the ministry. "Christ, the Children's Guide," by the same, is a simple, beautiful Christian address to the little ones about Jesus and going to him. It would do venerable D.D.'s good to read this and catch some of its plain, direct and most gentle spirit. "Reposing in Jesus," from the same press, is for the child of God, and reminds us much of Baxter in its fullness of Christ and plainness of expression. "Daily Prayers for the Lord's Hidden Ones." This Society offers here a volume for the sick room. It has a portion of Scripture, Hymn and Prayer for each day in the week for the special comfort of the invalid or 'hidden one.' A thin volume of sixty pages with large type and tinted paper and full of devotion, it is a Christian luxury for a sick room. "Dora Hamilton" is one of the better religious stories from this Society.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ROUND TABLE.

WE give our *Round Table* of this Number to the following ancient Epistle, now for the first time printed. Of the special causes that produced it we are able to gain but little information. It seems that on the seventeenth of September, 1766, Mr. Ebenezer Thayer was settled over this oldest church in New Hampshire. Mr. Thayer was graduated at Harvard in 1753, and remained a Tutor there for six years. A remonstrance against his settlement was sent in to the ordaining Council, signed by more than twenty of the society. Exceptions were taken to the proceedings in issuing his call, to the amount of salary and to the theology of the candidate. The writer of this Letter had, evidently, an honest anxiety concerning the creed of Mr. Thayer. The settlement was, however, consummated, and

continued for twenty six years, embracing the era of the Revolution and of the Confederation. How far time and experience verified the anxiety of the remonstrants and the author we have not the means of determining. But aside from any local circumstances this ancient document contains much valuable and timely truth for our own day.

EDS.

To the Deacons of the first Church of Christ in Hampton, to be Communicated to the Brethren and others Concerned.

Beloved Brethren: Having heard that your people are taking the usual steps in order to the settlement of a Minister, a regard to your best interests, to the Gospel of Christ, and the welfare of Zion, leads me to communicate my thoughts to you on the affair in this manner: which I hope you will receive well, as my intention is good, whether that which I offer is worthy your attention or not.

My aim is to propose some things to your consideration; shewing how highly it becomes you to be cautious in your proceeding to the choice of a man for your Minister, till first you have sufficient evidence of his fitness for the office: that he is not only a man of good natural powers, and acquired knowledge, qualifications of no inconsiderable importance in a minister of Christ, but also a man of God; who knows, loves and fears God; has his glory supremely in view; and is led to engage in the Sacred Work, not by the love of filthy lucre, nor any sinister views, but by a hearty regard to the honour of Christ, and the salvation of immortal souls. In a word, one who appears to have Religion at heart; and a natural care for the spiritual state of the church in general; and more especially of that particular Society to be committed to his charge. And you must be sensible, Brethren, how incumbent it is upon you to proceed with the utmost caution in a matter of such high concernment, if you consider 1st, The Nature and Design of the office which is the most important a man can be invested with in this life, as it relates to the eternal interests of mankind. The importance of this office seems to be intimated by the names given in Sacred Scripture to those invested with it, as Pastors, Guides, Builders, Husbandmen, and Bishops or overseers, all which plainly suppose the office and work of the gospel ministry to be a useful, laborious calling; and that it requires singular care, diligence, and attention, in order to a wise and faithful discharge of it.

Consider the matter, Brethren, with reference to your temporal affairs. Suppose you had occasion to choose a man to either of these secular callings by which the office of a Gospel Minister is figuratively set forth in Scripture; would you not take care to choose

one who had the qualifications necessary for the business to which he was to be appointed :

A Shepherd who understood the proper method of managing sheep ; and who would not carelessly leave them exposed to beasts of prey ; or neglect to apply proper means for the recovery of the diseased :

A Guide well acquainted with the way in which you wanted to be conducted ; and not an utter stranger to it, who stood in need of a guide himself :

A Builder who has been taught the rules of architecture, and is sensible of what consequence it is to have a building set on a foundation able to support it ; and not one who, through ignorance or carelessness, would build your house on the sand :

A Labourer to take care of your field acquainted with the business of husbandry and the difference between good and bad seed ; and not one who would be more likely to sow tares than wheat :

An Overseer instructed in the business committed to his care, upon whose wisdom and fidelity you might depend.

And is it not of as much greater importance, as the interests of the immortal soul are superior to those of the body, to be careful in choosing a spiritual Shepherd or Pastor, that he be one of those shepherds whom God has promised to give his People Israel in the latter days, to feed them with knowledge and understanding :

A Spiritual Guide who experimentally understands the way of truth and righteousness ; and is able to teach it to others :

A Builder who in the strain of his preaching exhibits the atonement in the blood of Jesus, as the only foundation of the pardon, peace and hopes of perishing sinners ; and the grand motive to engage believers to universal obedience :

A Husbandman who will sow the incorruptible Seed of the gospel ; and take a faithful care of God's Husbandry among you :

A Bishop who will be faithful in the oversight of the Flock committed.

If it were necessary to add anything further by way of illustration, to shew the necessity of being cautious in such an important affair ; we might suppose you were about to choose a man to provide a meal, or entertainment, for all the People in Hampton, once every week, at some convenient place, where they had agreed to meet and partake of it in common, in order to promote friendship and mutual love : I apprehend you would by no means choose a man for that service, who would be likely to provide food of a poisonous quality ; or to mix poison with wholesome food. Now your minister will be chosen and appointed to provide weekly entertainment for the souls of the people in Hampton : and false erroneous doctrines,

which are subversive of the gospel, are as ruinous to the soul as the most deadly poison can be to the body ; with this difference, that the latter can only destroy a transitory life, which otherwise must soon come to a period in the course of nature, but the former will prove the sad occasion of everlasting destruction both of soul and body. Must it not then in this view, appear of the highest concernment, to be well satisfied, that he whom you shall choose to be a Steward in Christ's household, will be faithful to minister the wholesome food of sound doctrine ; and to give unto every one his portion of meat in due season.

The Wisdom and Duty of proceeding with caution in this important affair will further appear if 2ndly, you consider, that the consequence of your choice will extend beyond this present life, to a future and eternal state ; and will probably be the most happy or unhappy.

We judge of the importance of any affair, by the influence it has on our temporal or eternal interests.

We would naturally proceed with more circumspection in an affair upon which the security of *our all* in this world depended, than if only a small inconsiderable part were at stake.

But now consider the Office and Work of Gospel Ministers relates immediately to the spiritual and eternal interests of mankind : and by signifying your consent to accept of a man for your Pastor, Teacher and Guide, you commit the care of your immortal souls to him, and promise to obey him in the Lord.

Now to employ a man in any secular calling, who is unqualified for it, would argue the want of wisdom and consideration, and oftentimes persons by entrusting their temporal interests in the hands of ignorant, incapable or dishonest men, have been ruined for this world. But how unspeakably worse would the consequence be, if by committing the care of souls to one unqualified for the important Trust they should be eternally ruined.

Moreover you will consider, that in choosing a minister, you act not only for yourselves, but also for those of your Posterity who are incapable of acting in the affair for themselves, and perhaps for many who are yet unborn. The rising generation will grow up under his instructions and receive their first notions of Religion in this way.

Now you know, Brethren, that in their natural state they are ignorant and insensible of God and eternal things ; and if they should be so unhappy as to have a blind guide, one who could not be mistaken has forewarned us of the sad consequence, that if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch. And how malancholly and distressing, is the thought of precious and immortal souls being

led on blindfold all their days in the way of error and self righteousness ; and finally falling into eternal perdition ; never undeceived till it is too late to rectify the fatal mistake.

Is not the thought enough to make you even tremble, least through your neglect to be sufficiently cautious, in the choice of a spiritual guide, for them as well as your selves, you may be accessory to their everlasting ruin? Should this be the dreadful case, (which may a merciful God prevent) would not they have reason to reflect eternally upon you, for having been so regardless of their immortal souls? Surely, any one who considers the worth of souls, the miserable state they are naturally in ; and how much their salvation under God, depends on the gospel being clearly and faithfully preached ; must have all his attentions roused on such an occasion ; and be excited to the utmost caution in the choice of one to an office, which immediately relates to their salvation.

And the more so if, 3rdly, it is considered that there is most reason to expect that one who is a true Believer, born from above, and interested in the Promises of the New Covenant, will be heartily engaged in his work, and that his endeavours will be crowned with success.

I know that true faithful ministers of Christ, are not always successful : so far from this, their people may harden under their ministrations ; and they may be sent to them on such a dreadful errand as the prophet was to the Jews ; to make their hearts fat, and their ears heavy, and to shut their eyes. On the other hand I doubt not, but the gospel preached by those who have never seen its glory and importance ; nor felt its saving power on their own hearts, but shall finally be disapproved by the eternal Judge ; may be made effectual by the blessing of God, for the salvation of others : yet if we consider, that the saving efficacy of the gospel depends on the Power of the Spirit of Christ attending it ; and that only the true, faithful ministers of Christ have the promise of his gracious presence and assistance with them in their work ; we have surely greater reason to expect that the labours of such will be successfull, than of those who have no interest in the promises of the gospel.

And indeed if we view the matter only in the light of reason, it is not to be expected the preaching of an unconverted minister will be so well adapted to the purpose of conviction, conversion and edification, either as to matter or manner ; as the preaching of one who understands and loves the gospel ; and whose mind is deeply impressed with a sense of God and eternal things.

Is it rational to expect that one who has never been deeply concerned for the salvation of his own soul, will have a due concern for

the salvation of others : that one who has never seen the danger and misery of a sinful state, nor been wounded with the terrors of the Lord, will faithfully represent the misery of this state, or be able to say with the apostle, knowing the terrors of the Lord we persuade men? That one who has never seen the glory and harmony of the Divine attributes appearing in the atonement made for sin, by the blood of Jesus, will make the way of pardon and acceptance with God, through the merit of this great atonement, the grand subject of his preaching, and pathetically display the Divine Love, Grace and Mercy, for the encouragement of sinners, oppressed with a sense of guilt : no ; it is most likely, that the tenor of his preaching will be to inculcate upon his hearers, a round of formal, dead sapless duties ; without acquainting them with their guilt and misery, or insisting on the necessity of faith and regeneration ; that their persons must first be accepted in the Beloved, before their works can be accepted ; that the tree must be made good, before the fruit can be good.

Therefore as you regard the eternal welfare of your own souls, and of your dear posterity ; the honor of Christ and of his kingdom among you ; let me intreat you, not to be hasty in the choice of any man for your minister, before you are well satisfied that he is a regenerate man, and established in the belief of those doctrines which are according to godliness ; as well as of a sober moral conversation and behaviour.

Particularly I would beseech you never to give your votes for any man, who does not fully assert and maintain in his preaching, the justification of sinners before God, by his free grace through the righteousness of Christ alone imputed to them that believe, without their own works. For I think it must appear to any one who has read the Scriptures with due attention, as plain as the light of the sun at noon day, that this is the grand cardinal point of the Christian Revelation, which principally distinguishes it from the religion of nature.

I know this leading doctrine of revelation may be denied and perverted in such a sly, artful manner, as not to be readily perceived ; unless we keep our eye fixed on the true apostolick doctrine of justification by faith.

The Scripture phrases which assert this great truth may be retained ; while the sense in which the apostles used them is perverted and explained away.

As when some teachers tell us, that Christ died to make atonement for our sins, that is, as they explain their meaning, to atone for the imperfections of our obedience ; and that our obedience, if it is sin-

ceer, though imperfect, shall be accepted with God ; and give us a title to his favour, as though it were perfect.

Or when others seem more fully to assert justification by faith ; but when they come to explain what they mean by faith, we find they include in their notion of faith, obedience to all the Divine commands. So that when they say we are justified by faith, that which they intend, according to their own explanation is in reality this ; that we are justified by faith as our own act, comprehending in it obedience to all the divine precepts, which is only saying in other words, that we are justified by our own works or obedience.

This is indeed a more artful, but not a less effectual method, of undermining the blessed gospel, than to maintain in direct terms, that we are justified in the sight of God, by our own work of righteousness.

In opposition to all such soul ruining schemes, as tend to strengthen that natural principle in the human heart, by which men are led to seek Life by their own righteousness, we may observe the apostles in the most full and express terms assert the impossibility of any man living being justified in this way, however much he may endeavour to conform his life to the rule of righteousness. 'They exclude all works which a man can do, either before or after faith, having any part in his justification : ascribe it wholly to the free and sovereign grace of God, and the merit of that perfect righteousness, which the Divine Redeemer hath fulfilled, in the stead of the guilty and miserable, and which is revealed in the gospel for the relief and encouragement of such.

To declare and publish this way of the justification of sinners by free grace through the Divine righteousness, was the spirit of the ministry of our blessed Lord, and his apostles ; the leading design of their inspired writings ; and in a word, the central point, in which all the lines of Revelation meet ; with which all its peculiar doctrines, the universal guilt and corruption of humane nature, the justice of God in the condemnation of sinners, the necessity of a Divine Power to recover them from their dead and ruined state, to a Divine life ; the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., are closely and inseparably connected, so that he who believes this comfortable truth, must also hold those, or be grossly inconsistent. And he who denies this, must at the same time deny those, or be reduced to utter despair of ever obtaining Life by his own obedience.

For my own part I freely confess the persuasion of this truth in my view is so necessary to establish a well grounded Peace and Hope in the heart of a sinner, and to enable him to obey the commands of Christ in a right manner, that I should as soon choose a

Heathen Moralist for my teacher, as one who assumes the name of a minister of Jesus Christ, and yet leaves the doctrines of the cross, or the justification of sinners by free grace, through the merit of that righteousness which is finished on the cross out of his preaching, or in effect renders it vain, by ascribing our acceptance with God, to our own endeavors and imperfect obedience, instead of his spotless righteousness.

Will any one think I am too warm and severe in my resentments against those who pervert the true gospel; what would they think if I should say, though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than that which is contained in the inspired writings of the apostles, and ye have received, let him be accursed. And to intimate that it was not spoken in a fit of intemperate zeal should repeat the dreadful anathema.

And if this precious comfortable truth that Christ died for the ungodly who are without strength, and that God is in Christ reconciling a guilty world to himself, through the atonement made for sin by his death: I say if this is the only hope of perishing sinners; can any censure be thought too severe for those who either deny this all important truth; or endeavour to hide it from the eyes of those who are perishing in their sins for the want of such a righteousness as the gospel reveals.

And if it is so important, can you be too much upon your guard against one who in his preaching either keeps it out of sight, and disguises his real sentiments respecting it, under dark ambiguous expressions: or else who under a pretence of uncommon zeal for the gospel, leads his hearers to build their peace, comfort and hope on a Christ within them; on their affectionate zealous frames and feelings in religious duties, by which they are naturally inspired with a high opinion of their own extraordinary Piety and Holiness, and a contempt of others.

The only way of justification and acceptance with God, revealed in the gospel, is equally opposite to the hope of the legal hypocrite which is founded on his endeavors to obey the law, his prayers, temperance, sobriety, moral honesty, giving of alms and the like: and to the hope of the evangelical hypocrite, which is raised on the pious frames and feelings of his own heart. It leads sinners off from all dependance on any thing in themselves, to a Christ without them, revealed in the written Word; and to a perfect righteousness in him as the only ground of pardon and peace with God, and a good hope of eternal life.

I have thus freely expressed my sentiments on this point, because I think it of the last importance that a church of Christ should have

a principle regard to this, in choosing a man to be a Teacher of Righteousness ; and I apprehend, no one who understands and loves the gospel, will be ready to condemn what I have written.

But if any should happen to see this letter, who find themselves condemned by it ; who are more concerned to maintain the interest of a party, than the interest of truth ; or to support some scheme of self righteousness which they are deeply in love with, it is highly probable they will be ready to insinuate that the writer's design is bad, in order to counteract the tendency of what is written. And it is not impossible they may go so far as to fix on some particular person as the author, of whom they may think you have conceived an ill opinion.

I am sensible it is nothing new or strange for such designing, self interested men, to take such methods to destroy the influence of those truths which are of the greatest concernment to mankind.

But I persuade my self, Brethren, that you are not ignorant of such devices ; and that the truth will ever have a higher consideration with you than the opinions of any man living.

As I am not conscious of having any thing in view, but the interest of truth, you are quite welcom for my part to reject what I have written, if you find it is not calculated to serve this end. But before you reject it, I would ask the favour of you to search the Scriptures, to see whether these things are so.

Particularly I would recommend to your attentive perusal the 3rd, 4th and 5th chapters of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the 2nd chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians from the 16th verse to the end, and the 2nd Epistle of John, from the 7th to the 12th verse, with other passages to the same purpose, which may occur to your remembrance.

You need not be curious to know who the writer of this letter is, but may believe that, if he is not greatly mistaken, he is one who wishes eternal happiness to his fellow men.

To signify which he subscribes himself yours,

PHILANTHROPOS.

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ARTICLE I.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Is the Bible, in any peculiar sense, the Word of God? Can the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments, with propriety, be said to have proceeded directly from God? Are they a supernatural or extraordinary gift of God to the world, or are they merely the product of the human mind? In the estimation of reflecting minds this is the question of questions.

To this point may be traced the divergent opinions and opposing theories that are entertained respecting the various subjects of which the Scriptures treat. Around this point are rallying the contending hosts of Christianity and infidelity. Here the decisive battle is to be fought. At the present time different classes of minds assume different attitudes in relation to this question. One class express their answer to it by a bold emphatic negative. They insist upon the impropriety of applying to the Bible the title, The Word of God. They place the Scriptures upon a level with books acknowledged to be uninspired, and deny to them the office of supreme arbiter in matters of faith and practice. Another class of minds, a large and influential class, stand in an equivocal position. If they answer the question in the affirmative, they do so by the utterance of a timid, qualified assent, indicative of half belief. But it is more likely they will decline a direct answer, and their only response will be a sigh or a lamentation, as much as to say, "Alas! for

the Bible. Would that we could repose faith in it as the word of God." They give the impression that nothing would relieve and delight them more than to be able to bring their understanding and reason to an acknowledgment of the claims of the Bible to be a supernaturally inspired book. They would have it understood that their prepossessions are all in favor of this decision, and that the necessity for an opposite one is distressing to them, and numbered among this class are many who think themselves to be sincere. In the judgment of charity there are some who really are sincere. But we are forced to inquire, Is it not probable that this form of scepticism can be accounted for, in great part, by reference to the subtle, deep-seated hostility of the natural heart to the doctrines which the Bible inculcates? A third class of minds, and this class is large, profess to believe that the Scriptures are a supernatural gift of God to the world. But they cherish the secret feeling that in the Bible the golden ore of truth is mingled with much dross. They virtually reserve to themselves the right of deciding what is the truth. They, in fact, elevate their own understanding and reason above the Scriptures. Their final appeal is not really to the Bible, but to their own minds. In addition to these three classes, there is a fourth class, who believe the Scriptures were given by divine inspiration as the only and the sufficient rule of faith, the supreme and infallible arbiter in all religious questions. Now which of these opposing views entertained in respect to the Bible is the true one? Or are they all wholly or in part, false? In short, what is the truth on this subject of prime moment? The correct interpretation of the declaration of Paul found in 2 Tim. iii. 16, will furnish the virtual answer to this question. In our authorized English version the passage reads, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." The Greek is as follows: *Πᾶσα γραφή θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἐλεγμον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσίῃ.*

This is the invariable reading of all the existing manuscripts; and hence, we can have no doubt, is the true reading. Some interpreters have, indeed, expressed a doubt in regard the particle *καὶ* inasmuch as it is not found in the ancient Syriac and

Vulgate versions. But we are to remember that, while these versions are entitled to great respect, they are but subordinate authorities; "Since," as Dr. Fairbairns truly remarks, "it must ever remain doubtful whether due pains were taken by the translator to obtain a pure text, and doubtful still further, whether the translation may not to some extent have been tampered with in the course of its transmission to present times." (Her. Man., p. 70). The evidence for believing *καὶ* to belong to the original text, derived from the fact of its being found in all existing manuscripts greatly outweighs all the evidence against it, arising from the fact that it is not found in two ancient versions. Does, then, our translation express fully and exactly the sense of the original Greek? This text, it will be noticed, is one of the many instances in which the *copula* of the sentence is omitted in the Greek; and the question is, must *θεόπνευστος* be joined with the subject or with the predicate? If with the predicate, then our translation is correct in rendering the passage, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable," &c. But if *θεόπνευστος* belongs to the subject, then should the translation read, "All God-inspired, or God-inbreathed, Scripture is also profitable," &c. For the decision of this point it does not suffice to refer to the opinions of the ablest biblical scholars and expounders. For these seem to be about equally divided. On the side of our version are such distinguished names as Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Bengel, Calvin, Wolf, De Wette, Conybeare and Olshausen. In favor of the other rendering are, also, names entitled to great weight, such as Origen, Theodoret, Grotius, Erasmus, Whitby, Rosenmüller, Huther, Ellicott and Alford. The language of Alford is:

"I own on the whole the balance seems to me to incline on the side of the second, unobjectionable as it is in construction, and of the two better suited to the context. I therefore follow it hesitatingly, I confess, but feeling that it is not to be lightly overthrown."

Moreover, this point is one which cannot be decided incontrovertibly on grammatical grounds. Either rendering consists very well with the laws of grammar and the structure of the New Testament language, although we can but feel that the preponderance of evidence from this source is in favor of our version.

It is true, *καί* both in classic and in Hellenistic Greek, often has the signification *also*, and introduces the predicate of a sentence, its use being to give especial emphasis to the assertion contained in the predicate. But it is not very clear, that this case is to be referred to that class. The instances cited to justify this construction are such passages as Luke i. 36, Acts xxvi. 26, Rom. viii. 29, which on examination will be found to differ materially from the case in question. Of the two translations, our version seems to us the more natural and easy. But, after all, the hermeneutical argument must decide the controversy.

We must ask, which rendering do the context, the connection and the sense demand? Which rendering most perfectly harmonizes with the apostle's aim and object? His grand object in the charge he is here giving to Timothy is quite obvious. It is to impress upon the mind of Timothy the great importance of a constant reverential regard for the Scriptures, as the repository of doctrine, of reproof, of correction, of instruction in righteousness, as the chief and indispensable means by which the man of God is to be made perfect and thoroughly furnished unto all good works. How could Paul hope to accomplish this object more effectually than by making a solemn, emphatic declaration of the divine origin of the Scriptures? It may be said that the divine origin of the Scriptures was not doubted by Timothy and, hence, there was no necessity for this affirmation. Let it be granted that Timothy did receive the Scriptures as inspired, yet might not a distinct assertion of their divine origin, coming from his spiritual father, uttered in circumstances singularly impressive, be of incalculable advantage to him? Would not such an assertion, so made, impart vividness, depth and strength to his faith in the word of God, and greatly enhance his sense of its value? Besides, if there was no reason why Paul should have re-affirmed the doctrine of inspiration, what reason was there for his alluding to it at all? In other words, if the fact that Timothy admitted the divine origin of the Scriptures is an objection to the rendering of our version, it is, also, an equally strong objection to the other translation. So that after a consideration of all the arguments on both sides we conclude our translators were correct in joining *θεόπνευστος* to the predicate. The phrase rendered "All scripture" is, *πᾶσα γραφή*,

and γραφή is synonymous with *τὰ γράμματα* immediately preceding, and, without doubt, refers to the Old Testament, as at the time of this letter from Paul to Timothy, the New Testament was not in existence. The word *πᾶσα* is correctly translated all. For there are strong reasons for regarding γραφή as an appellative or proper name, and then the expression, *πᾶσα γραφή*, will be reckoned among that class of expressions like *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομή*, and *πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία*, where the substantive being used without the article, *πᾶς* is equivalent to *πᾶς ὁ*. (Vide Winer's Gram., vol. 1, sect. 19). Should any reject this explanation, and contend that *πᾶσα* must have the meaning of every, the result will be the same, inasmuch as the expression would necessarily be every part of scripture, "*Scriptura sacra, secundum omnes suas partes*," (Bengel), scripture in all its parts, which in sense differs not at all from "all scripture." Hence the correct rendering of the passage is "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, or is inbreathed by God, and is profitable for doctrine," &c.

We are now prepared to inquire, What is the doctrine taught by this passage? To answer this question we must, in the first place ascertain definitely the meaning of *θεόπνευστος*. We must determine what is meant by the phrase, "given by inspiration of God." For the sake of facilitating this design we shall bring under consideration the entire sacred canon, the New Testament in connection with the Old. Among other reasons which might be given justifying, if not, indeed, demanding this course, is the fact of the interdependence, or integral unity of the two Testaments. Let it be established that either Testament proceeded from God, then it will follow that the other came from God. Let it be proved that the Old Testament is inspired, then *a fortiori*, the New Testament is inspired. What, now, is the precise meaning of *θεόπνευστος* as applied to the Scriptures? In what sense exactly are they "given by inspiration of God," or inbreathed by God? Evidently it does not suffice to say the Bible is inspired, or inspired by God. For this word, inspired, admits of many different significations. The human soul may be called *θεόπνευστος*, (*θεός, πνέω*) inspired of God. In the most literal sense it is *divinitus inspirata*. It is the breath of life, *spiritus*, breathed

into man's nostrils by God, when he formed him from the dust of the ground, that "Bright effluence of bright essence increate" which is the living soul, the image of God. So, again, all the countless forms of life manifested in the vegetable and animal kingdoms are called θεόπνευστος, inspired of God. Their life is an emanation from the infinite Spirit. Still, again, poets and orators, artists and warriors are often spoken of as inspired. The ancient classics furnish numerous instances of this use of the word. Says Cicero, "*poetam . . . quasi divino quodam spiritu afflari*"; and again, "*Nemo vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit.*" The poet is, as it were inspired by a certain divine breath. No one was ever a great man without a certain divine inspiration. Very common at the present time, also, is the same application of the term. How often, for example, does one rise from a thoughtful perusal of Shakespeare's wonderful delineations of human nature, or Milton's sublime epics with the exclamation, These men were inspired! How often from the lips of one who has been gazing spell-bound upon the master pieces of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Thorwaldsen, Leonardo, or who has been enraptured by the peerless oratorios and the matchless symphonies of Handel, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven, involuntarily break the words, "These men were inspired!" A contemplation of the exploits of military heroes often prompts the application of the same epithet to them. In short, the term inspiration is often employed to denote an unusual, extraordinary exercise of the faculties and powers with which man is endowed. Now of the various meanings of the word, inspired, θεόπνευστος, which one is to be applied to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments? Were these writings breathed forth immediately from God as the human soul was at the creation of man? This supposition, from the nature of the case, is impossible. The Bible is admitted by all to have come to the world mediately, through man? But did it come through man acting naturally, although it may be wonderfully, as came Paradise Lost, the Oratorio of the Messiah, the Apollo Belvidere, the Transfiguration, or did it come through man acting supernaturally? Does inspiration imply that the Scriptures are an authoritative declaration of God's will, such as binds the human conscience and from whose decision there is no appeal? This

question, it will be observed, includes the two questions (1) Does the Bible contain a supernatural revelation of truth? (2) Were the sacred writers divinely commissioned and divinely guided in the composition of the Scriptures, so that these writings in substance and form are just what God intended they should be for the instruction of all mankind? The second is the question of inspiration in its strict sense. But the decision of this question obviously depends upon the answer to the question of a supernatural communication of truth made to the minds of the writers. Do, then, the Old and New Testaments contain a supernatural revelation of truth given to the world through Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles?

Whence are we to look for an answer to this question? Shall we, in reply to it, adduce the fact that it is possible for the infinite and uncreated Spirit, who gave existence to the human spirit, and endowed it with all its marvellous powers, to make to that spirit a revelation of truths so deep, so high, so wonderful as the human mind unassisted could not attain unto? This fact must be unhesitatingly admitted by all believers in a God. It can be doubted only by atheists who deny the existence of any God, and by pantheists who pretend to believe that "all things are God and God is all things." And, yet, what God can do, and what he has done are quite different things. It is naturally possible for God to do many things that he has not done.

Or, again, shall it be said that such a revelation would be greatly useful to the world? It would clearly unfold many important truths, that are but dimly disclosed by nature. It would make known many truths in respect to the divine character, and feelings and purposes, and in regard to all matters of highest concern to us, which are not even hinted at by nature.

This is, indeed, quite true. But this mode of argumentation can, at most, only create a presumption, merely render it probable that God would by direct interposition communicate his will to men. Indeed, it will not effect even that, unless it shall first have been proved that God is a merciful being, a being inclined to bestow favors upon the guilty. But this is a point difficult of proof independently of the Bible. Or, still again, must the decision of the question be referred to the testi-

mony of the particular men who claim to have received revelations from God? Assuredly not. For then we must receive as communications from God pagan oracles and divinations, the Persian Zendavesta, the Hindoo Shasters and Vedas, the Koran of Mohammed, the wild fancies of the priests and priestesses of spiritualism so called. Particular men may believe themselves commissioned by God to make known his will to the world. But the mere assertion of the men to that effect does not bind us to receive them in that high capacity. To make it obligatory on us to receive any men as ministers plenipotentiary from the Supreme Ruler, these persons must bear unmistakable credentials from that Ruler. In other words, if God through any man has given a supernatural revelation to the world, nothing short of his own testimony can prove that he has so done. In a language so plain that it can be understood, God must declare, who the particular men are, that he has chosen for this important service and invested with these high functions. The Deity must speak out of heaven and say, These men are the authorized revealers and promulgators of my will and purposes and plans. They are empowered to speak for me. Many persons from time to time, like Mohammed, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young may claim to come to us as messengers from God charged with important revelations from him. But we are bound to reject them all unless God himself vouches for and proclaims their trustworthiness. The simple question, then, is, Has God spoken out and distinctly declared these men, Moses and the prophets, the apostles and his Son, to be the revelators of his inward feelings and determinations, and especially of his marvellous plan for redeeming man from sin and death? We answer, God has done this. Is it asked, How has God spoken in attestation of the divine mission of these men? Has the Infinite One appeared on the earth in bodily form, and in the form of human speech borne this testimony? No one claims that he has done this. But, then, audible speech is not the only language. It is not the most unmistakable and emphatic language. The Infinite Spirit can communicate to our spirits his thoughts and wishes and purposes more effectually than by speaking to the outward ear.

(1) One mode, in which God can speak, is by the exertion of

his omnipotence in those acts that transcend human power. By such acts God can speak louder than by words. And by these acts he has attested the character and the office of the authors of the Bible. There are, indeed, some who deny the possibility of miracles. But no rational man, who believes in an Almighty God, the creator of nature and of all things in nature, a being who is independent of, and enthroned above nature, can fail to see the utter absurdity of such a denial. What kind of rationalism will you call that, which denies to him who gave existence and order to nature, the ability to change, or, if he chooses, to suspend and annul the order and the laws he created! Does not the ability to ordain and create imply the ability to change and destroy? Besides, how do the opponents of miracles know that they are not, after all, in accordance with the highest, most comprehensive laws of nature? The only persons who, with any show of consistency, can deny the possibility of miracles, are atheists and pantheists, and we do not hesitate to affirm, that this denial is, in all cases, the offspring of atheism or pantheism. There are others, who, admitting the possibility of miracles, deny their credibility, on the ground that any amount of human testimony cannot substantiate an event which is opposed to the uniformity of nature.

But the major premise of this argument is false. For our belief in the constancy of nature is founded upon human testimony. It has been well said,

“We can know that miracles have not occurred only by the consenting negative testimony of all mankind, and the vast preponderance of man’s testimony is in the affirmative. The belief in miracles is almost universal. Hume’s celebrated argument against miracles is a mere *petitio principii*. He assumes in defiance of multitudinous testimony to the contrary, that miracles are opposed to the experience of mankind, and maintains, that, therefore, no testimony can substantiate them, forgetting that the experience of mankind can be ascertained only by testimony.”—Reab’s *Chris. the Rel. of Nat.*

Not only can the credibility of miracles be established, but the evidence in favor of any particular miracles may be so conclusive, that, for one not to credit them, would prove him either a madman or an imbecile. In a masterly and most convincing form has this point been set forth by Dr. Chalmers. After

having shown the egregious injustice of Hume in not discriminating between the different species of testimony, he says :

“ We readily allow that testimony has often deceived us ; but the question proper to the matter on hand is, Has ever such testimony deceived us, possessed of such specific characters, and given in such specific circumstances, that its falsehood were as great a miracle in the moral, as the most stupendous prodigy ever recorded to have taken place in the material world. Let the improbability of a miracle be so great as that of a million to one, but let the credibility of the testimony, which vouches for its truth be, also, a million to one ; then the proof is, at least, a full equivalent for the disproof ; and the mind with this view of a miracle and its accompanying evidence will be in a state of simple neutrality regarding it. Let there now be added another testimony distinct from the former and of the same high quality, or a million to one, this million will now represent the amount of credit due to the miracle ; and should we still imagine another and another, we should soon arrive by a most rapid multiplying process at many million fold millions by which to estimate the value of the historical proof, which might be accumulated in favor of a miraculous story. Such is the legitimate outgoing of that argument by which the sophistry of Hume might not only be disposed of but there substituted in its place the demonstration of a far higher probability for the miracles of the Gospels, than for any other informations which have been handed down to us in the documents of past ages.”—*Ins. of Theol.*, Vol. 1.

With an air of triumph the great theologian may add, “ It is well that men of science may, even by dint of their own mathematics, be shut up to the faith.” Now our limits forbid a searching investigation and full statement of the characteristics of the separate independent testimonies in favor of the scriptural miracles. It is a truth, however, which by all the enemies of Christianity, the Humes, the Voltaires, the Colensos, the Reviewers, the Renans, and the whole school of free thinkers cannot be gainsaid, that the more thorough and complete that investigation is, the more irrefragable these testimonies will be found to be. It is a fact, which will live and abide forever, that the combined force and conclusiveness of these testimonies is so mighty that their falsehood would be a greater miracle than the most stupendous prodigy. So that, we and all men are bound to believe that the miracles of the Bible were wrought as they are represented to have been wrought.

Now in these miracles every man is compelled to hear the voice of God. We are so made that we instinctively and necessarily recognize God in a real miracle. By miracles God speaks in such a manner that all men, religious and irreligious, can not deny that it is God who speaks. Hence we perceive the indispensable necessity of the scriptural miracles. Hence, we perceive the unspeakable evils which must result from the view inculcated by such writers as the authors of "Essays and Reviews," and which, if we mistake not, is becoming too prevalent among those who claim to be the staunch defenders of Christianity, we mean the view that the miracles of the Bible may be given up without harm, inasmuch as all men are endowed with a spiritual consciousness by which they at once apprehend what is divine and from God. In opposition to this view we ask, How shall people whose hearts have waxed gross and whose ears are dull of hearing be compelled to believe that declarations respecting the future state, and God's character, his plans and purposes, which are made as coming from God himself, really came from God? We reply, Let the men who make these declarations verify them by opening the eyes of the blind, by changing water into wine, by raising the dead to life, by such acts as without controversy transcend human powers. This working of miracles is a voice of God heard distinctly by those of dullest ears. This, in the words of John Foster, is "the ringing of the great bell of the universe."

(2) Again in prophecy we hear the voice of God attesting the Bible as his revelation. No words are demanded in these days of knowledge, to vindicate the prophetic character of the Scriptures, or to show how utterly distinct they are in this respect from pagan oracles or the vaticinations of the pretended seers of modern times. Call to mind simply the description of the Messiah which is contained in the Old Testament. Begin with the declaration, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," and end with the utterances of Malachi, extending your survey over a period of more than ten centuries. Make up such a description of the Messiah, of his mysterious person, of his marvellous mission, of the minute and strange events of his life, as you can form exclusively from the materials of the Old Testament. Then open the New Testament

and read the accounts of what the Messiah actually was. You find the prophecy and the history are in most perfect agreement, and if your mind acts legitimately and properly you say, In these prophecies men did not speak, but God, he who sees the end from the beginning spoke through the men. We feel that the prerogative to look into the future, even through long centuries, and with infallible accuracy to describe events then to occur, and persons then to figure upon the stage of life, is exclusively the prerogative of omniscience. It is a power which rises infinitely above the admitted foresight or forecast of man. Prophecy, then, is another voice by which God declares the Scriptures to be a supernatural revelation from him.

(3) Once more, through the contents of the Bible God speaks out in attestation of its supernatural character. It is true not merely that the Scriptures are wonderfully exalted above all other books in the excellence of the principles and truths they inculcate, and in their adaptation to the human soul; but they are to such a degree superior to all other productions, they are so truly unique in their comprehensive and exceedingly nice adaptation to the soul of man, so completely meeting the demands of the judgment and intellect, of the imagination and the taste, the emotions and desires of the heart, of the conscience and the will; they are, also, so singularly adapted to all classes and conditions of man, that to every sound mind it can but seem utterly incredible that the particular men, living at the particular time, that the authors of the Scriptures are proved to have been, and to have lived, could, without the direct interposition of God, have produced these Scriptures.

This voice of God in attestation of the Bible rings out clear and distinct in the same proportion that we become familiar with the character and contents of the Bible and with the deepest and most imperative demands of our souls. A person well informed in these respects can as easily believe that man made himself and the world, as to believe that man gave the Bible to the world. The forcible language of Dr. Stier is applicable not simply to the Gospels, but to the whole Bible :

The Bible may be called the key to the human heart. The most intricate and complicated lock that the ingenuity of man ever devised is not so marvellously intricate and complicated as

the soul of man. And, yet, should you find a key exactly fitted to the wards of the most complicated lock, you would say that key was made for that lock. Now we find the Bible, in its doctrines, in its precepts, in its warnings, in its promises, in its consolations, in all the variety of its contents exactly fitted to this wonderful, mysterious soul. Shall we not say, the same being that made the soul made the Bible? A great throng of witnesses, not only among the learned, but among the unlearned also, respond in the affirmative. A multitude of characters well described as "blossoming in the holiest type of Christian love and beauty, deep in the wisdom of the Scriptures" in all ranks of society are ready with the answer, We not only believe, but from our own blessed experience we know and are persuaded that the Bible came from God.

Such, in brief, are some of the modes in which God has spoken out of heaven and declared the Hebrew prophets, the Christian apostles, and Jesus Christ, his Son, to be the authorized revealers of his counsels and will.

We pass on now to assert inspiration in its strict sense. We have proved that the writers of the Bible did receive a supernatural revelation from God. We have shown that these particular persons were chosen by God and commissioned to deliver to the race for the benefit of all mankind, in all generations, communications of infinite moment. Let it be noticed, these revelations and communications were not designed exclusively or mainly for the benefit of those to whom they were directly committed. They were intended for the benefit of all nations and all generations of men. But how could they avail for this purpose unless they were expressed in language, written out in such characters and indices of thought as abide unchangeable. It would not answer to depend upon tradition and oral communication for the dissemination and transmission of such a revelation. How speedily, in such a case, the revelation would become involved in inextricable confusion, mixed up with human additions and modifications. A revelation, to accomplish its office of giving to the world a definite knowledge of God, of his plans and purposes, must be recorded. It needs no argument to prove that "an infallible record is the only channel through which a certain knowledge of a divine revelation made

by God to the men of one age and nation, can be conveyed to men of all ages and nations." But how could such a record be secured? Obviously it could be done only by having the recorders, while doing their work, under the control of the same infallible Spirit that gave the revelation. What, for example, can assure us that we have an infallible record of the teachings and particular sayings of Christ? He made no record of them himself. Years elapsed after they were uttered before the apostles recorded them. Could they record them with infallible accuracy, could they convey his doctrines with anything like complete correctness without the direct interposition and aid of God? There can be but one answer to this question. The same reasoning will apply to the entire sacred canon. Hence we naturally conclude that the recorders of divine revelation were divinely guided in making their records.

Again, the assertions of the writers themselves are evidence that they wrote under the control of the Holy Spirit. These assertions may now properly be adduced as proof, for as we have seen, these men were divinely commissioned teachers. We can not hesitate to receive the declarations of men chosen of God and invested with such sacred functions. When they preface their messages with the phrases, "Thus saith the Lord," "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it," "Which things we speak not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth," we are bound not to regard them as arrogant pretenders, but as men speaking the truth. Not to extend argument upon this point, we may say that we are led inevitably to the conclusion that the Bible was given to the world by men acting supernaturally. *Θεόπνευστος* in its application to the Scriptures does imply, that they are an authoritative declaration of the divine will such as all men are under obligation to obey.

The question now arises how far this supernatural influence upon the minds of the writers extended? Can we fix any precise metes and bounds up to which this extraordinary power reached, and beyond which it did not go? It has been proved that the writers were supernaturally controlled. But were they so controlled as to become mere passive, involuntary instruments in the hands of the Holy Spirit? Were their

own powers and faculties overborne, so that the writers became simply writing machines? There is no doubt God might have converted men into such instruments had he chosen to do so. The being, who from stones can raise up children, can also change living, voluntary men into stones or machines. But even a cursory glance at the style and form of the Scriptures forbids us to entertain such a view of inspiration. The respective books and divisions of the sacred canon are marked by distinctive characteristics, disclosing the individuality, the various temperaments, the constitution of mind, the habits of thought, and modes of expression of the different writers. In this way the sacred writers are as perfectly distinguished from one another as are writers uninspired. By a process similar to that which enables us to distinguish between the writings of Homer and Hesiod, of Herodotus and Xenophon, of Spencer and Milton, of Dr. Paley and Bishop Butler, we are enabled to distinguish between the writings of David and Solomon, of Moses and Isaiah, of Matthew and Luke, of Peter and John, of James and Paul. The sacred writers were not mere channels or mouth-pieces for the transmission of divine revelation. We have every reason to believe that the supernatural power exerted upon the writers did not suspend or supersede the action of their own powers. It did not eliminate their individual characteristics. In making up the scriptural records their own powers of understanding and reason, of reflection and judgment, of investigation and comparison, of memory and imagination were all called into exercise. Hence, the wonderful variety which constitutes one charming excellence of the inspired volume. These individual faculties of these chosen individuals were by the power of the infinite Spirit exercised to just that degree and in conformity to exactly those conditions, which were necessary to secure for their entire record, *πᾶσα γραφή*, the title and the authority of the word of God. The sacred penmen, whether they wrote history or biography, poetry or prophecy, aphorisms or parables, whether the subject matter of their composition was, at any time, wholly or in part, such as came within the reach of human powers, or was such as must have been imparted directly by the omniscient mind, the sacred penmen from the beginning to the completion of their work were attended,

assisted and controlled by the Holy Spirit. They wrote all that and only that, which harmonizes, in all particulars, with his will. So that the whole Bible, in all its exceedingly rich and wonderful variety of contents, is covered over with the divine sanction.

But have we, even now, pushed our investigation of the meaning of θεόπνευστος, given by inspiration of God, to its utmost limits? Have we reached the line that divides the knowable from the unknowable? Hear we the voice saying, "Thus far, but no farther," or, can we proceed so far as to maintain that all Scripture was given *verbum verbo*, word for word, by God? Are the Scriptures the *verba ipsissima* of the Holy Spirit? This is a question with which modern criticism is much occupied. But we cannot avoid the feeling that undue importance is attached to the decision of this point. We have shown already that the doctrines and sentiments of the Bible bear the divine seal. Of what great consequence is it to determine whence came the particular words, which are the vehicle of these doctrines and sentiments? The doctrines and the sentiments are the chief things, and the same doctrines and sentiments may be couched in a great variety of forms of phraseology. Each one of several different modes of expressing the same thoughts may be equally good. Of what practical consequence is it, whether the ideas were clothed in one garb or in another garb equally fit and proper? In the book of nature, we find the creator has expressed his thoughts in an almost endless variety of forms. The one essential idea manifested in the creation of the fish, for example, is given to the world in ten thousand different distinct expressions. The one divine thought revealed in the creation of the bird is found in, at least, three thousand different forms of expression. A like variety characterizes all the kingdoms of nature. And analogy leads us to expect to find the same variety of expression in the Bible. As a matter of fact a part of the revelations contained in the Scriptures were given by verbal communication. The words of the Law were traced upon stone by God himself, and to the ear of the inspired writers words were spoken sometimes by persons who came to them in visions. And yet, only a small part of the contents of the Bible can have been conveyed in this mode. The style adopted by

the writers and their modes of expression are entirely incompatible with the supposition that they acted as mere amanuenses, copying words one by one as they were dictated to them. In confirmation of this remark, notice the introduction of the Gospel according to Luke :

“Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order those things, which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me, also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write,” &c.

Now upon the supposition that the Holy Spirit dictated to Luke what to write word for word, must we not believe Luke was a dissembler? Compare, also, the accounts of the same transactions, or the reports of the same events and declarations given to the different writers. In how few instances are they stated in the same words. Take, for example, the inscription over the cross upon which our Saviour was crucified. Each one of the four evangelists gives it in a form of expression different from those employed by all the others ; and yet, all these different modes of expression convey substantially the same sense. Verbal inspiration, then, in the sense that the particular phraseology of the Bible was directly conveyed to the ear of the writers, cannot be maintained without destroying the credibility of the writers. But still, in one sense, in the most correct sense, all inspiration may be called verbal inasmuch as we are so constituted that we think in words. Man is not simply a thinking being, but he is also a speaking being. Language is not an acquired art. It is a natural endowment. We have no proof that thoughts can exist in the mind independent of, or separated from some embodiment in language. Each mind, according to its own peculiar structure, naturally embodies its thoughts and conceptions in forms and expressions peculiarly its own. So that those who maintain that inspiration is confined to the thoughts of the writers and consists of inward suggestions, virtually hold to verbal inspiration in its profoundest sense. And therefore the Scriptures, through the mediating witness of Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, are truly and essentially the *ipsissima verba* of the Holy Spirit.

But to advance one step farther. Does *θεόπνευστος* imply the entire freedom of the Scriptures from historical and scientific inaccuracies? A perfectly satisfactory answer to this question can be derived only from an examination in detail of all the historical and scientific statements contained in the Bible. We may say, however, that we are not at liberty to adopt any preconceived theories, and say the Scriptures ought to possess particular characteristics, and, therefore, they do possess them. Not a little has the inspired volume suffered at the hands of such defenders. Its opponents having easily overthrown these false theories of inspiration have imagined, and exultingly declared to the world that they have overthrown inspiration itself. The concluding words of the passage to which we referred at the commencement of this article will give us a clue to the answer of this question. So to speak, they start us in the right direction. They declare to us what is the grand design and object of inspiration. It is not to teach history, or astronomy, or geography, or meteorology, or geology, or the sciences generally. Its design is peculiar and distinct, i. e., to convey to the world "doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness," to make known unto men clearly their moral and religious duties, to unfold to them the requirements of the divine law, and especially to reveal God's marvellous, mysterious plan of salvation by grace. This is the one grand, crowning object and end of the Scriptures. All the historical and scientific allusions and statements that the Bible contains are only means for the accomplishment of this sublime end.

Let the object which God had in view in giving the Bible to the world be kept in mind, and then all its historical and scientific references, so far from impairing our confidence in its inspiration, will greatly confirm and establish our faith. All men whose opinions are entitled to any respect, are agreed that nature is *θεόπνευστος*, given by inspiration of God. Nature is divine. We are sacredly bound to receive every fact and every truth taught by nature. We accept the assertion that "the facts of creation are as invariable as God, and the analysis of a plant or an insect marks its demonstration with the seal of eternal truth. The creation is a visible ladder by which man ascends to the invisible creator." Let it be proved that the Scriptures

contradict the known affirmations of nature, then is our confidence in their inspiration gone. But this is a point which never has been, and which we are sure never can be proved. The declarations of scientific savans to this effect heretofore made, have been shown to be vain boasts, false conceits, or conclusions drawn from insufficient data. The instances in which it has been claimed that the book of nature and the book of revelation contradict each other are to be accounted for by the fact, that either nature or revelation, or both, have been falsely interpreted. The uniform tendency of the advance of knowledge is to set forth in ever clearer light the wonderful and charming harmony of the book of nature and the book of books. Scientific topics are referred to in the Bible in the only language and by the only terms that the nature of the case admitted, viz., the language of the times in which the Scriptures were given to men. Natural phenomena are not described by abstract, scientific, strictly philosophical terms. These would have been utterly unintelligible, and God, by the use of them, would have defeated his own design. Some seem to imagine the absence of such terms from the Bible, is presumptive evidence that it did not come from God, whereas their presence in the Scriptures would be an argument against inspiration. Reasoning *a priori* we should come to the conclusion that all scientific allusions in the Bible would be in the language of appearance, not of reality, that they would be in accordance with the apprehensions of the masses of the people; and such a candid examination finds them to be.

We must now conclude this article, already too much protracted; and, although our investigations have not enabled us to determine, in all particulars, the exact degree to which the infinite Spirit operated upon the minds and controlled the words of the writers of the Bible; although this, like the agency of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration of the soul, may be among the secret things that belong unto God, yet, we are brought inevitably to the conclusion, that the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments may with propriety, and even with emphasis be called the Word of God. They were given by his direct interposition and agency, and they declare to us infallibly his character, his counsels and his will. They do bear

the genuine seal of Jehovah. Let, then, the friends of the Bible repose in it a more unwavering faith. Let them not treat it "superficially and on principles of partial and one-sided deduction just as if it were the word of man." Let them explore those

"Depths where from the one root of *sensus simplex* the richest fulness of references spring up and ramify in such a manner, that what, upon the ground and territory of its immediate historical connection, presents one definitely apprehended truth as the kernel of its meaning, does nevertheless exhaust itself into an inexhaustible variety of senses for the teaching of the world in all ages, and especially in the church, where the Holy Spirit himself continues to unfold his germinal word even to the end of the days."—Stier, Wds. of Jesus.

Then shall they experience the truth so felicitously expressed by the learned Bengel, "*Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata, est, non solum dum scripta est, Deo spirante per scriptores; sed etiam dum legitur, Deo spirante per scripturam, et scriptura ipsum spirant.*"

All Scripture is divinely inspired, not only while it is being written, God breathed through the writers, but, also, while it is being read, God breathing through the Scriptures, and the Scriptures breathing out, exhaling, being full of God himself. By no means let the friends of the Bible be understood, as some of them are in danger of being understood, to deprecate the most thorough and searching examination of its claims. Let them, not by pouring forth Jeremiads over the influence of recent productions of the rationalistic and infidel schools, give the impression that the Bible cannot abide the severest tests. Let them rather by comprehensive and impartial study make themselves acquainted with the proofs of its inspiration. Then will they not fear all that the enemies of the Bible can do. But, on the other hand, in calm and dignified address they can say to the Bours, the Colensos, the Reviewers, the Renans, *et id omne genus*:

"Permit us to tell you in all friendship, there are those who have given patient and industrious attention to every thing that has sprung from the lofty wisdom of your unbelief, but whose faith in the testimony of God's Spirit in holy writ has not seldom found its most effectual invigoration and its most convincing argument in

the self-contradictory folly of your books, the darkness of which has only served to make their own light the brighter and more precious."

Then would their response to all the boasts of infidelity be, If this counsel or this work were of men it might come to nought. But it is of God ; therefore ye cannot overthrow it.

ARTICLE II.

CONGREGATIONALISM

AS RELATED TO CIVIL LIBERTY, CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT, AND
CHURCH EXTENSION.

THE Cambridge Platform is a much more important and interesting document than many, even of those who hold the doctrines of the Puritans, suppose it to be. It was framed and adopted in 1648, or twenty eight years after the landing of the forefathers at Plymouth. There were already a large number of churches established in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies, and their ministers were generally among the most learned and pious clergymen that had been educated in England. Prelacy had driven a large proportion of this class of ministers out of the English church, while it had retained those who were ready to conform to its requirements, though they lacked both learning and piety, and even though they were Papists at heart. Those who came into exile with their people would naturally be among the ablest and best of the Non-Conformists. Such was the class of men by whom the Platform was framed. The controversies of that period made them especially learned in all matters relating to church polity. The Platform adopted nothing that was novel, but its object was to put into definite form a system that already existed among them in all its principal features. They were perfectly agreed

in one general idea, namely, that the word of God ought to be their exclusive authority in matters of polity as well as doctrine, and that human traditions ought to be rejected so far as they varied from that word or made essential additions to it. In every thing except some minor matters they were agreed as to what the word of God taught.

In their preface, they express a desire "to hold forth the same doctrine in religion, especially in fundamentals" that was held by their brethren in England. They adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, taking care however to say that they received it "for substance of doctrine," and excepting also some sections relating to church discipline. In a kind and Christian manner they answered the objections that were urged against them by their "presbyterial brethren," and expressed their intention to take the word of God for their guide in constructing the framework of their polity. Their objections to the "presbyterial" system were that they thought it went beyond the word of God, and made large additions to the apostolic system; merely by virtue of what they regarded as human authority, and that its basis, as an elective monarchy, was in direct opposition to the democratic basis, which the apostles had, in their opinion, established.

The Platform consists of seventeen brief chapters, which form a complete system of organization and government, that was compact, simple, and not encumbered by any unnecessary machinery. Its definition of a church is as follows: "A Congregational church is by the institution of Christ a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company of saints, by calling, united into one body by a holy covenant, for the public worship of God, and the mutual edification of one another in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus." Its members should be those who so live and walk "as that in charitable discretion they may be accounted saints by calling," or in other words, those who profess faith in Christ, and live agreeably to such a profession. The number of persons to be gathered into a church should not be greater than could conveniently worship together, and there might be as many churches in one city or town as the convenience of the city might require. Some general suggestions are made as to what the substance of a church covenant

should be, but no form is prescribed. Each church was left at liberty to adopt such a form as it might think proper.

After declaring what constitutes a church, the Platform designates its officers. The highest of these were pastors and teachers. By later practice these two offices have been united in one person, but it may be doubted whether any thing has been gained by the change. We have not space, however, to discuss the question here.

The other officers were ruling elders and deacons. The office of ruling elder was radically different from what it is in the Presbyterian church; and it is now discontinued, its duties being entrusted to the deacons, who are in many instances, aided by a committee of the church which is elected annually. All these officers are elected by vote of the brethren. Ministers are ordained by the laying on of hands, but this is regarded merely as a fitting ceremony. Election by the brethren must precede it, and the election is the act which exclusively confers the right of office. The minister holds his office on such terms as have been agreed on between him and the people, except so far as his rights and duties are prescribed by the word of God. The right of admitting and excluding members, the duty of administering discipline and of managing the ordinary business of the church also belongs to the people.

But though the brethren of each church were invested with supreme authority as to the management of its concerns, yet the Platform did not adopt the system of Independency. It uses the phrase "neighbor churches," and the system which it adopts recognizes the duties of good neighborhood, and makes provision for the exercise of such duties. Among these duties is that of consultation in all important matters, such as the formation of a new church, the settlement and discipline of a minister, the settlement of an important dispute, or a difficult case of discipline. Other duties are those of watchfulness, admonition, encouragement and aid, and the proper regulation of the transfer of membership from one church to another. For the discharge of some of these duties, councils are provided for. Others are left to the voluntary action of individual churches, to be performed by means of visits and otherwise.

The Platform also provides for synods to debate and decide

important matters. But neither councils or synods have any ecclesiastical authority over the churches. Their decisions are merely advisory, and the only power which "neighbor churches" have over each other is to withdraw their fellowship when it becomes proper to do so. In practice it sometimes happens that the parties calling a council, by agreement, confer upon it the power of arbitration, and in many cases this is very convenient.

No synod has been called for many years ; but the system of general conferences which has recently been adopted, will probably answer all the valuable purposes of a synod.

Associations of ministers are not mentioned ; for they constitute no part of the system of church government. They are voluntary bodies, and their only relation to the churches is that they license men to preach, and in this way the churches have come to confide in them for the disciplination of ministers. One whom they recommend is accepted without further examination, and when they withdraw from a man their license, no church would employ him. They thus have in their own hands the keeping of the honor and integrity of their own profession.

Our sketch of the outlines of the Platform is brief. We advise those who desire to know more of it, to study it. It is itself brief ; but it comprehends much. We have had occasion to read and consult it repeatedly, and always with increasing admiration for the ministers who adopted such a system. They were disinterested Christians, desiring nothing but to know and maintain Christianity in its purity.

They understood the system of church government as set forth in the New Testament to be a democracy, and they did not hesitate to adopt it though it deprived them of the ecclesiastical power which the human heart so naturally desires, and which the clergy of Europe had been accustomed to enjoy. But they well knew how the acquisition of authority had corrupted the clergy, abused the people, and blighted Christianity. In the Papal system it had become a despotism ; and it had been the most corrupt, cruel and unprincipled despotism that the world had ever seen. In the church of England they saw the operation of prelacy, which is a combination of monarchy and aristocracy, and its features were all repulsive. With

Presbyterianism they were in close affinity; but they understood it to be an elective monarchy, in which the brethren had nothing to do with the admission or expulsion of members, the administration of discipline or the management of affairs; and they did not find any monarchic features in the New Testament scheme.

Their system of popular government had already begun to develop its results. The essence of the system is that Christ is the Head of the church; and as between themselves, the brethren are sovereign, owing allegiance to Christ directly, and not through a priest or hierarch, or in any other indirect form. No man stood between the Christian members of the church and Christ. They were "kings and priests unto God," and they knew no other kings or priests. A priesthood, such as prelacy sets up, did not, in their view, belong to the Christian system. But along with the rights of sovereignty which the brethren thus enjoyed, were the responsibilities of sovereignty. As each man must decide for himself what his duty required, and as he must answer for every thing directly to God, that responsibility was very great. And New England character owes some of its highest traits to this very feeling of responsibility which their system of ecclesiastical polity creates. The sense of responsibility in an important matter has a tendency to rouse the mind of a good man to meet the emergency; and it makes him much more of a man than he would otherwise have been. It is true in church government just as it is in civil government. If the people have no voice, but are treated as underlings, they become accustomed to think as underlings, and to act as underlings; and their voice ceases to be worth much. Their rulers, whether in church or state, may govern them, and keep them docile and peaceable; but in so far as they are kept in such a condition they are an inferior class of people. On the other hand a popular government, whether in church or state, is more inclined to questions and debates. It is not easily kept in a docile condition by those who desire to lord it over the heritage; but it trains men to research, to vigorous thought, to self-reliant enterprise, and to the dignity which belongs to sovereignty. Whether in civil or church government it tends to make the highest style of man. It is capable of raising man

higher than any other system ; and its constant and natural tendency is to elevate him. Too much government, whether in church or state, has a belittling influence on the mind.

Doubts have been expressed by the advocates of prelacy whether the brethren of a church are competent to maintain self-government. And we often hear from the West the expression that though it may do for New England, it will not do for other parts of the country, where there is less of education. These ideas are oftenest held by men who are most radical in respect to civil government, and who advocate the extension of the right of suffrage to the most ignorant and degraded of our population. But surely if the people are competent to maintain a popular civil government, those of them who are governed by Christian principle ought to be competent to maintain church government, and Christians need the elevating tendencies which belong to the exercise of such powers.

But this feeling of responsibility is an active principle, and of mighty power. It was one of the impulses that brought the Puritans here, and when they arrived its vigor increased. Among other things, it had already led to the invention of one the greatest inventions of modern times ; indeed one of the greatest in its probable results that the world has ever seen. We refer to their invention of a system of universal education, by means of common schools. The legislative act which established the system was passed in 1647, a year before the Platform was adopted, and it was placed on religious grounds. The logic which led to the system of education was very brief.

If every man is directly responsible to God to decide correctly as to his duty, it is infinitely important to him that he should be educated so as to understand his duty. Therefore no person should be left uneducated.

The fundamental idea of papacy is a religious despotism residing in the priesthood. The people are responsible to them. Its logic therefore is that the people should not be educated, except under the direction and control of the priesthood. All prelacy leads in the same direction. In England it has hitherto successfully opposed a system of universal education ; preferring that the people should remain in ignorance, unless educated under the superintendence of the church, which means the

priesthood. In this country its preferences have been for parochial schools. Indeed no denomination that does not sustain the Puritan doctrine of popular sovereignty in church government can be expected to sustain public schools, free from all ecclesiastical authority, so heartily as those who do adopt it. We do not believe that under any other system of church polity the common school system would have been invented, or if invented would have been put in successful operation in competing with parochial schools, so as to command respect. But with their views of popular sovereignty the Puritan clergy naturally favored the establishment of schools to be managed by the people, and exerted their own influence respecting them simply as members of the community. In this way their influence has been great and salutary, and has infused into the system as much religious influence as is consistent with the common rights of all classes of people; and it can easily be shown that their influence is much higher and better and more effective than it could be, if it were coupled with authority. And it provides for universal education, while parochial schools provide merely for the children of the parish.

Popular government in the church, led easily and naturally to a similar system of civil government. Towns were organized into little local governments, where matters of public interest were openly debated and decided by vote of the majority. The establishment of common schools subdivided the towns into school districts, each of which was a perfect democracy. When the people of the towns took part in forming a state government, they were already accustomed to manage the machinery of self government, and they held popular sovereignty as a religious idea. And this basis is necessary to the maintenance of popular government. Responsibility to God is necessary as a security that a man will act honestly when no human eye sees him. The Puritan faith supplies this restraint against dishonesty.

It has been objected that the system is defective because it contains so little of the element of authority. It is true that it contains the element of human authority in a very slight degree. The authority of the churches over each other is the mere power to withdraw fellowship. But the more we reflect upon

it, the more we should be satisfied that this is enough. Let a church embrace such doctrines, and adhere to such a minister as the neighboring churches after candid investigation can not hold fellowship with, and how soon the influence of both church and minister for the propagation of error begins to decline. How soon the best members of the church begin to withdraw. A council passes a vote that the fellowship of the churches ought to be withdrawn from a particular minister, and if it is seen that he deserves it, he is thenceforth a cypher. When a large number of our ministers forsook the faith of their fathers, and drew a majority of their congregations after them, the process by which the churches separated themselves and organized new congregations without creating any general agitation was beautiful for its effective simplicity. The evidence of the power of the churches to separate themselves from error, and build up the truth anew in purity, is to be seen in our metropolis, and all around it, as we think it could not have been exhibited under any other system of polity. And if it should happen that a single church, in contempt of the opinion of neighboring churches, should attempt to exercise acts of tyranny over a member or a minority of members, the withdrawal of fellowship from the church, and bestowing it upon the member or the minority of members who are wronged, is an ample remedy. So if ministers find themselves stripped of authority, they possess what is incomparably better, the influence which belongs to learning, piety and faithfulness. Nowhere have such ministers a better standing with their people than here, and probably there is nowhere a purer or more learned ministry.

More than two hundred years have elapsed since the Platform was framed and adopted. When we look at the results of the system which it established we have no occasion to be ashamed of its practical working. It has encountered the prejudices and even the bitter hatred of those who dislike its basis of popular right and authority on the one hand, and those who dislike its pure ideas of God's justice and of man's ill desert and evil disposition on the other hand. Sickly sentimentalism that looks mildly on crime and wrong, and regards penal justice as barbarity ; rationalism that prefers Reason to the Evangelists, that courts every scientific theory which is supposed to be hostile to

the Bible, and desires to have a Christianity without Christ ; these as well as hierarchic notions that have more reverence for formalism and formulas and ghostly authority than for sensible worship, and have no confidence in the ability of Christians to manage their own affairs ; have no sympathy with Massachusetts Puritanism. Disloyalty thinks still worse of it. Treason holds it in especial detestation. But having listened to their criticisms, we still feel satisfied with its excellence and its power. We have remarked that its tendencies are upward. It does not tend to satisfy us with what we have already attained ; but it leads us to criticise the present, and to reflect on that which is before us ; on what we might have been, and what we may become, and what the whole community might become under the influence of a pure and active Christianity. We dwell in imagination on that state of society which is expected to exist when the whole world shall be converted to Christ, and the question arises why there is not now and here such a state of society. This suggests the practical question how much fault in this respect rests with the Congregational churches and ministers ? It is a question that can not be considered too thoroughly, especially if each man will anxiously inquire how much of it belongs to himself, and to the church with which he is connected.

We are in some danger of trying to comfort ourselves by attributing the fault to the natural depravity of the human heart. But we ought to reflect that Christianity is designed to conquer this depravity ; that its administration has been committed to men for this purpose, and that if it fails to make this conquest, the fault is probably with those who wield the instrument. If we look about us we shall be satisfied, in most instances, that the fact obviously accords with the probability. In those instances where churches have grown feeble, or gone to decay or extinction, we can generally see how the fault of the church or the minister has brought it about. And where the same process is now going on, the cause is equally obvious, and it is plain that God has put the remedy into the hands of the church and pastor, but they are failing to use it as they might. Ours is peculiarly a system that depends upon the spiritual life and vigor of its professors. It has not, like most

other organizations, a system of machinery that will keep it in motion after it is spiritually dead. And when a Congregational minister or church turns aside from the propagation of active piety to ride some hobby, or to exalt some new philanthropy, or falls into formalism and indifference, the error affects them more deeply than it would under any other system of church polity.

Unless our observation has misled us, it is not amiss to say that even the teaching of sound doctrine is not enough, if it practically rests satisfied with the maintenance of a mere routine of religious services. We believe that generally the doctrine taught in our pulpits is sound, and that the people also acquire a great amount of correct theological knowledge in our Sabbath schools. Our congregations are generally intelligent on these subjects. But the inquiry is an important one whether we are not now too much inclined to stop with these general elementary doctrines. Imagine a congregation well instructed in the main arguments upon which these doctrines rest, and fully convinced of their truth ; and a minister rising in the pulpit and announcing that the subject of his discourse is to be the proof of one of these doctrines, which the people all believe and understand, together with the valid arguments by which it is supported. Very few people have the ability to keep the attention fixed upon such a discourse that furnishes no new thoughts. If it is not useless, it is next to useless ; and such discourses are the cause of a vast amount of inattention. Not that doctrines which are well established and understood are to be neglected, but it is safe to take it for granted that some truths are believed and understood already by an intelligent congregation. There is another set of doctrines that are too often left in the shade. They are those which Paul arrives at in the twelfth chapter of Romans and the third chapter of Colossians, and which are beautifully stated in Philippians iii. 8. They are the doctrines which lead to a higher and better exhibition of Christian principle before the world than the exhibitions that are too often made ; and we think we do not err in saying that too little prominence is given to them.

If a man of sound religious principles and of real piety has not learned to treat his wife and children and neighbors and the

people he meets in the transactions of business with Christian courtesy, kindness and charity ; if he has not learned to put off the small practices which spring from covetousness ; if he has not learned to bestow charity without rudeness ; if he has not learned to know the value of kind words and that they are often worth more than medicines ; if he has not learned to exercise sympathy, not merely with the afflicted, but with the wayward and the weak and the erring, but on the contrary is sternly ascetic ; if he does not know that hospitality and the social virtues are to be cultivated as Christian virtues, and belong to our faith, he has yet a great deal to learn, and needs to be instructed. And is not this the part of Christian life in which we are most deficient ? Do not multitudes who are truly spiritually minded need more or less of admonition on these points ?

There are probably not many offenders against common morality in the church, and we doubt not that most members have true faith in Christ ; but has sufficient importance been attached to the Christian graces of character, the things that are honorable, lovely and of good report ? Is the instruction given on this subject as full, particular and earnest as it should be ? Are these topics discussed as they should be in social prayer meetings ? In painting or sculpture or oratory the hand of the master is seen in little things that escape the notice of common artists. In the most beautiful flowers that God has made, the highest beauty is in the most delicate tints. The most perfect grace is displayed in things almost or quite microscopic. So the perfection of those Christian graces which are most lovely is in little things. And in these little particulars quite as much as in any thing else, Christians need line upon line and precept upon precept. It is here that they are apt to exhibit to the world deformities instead of graces, and in these points their light is most apt to become darkness before the world.

But a minister can not instruct his people in these things unless he is a good pastor ; for the practical matters to which they relate are not to be found in books so much as in social life. He who has gone into the ministry without pastoral talent, and without an intention to cultivate it, intends to remain ignorant in respect to one half of his professional duty. He may be a good scholar, and be very faithful in his study, even to dys-

peptic results ; but his warm-hearted Methodist brother by his side, who has but a slight acquaintance with books, will yet draw his people away. He will at least be likely by a cold or stilted manner to repel and scatter the young people, the lambs of his flock. Christ's way of teaching was not always by formal discourses, but by kind and familiar conversation in social circles. The apostles did not so often deliver formal discourses, with logical accuracy and literary finish, as teach informally from house to house. Their ways were also winning and not repulsive. Is this thought of sufficiently ?

Space will only permit us briefly to indicate another topic. The field of labor which seems to be specially assigned to our Congregational churches is usually coëxtensive with the town in which the church exists. In all the towns there are highways and hedges that need attention. In most places there is a scattered population that is connected with no religious society whatever. It would be an interesting inquiry to what extent these people have been repelled from our places of worship by our own fault. They are not poor or ignorant, as a general rule ; but they have property, are trained up in our common schools, often exercise much influence, and have much excellence. But in various ways they have become detached from our congregations ; and the churches are languishing for just the kind of labor which is needed to bring them back. It is well that we send the gospel to India and China, but it is not well to neglect this population in our own neighborhood. If these people could be brought into our churches it would do more to elevate the religious and moral and intellectual character of New England than any other enterprise that can be named. There is no labor by which the churches could do more good than by this ; not by a spasmodic effort, nor by the labor of a year, but by a system of labor, judiciously arranged as to its details, and carried on perseveringly by every member of the church, as an established department of Christian duty and occupation.

This is a department of labor in the Master's business that the minister can do but little of. He can be the leading mind in it, but a great part of the detail must be performed by others. All the members of the church, male and female, can work

efficiently in it, and whether one is old or young, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, strong minded or weak minded, there is some part of it which he or she can do. It ought to be regarded as business, and as requiring skill ; and it should be taken for granted that skill can only be acquired by practice and thought. It needs, like secular business, consultation, contrivance, and adaptation of means to ends. God gave us the faculty of acquiring skill for such purposes quite as much as for doing secular business ; and the fact that the children of the world are in their generation wiser than the children of light, is not creditable to the churches, nor favorable to their prosperity. Perhaps they need strengthening in this point more than in any other so as to enable them to do the work that is actually at hand and that most needs to be done. The impression needs to be deepened that they ought not to content themselves with routine, or with speeches full of excellent argument and exhortation, but evaporating in generalities and bringing nothing practical to pass, but that they ought to occupy this field of labor which lies at their own doors, but which is substantially new and unoccupied.

Not long since a Western member of Congress who sympathises with the rebels, delivered himself of a tirade against New England, in the course of which he admitted that his animosity was not against the territory nor the whole people, but against the Puritans and their principles ; and he expressed the belief and hope that these principles were dying out, and that other and better systems were taking their place. His best expectations were from foreign emigration. We have no sympathy with his principles, his expectations or his hopes ; but from the church at Plymouth Rock to the most distant that has adopted its faith and polity, we think that a system of self-examination needs to be instituted in regard to the topics we have discussed ; and we think the ministers and churches will all be led to the conclusion, that if such a calamity should come upon us as a decline from our own pure and scriptural system to systems that belong to by-gone ages, and to aristocratic and monarchical or despotic forms of civil government, and to the revival of shows and formulas and saints' days, a principal share of the blame will rest on them.

ARTICLE III.

THE RISE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs. Washington : Government Printing Office. 1864.

NOTHING is more characteristic of the wisdom of our political forefathers, than the comprehensiveness with which they viewed the dangers that encompassed them, and the activity with which they provided against them. Surprised by the motherland into a sudden revolt ; trammelled by the recent restrictions of a rigid government, uncertain of the zeal and unanimity of those for whom they were to organize resistance ; forced by events to embark on a hazardous expedient, before they could take preparative measures either for foreign aid or domestic coöperation ; they had to exercise those attributes of statesmanship without which statesmanship is vain — celerity of action, and prudence of resolve. They had, in a moment of peril which would have paralyzed meaner souls, but which awed them into greatness, to provide for exigencies near and remote, to embrace deliberations for the future in their anxieties for the present, to lay the silent groundwork of prosperous peace, while marshalling a meagre host against the discipline and experience of centuries. They had to harmonize communities different in interest, habit, education, and hereditary feeling, to bring them not only to a union for war, but to a union which should last when war should give way to a chaos, which if unprepared for, would be worse than subjugation.

They recognized therefore, in the very inception of revolution, the importance, especially to a young nation, which was to be derived from a complete and cordial understanding with the established powers of the earth. It is our purpose in the present paper, to give a necessarily brief sketch of the first steps which were taken by our early statesmen to organize amicable and useful intercourse with foreign nations, and which led to the present system of diplomacy between America and

Europe ; which all must recognize as a powerful engine of our advancement to a position of the highest rank among empires.

The remoteness of this country from the old world may be regarded as lessening in some degree the importance of diplomatic relations between the continents. One thing is certain, we are relieved by isolation from the constant apprehension of foreign war, of the undue preponderance of rivals, and from the necessity of interference in the quarrels of others ; and may therefore dispense with many of the diplomatic discussions which are the perpetual annoyance of our fellow men over the water. But without such intercourse, how isolated indeed our position ! To pass over the amenities of mutual courtesies, the advantages to our literary and social interest, the respect in which we are held abroad, and the protection of our countrymen whose business or taste lead them to seek the old world ; how stunted would be our commerce, how detrimental to our influence as a free community on European opinion, how confined in fact in every direction our enterprise and active effort, had not a systematic diplomacy, well nurtured in its youth, strengthening itself and invigorated by our very progress in its riper stage, and now the medium by which we demand and are not denied encouragement in prosperity, and sympathy in trouble, been planted and watched over at the very crisis when the fact of independence had no existence, and was hardly hinted at yet by the boldest revolutionists.

For, nearly a year before the charter of Independence was published and hardly a year after the first Congress was convened, an active movement for opening communication with European powers was made. War had been declared against the home government, and a British force was landed on the colonial soil. From a population of three millions an army was to be drawn, which should defy the first military power of the world. In every colonial capital resided a British governor ; in every port lay British vessels. British merchants controlled commerce, British subordinates compelled obedience to higher orders ; sympathy with the king stood out boldly among the best gentry throughout the continent. The insurgent army was to be enlisted among the peaceful habits of husbandry and trade, and, with hardly leisure to drop the implements of peace for

those of war, was called on to face the best drilled troops which experience and constant practice could produce. Arms, and ammunition and food and clothing were to be secured from a supply well nigh exhausted by the drafts of the prevailing government. Commerce was under the control of the enemy. Whichever way the patriot's anxious eyes were turned, some obstacle, dreaded or unforeseen, seemed to check his ardor, and dampen hope.

So gloomy were their prospects, when the first legislators set about their great work; and the hope of receiving immediate aid from abroad was not more their design, than to lay the foundations of a permanent system, when on the 29th of November, 1775, a Committee was formed for diplomatic purposes. This Committee was to correspond with persons friendly to the cause, not only with disinterested nations, but also in Great Britain and Ireland; and they were instructed to take means for procuring such information of the state of feeling as might be practicable, and also supplies which would alleviate the present desperate exigencies of the revolution.

The importance which Congress justly attached to the establishment of such a Committee, may be understood by observing the persons whom they entrusted with the performance of its duties. Five men of established zeal, ability and prudence, were designated for a service certain to call for every quality of statesmanship. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia was nominated chairman; and the others were Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Maryland, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and John Jay of New York. If the discretion which prompted these appointments had not been justified by previous record, subsequent tests confirmed its confidence. For not only did these men lay well and wisely the ground-work of a permanent and successful diplomacy, but each one afterward attained an illustrious place in history, and occupied the highest trusts with exalted credit; Franklin, especially, representing independent America at the Court of France under the very system of which he was one of the originators, in times, when the future looked vastly like enslaved America. Benjamin Harrison was of a wealthy Virginia family; had been early distinguished for ability at the bar; was elected a deputy to the

first Congress, in a delegation which embraced such men as Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee; was sent by Congress to Cambridge to visit and report the state of the army; and was designated with universal approval as the head of the "Committee on Correspondence." He continued a member of the Congress until its dissolution in 1781, after which, returning to Virginia, he was at once sent up to the House of Burgesses, and then elected Governor under the state organization. He was the father of that General Harrison who afterward occupied for the brief space of a month the Presidential chair. An orator alike graceful, earnest and simple, a gentleman of natural kindliness of disposition, and of that high delicacy and refinement for which the colonial aristocracy were so famous, an early and consistent advocate of independence, and a scholar whose ripe erudition enabled him to adopt the proper mode of approaching the dignitaries of the old world, a happier selection could not have been made for the performance of duties at once peculiar and perplexing.

Deep in contrast with that of the elegant and courtly Harrison, was the education and character of his colleague Franklin. Eminently a self made man, he had derived his learning from a ruder experience, and had been taught by more sturdy methods to appreciate the blessing of liberty and the difficulties which environed its attainment. A natural stubbornness of spirit, a philosophical study of history, and an ingenuous contempt for political corruption, had prepared the vigorous mind of the great printer for his part in the momentous drama. While the blandness and well bred manner of Harrison opened the approach to kingly favor, the energy, perseverance and powerful logic of Franklin followed up the advantage so gracefully won, and drove to its end the purpose to be achieved. The reputation of Harrison, though marked, was recent; that of Franklin was of full ripeness. He had early in life been to England, and had not failed to mark the peculiar traits of British character. While the modest editor of a news press in Philadelphia, he had founded the first public library on this continent. As his merit began to be discovered from the freshness and soundness of his editorial efforts, he had as early as 1747 been returned to the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania. He

had in 1753 founded the Scientific Academy. The following year found him a leading member of the Congress for resisting the French invasion. In 1757 he had been sent to England as the agent of his colony, to remonstrate with the home government. While there, so highly were his contributions to science estimated, that proud Oxford conferred on the sturdy colonist the degree of Doctor of Laws, and the exclusive Royal Society enrolled him among its members. The very day after he arrived at New York from his fruitless mission, he had been returned unanimously to the Continental Congress. He therefore entered that body with a varied and a well improved experience, a reputation established for wisdom of judgment and boldness of action, and the prestige of having been the trusted representative of the colonial interests at the Court of George the Third. His after life was such a series of triumphs to his own fame and the credit of his cause, that no repetition of them here could enhance the value in which his memory is held by every American. When he affixed his signature to the Declaration, he remarked that he had written it in such a manner that "King George could read it without spectacles." No better illustration of his character could be given.

There was, in the early days of the revolution, a party, who were to a man patriots, but who opposed the precipitation with which the bolder statesmen of the Adams and Hancock school urged the colonies into war. Of this cautious faction John Dickinson was the acknowledged leader. He was a moderate, rather timid, doubting man, of unquestioned good faith, and of a deliberate and compromising disposition. He was opposed to desperate measures while expostulation could be used with a remote hope of success, and favored further overtures to the stubborn ministers before embarking every interest on the uncertain chance of armed resistance. He had been educated in England, and had been received with favor among the higher classes; and so had doubtless been accustomed to believe better things of them than utter blindness to their own interest, and a dogged indifference to the desperate appeals of suffering colonists. He, like Franklin, had won distinction as a debater in the Pennsylvania Assembly, and came to Congress an experienced legislator. With that enlightened discernment which

perceives the merits of both sides of a question, Hancock added him to the distinguished list who constituted the Foreign Committee.

At the early age of thirty, John Jay of New York sat in the Continental Congress, and was a recognized leader of the ultra patriot faction. His "Address to the People of Great Britain," pronounced by so rigid a critic as Jefferson to be the production of the finest pen in America, won him high renown, and the confidence of his colleagues. The promise which he so early gave was brightly fulfilled in his subsequent career. After himself drafting the State Constitution of New York, filling the dignity of Chief Justice of that State, being elevated to the honor of the Presidency of Congress, representing the new nation at the Court of Madrid, being sent to England as a special commissioner to arrange peace, and occupying the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation, the careful judgment of Washington, immediately after the organization of the permanent government, sought him out as the fittest man to preside on the Supreme Bench of the United States. The foundation for this distinguished succession was laid by the youthful member of the Committee on Correspondence, by the ability and devotion with which he performed the duties which therein devolved upon him.

The duties of this Committee were especially to communicate with the agents of Congress abroad, and to report the progress of negotiations to that body. The agents themselves were by no means subordinate to the Committee, but directed their communications to the principal body, whence they were referred to the inferior one for consideration and reply. Each colony had, before the organization of Congress, been in the habit of commissioning foreign agents, whose special duty it had been to look to the commercial interests of their immediate constituencies in European ports; duties not unsimilar to those now provided for by consulates; and yet their rank was beyond that of our present consuls. When the Revolution broke out, these agents assumed a higher degree of importance. Such of them as Congress were inclined to trust, became the depositaries of the secret plans of that body, were empowered to guard the general interests of the cause, and were accredited with proper author-

ity to investigate the public feeling in their vicinity, to contract for supplies, and to seek the favor of the powers.

Arthur Lee of Virginia, a brother of Richard and Francis Lee, and of the immediate family of the present rebel commander-in-chief, a gentleman of the most finished and trustworthy character, happened at that time to be the agent of Virginia in England. The first application of the Committee was directed to him; and he was instructed to sound the general feeling in the mother country, and to forward what information might come to his knowledge, of whatever character, which would be of use in the existing straits of the Revolution.

The work of the Committee did not get fairly under way until after the Declaration of Independence was made. Funds were inadequate, and the difficulty of foreign communication caused much delay. Early in 1777 their exertions began to be systematic, and their intercourse with the agents abroad became regular and of palpable benefit. A commission had been established at Paris, and to that Court the colonies naturally looked for substantial assistance. The French king was far from indisposed to assist them: and his ministers were openly favorable to their interests. To this commission the Committee frequently forwarded dispatches giving an account of the progress of our arms, making inquiries as to the preparations of Great Britain for continuing the war, urging them to engage French merchants in the American trade and to attempt the negotiation of a loan of two million francs, and especially one communication recommends to their protection John Paul Jones, who was about that time creating dismay among the English coasters, and dealing sturdy blows at English commerce. Even thus early instructions were sent out to the various Commissioners to conclude treaties of "advantage and commerce" with the Courts to which they were accredited, and the instructions went so far as to solicit an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. All the recommendations of the Committee for the establishment of Commissioners and of persons to fill them seem to have met the approval of Congress; and it is a singularly creditable fact that, environed by so many embarrassments, the Committee could perform the labors assigned them without a censure from the most censorious.

The name of the Committee was now changed to one of more dignity, "The Committee of Foreign Affairs," an acknowledgment of their growing importance. A Secretary was granted to them who should receive seventy dollars a month, elected by Congress, and the choice fell upon the celebrated Thomas Paine, well known as the author of "The Age of Reason," and "Common Sense." He was celebrated for a vigorous, effective advocacy of independence through the press, and "Lossing" thinks that "his pen was almost as powerful in the support of the the Republican cause in the early years of the Revolution as was the sword of Washington." The enhanced importance of having men of the most reliable integrity and ability to represent the Congress abroad, had induced them to detach Mr. Franklin from the Committee, and to give him credentials as Commissioner to Spain, and joined with him William Lee, another of that illustrious Virginia family which had been so powerful for the cause from the earliest resistance. Silas Deane, a man of undoubted ability, but whose judgment proved wanting, had been appointed Commissioner to the important Court of Versailles.

In December, 1777, it became apparent either that incapacity or carelessness was working detriment in the French mission, and that Mr. Deane was not a fit advocate of recognition before the throne of Louis. He had exceeded his instructions in the important matter of appointing engineers. He had improperly promised offices of high rank in the American army and navy, to certain French gentlemen, with a view to induce them to come to this country. Many such, deluded by specious but entirely unauthorized representations, came over in the hope of their fulfillment, and caused much annoyance to Congress. That body therefore resolved, that, "feeling the great importance of their being well informed, at such a critical juncture of affairs in Europe; they, for the above causes, determined to recall Silas Deane, and order that the Committee for Foreign Affairs notify that gentleman of their determination, and that they direct him to embrace the earliest opportunity of returning to the United States, and upon his arrival to come immediately to Congress, in order that he might be heard by that body in his defence." As this circumstance was the first serious disturb-

ance to the harmony of the different branches of the Continental system, it caused at the time a vast amount of discussion, which had its medium in pamphlets, lampoons, and in the public prints. The friends of Mr. Deane urged that the sole aim of that gentleman was to promote our interests: and they denied with indignation the charge by inference of corruption in office. Those who, in their zeal for the Congress, essayed to defend its action, were imprudent enough to denounce him as a reckless and unprincipled man, and that he was more solicitous for his own interest than for that of his country. At all events, whether he was wilfully negligent, or worse than either it is evident that his appointment was not justified by the results of his mission. It was not the opinion of Congress or of the Committee alone that Mr. Deane did not subserve satisfactorily the interests of his constituents. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, from their proximity at the neighboring Court of Madrid, by no means inimical at the first to Mr. Deane's appointment, were constrained to despatch letters to leading members of the Congress strongly urging his removal as a necessity. This step was not more fortunate because it disposed of an incapable official, than because it led to the choice of one of America's most illustrious sons; a man whose ability and energy was not more conspicuous than his bravery and patriotism, whose aptness in state affairs seemed to be instinctive, rather than acquired, and whose provincial rank gave him a prestige well befitting an envoy to the brilliant saloons of Versailles and among the vivacious coteries of French *sarans*, nobles, and diplomats.

John Adams was commissioned as the successor of Mr. Deane. He took his departure for Europe immediately with full instructions and powers, and became in the end the main instrument of arranging the final peace. As the war progressed and our arms began, amid some disasters, to assume advantageous positions, and by some success inspired the hope of a favorable issue, more need was felt for pecuniary means than of any other aid. The colonial treasury, originally scant, was soon drained. The issue of paper money had been adopted and had met with success; but not so complete, but that other means must be adopted to replenish the funds. The Grand

Ducal Court of Tuscany, albeit an appanage of the despotic House of Germany, and thoroughly devoted, as far as its government at least was concerned, to the ancient ultra doctrines of feudal Europe, the willing instrument of the Papacy, and the weak dupe of the Hapsburgs, had from the first manifested a favorable disposition toward the American colonies. Encouraged by their favorable advances, Ralph Izard, a man of sterling ability and honesty, had early been established at Florence as the American Commissioner. The wealth and liberality, as well as the favorable disposition of the Grand Duke's Court, indicated that there a response might be met with to an application for a loan. The wisdom of Izard was put to good purpose; for the Court without hesitation advanced the at that time very large sum of one million sterling. So ready and opportune a compliance was of incalculable benefit. Ammunition was purchased and forwarded, and the army, nearly exhausted of its stock, was replenished with the necessary materials of warfare. No gratitude should be withheld from those foreign powers who in our time of trouble, stretched forth a liberal hand, and lent moral encouragement and substantial aid in the prosecution of war. Nor, while we bestow generous and rightful praise upon the self sacrificing heroes who defended liberty in the field, should we forget those who, leaving a home deep in trouble, residing in lands far away, combatting the hereditary prejudices of caste and of provincial dominion, following up small concession till they obtained hesitating acquiescence; and pitted, for the sake of their immortal cause, against the wealth and talent and brilliant seductions of foreign Courts, boldly undertook the task of breasting and turning the channel of European opinion and prejudice toward sympathy for the oppressed and the encouragement of liberty. It may well be doubted whether, had not men of the very first ability and purity worked incessantly at the minds of stubborn aristocrats and luxurious kings over the water, the sword of Washington, of Greene and Schuyler would have availed against the well marshalled hosts of Clinton and Cornwallis. Side by side on the roll of the heroes of the Revolution stand the names of De Kalb, Kosciusko, Rochambeau, Lafayette, Steuben, Pulaski, Sterling, gallant foreigners, who, moved by the heart and mind convincing elo-

quence of our advocates abroad, and fired in their noble Northern souls with enthusiasm to wrest a suffering people from oppression, came, fought, conquered and fell, with the native patriots of the cause. While beyond the sea, illustrious nobles and statesmen, who listened with honest and fervid interest to the pleas of diplomats innocent of craft, boldly set themselves against the abettors of despotism, Chatham, Camden, and Fitzwilliam in the British House of Peers, Vergennes, that wise and generous courtier, before the weak but well meaning Louis, in short, in almost every Court, some bright intellect reared itself to speak for oppressed America. These results may fairly be traced to the influence which our Commissioners exerted. to their constant devotion to their mission, and to the weight of personal character with which they demonstrated the civilization, at least, of the inhabitants of the western continent.

Of all governments the French had been from the first the most attentive to the representations of the Commissioners, and had doubtless been secretly anxious that America should achieve independence. The first minister of the crown, the Count de Vergennes, was openly enthusiastic in favor of the cause; and the natural rivalry between France and England was a main, if not the principal motive for the legitimacy and the noblesse to look with sympathy upon a struggle in which principles were to triumph hardly consistent with Bourbonist policy. French statesmen were also far sighted enough to perceive, that the early gratitude of a people who could not fail to become powerful and prosperous, would be of vast benefit to their interests, while some, like Lafayette, were actuated by a fervent love of liberty itself. So favorable had the fortune of war been to the arms of the Revolution, that on the 4th day of May, 1778, a treaty was signed at Paris, which shook British arrogance to the heart, and roused to high exertion the well tried armies of Washington. M. Gerard was the special diplomat on the part of Louis; Franklin and Lee on the part of the colonies. The independence of the colonies was acknowledged. They were recognized as the United States of America. A regular Minister Plenipotentiary was received at Versailles. Mutual committees of amity and commerce, and a military alliance were established.

Franklin and Lee were received in full drawing-room by the elegant Bourbon and his lovely queen, the unfortunate Marie Antoinette of Austria; the noble ladies of the Court, whose gentle sympathies had been aroused by the sufferings of the colonies, surrounded the venerable philosopher, and crowned his majestic head with a beautiful wreath; the nobles and scholars who formed so brilliant a circle around the throne at that time, were competitors for the distinction of Franklin's company in their stately saloons, and at their luxurious banquets; and the topic of all others which engrossed the public interest, was the cause which the powerful arm of France was about to shelter.

The Congress, already jubilant over the decisive blow at Saratoga, received the news of the treaty and alliance with the highest enthusiasm, and proclaiming it to the army, sent a thrill of joy through every rank and every class. The king of England raved in his gloomy palaces, North thought of throwing up his seals and retiring to his castle in the country, and Grenville and Thurlow spent their rugged eloquence in impotent and ludicrous malediction. The courage of the British generals, of the rigid Cornwallis, the zealous Burgoyne, the timid Clinton, the fiery and inhuman Tarleton, was dampened; and the infection of their discouragement passed through the lines of the royal forces, and dwelt in the lonely households of the native loyalists. To prevent the recall of such officers as were liable to French service, but who were giving great aid to the discipline and management of our armies, France was requested to extend their leave of absence, a request cheerfully granted. Rochambeau and Lafayette had been promoted to the highest grades of military trust; and having been schooled, as very few native generals had been, in the rigid exercises and theories of European tactics, were justly looked upon as necessary instruments to our success. While matters had thus been progressing in general favorably at home and abroad, our ancestors had not been entirely free from the scourge of nations, the malevolence of disappointed ambition, and the machinations of restless spirits. Silas Deane had returned to America, and had appeared before Congress to defend his foreign transactions. In that defence it was a common and without question a well grounded opinion that he had failed. To make the justification of Congress in his

recall more complete, letters were produced, written by Mr. Deane while abroad, to his brother and confidential friends, which put serious imputations on his character as a trustworthy, or even honest man. Arthur Lee sent home evidence gathered at the Court of France, rendering suspicion certainty ; for the which he was maliciously and recklessly attacked by the ex-Commissioner. Rejected by Congress, and deprived of office, Mr. Deane began the course of a malcontent, and thundered forth impotent anathemas, charging Congress with malice, and the Committee with deliberate corruption ; appealing to the people and using a facile pen and a presumptuous effrontery to divide and distract, when he knew that union was now more than ever the essential of success. He had, soon after returning, presented such grave charges against Mr. Izzard, that Congress, for once duped, recalled that great man ; but finding the charges utterly groundless, promoted him to the Court of Versailles. Finding that all his treasonable efforts to engender feud among the people were fruitless, and breathing bitter disgust at what he called the base ingratitude of his countrymen, Mr. Deane departed to England where death overtook him in poverty and disgrace in 1789.

More than ever, in the communications with the Commissioners abroad, was the Committee sanguine of a favorable issue to the war. We find them, while regretting the depreciation of the currency, making modifications in the minor articles of the great treaty, and urging the envoys to increased efforts, expressing cheerful expectations, assuring them of the complete unanimity of the people in the pursuit of independence, and predicting an early and decisive defeat of the principal army of the king in the south. In the latter part of the year 1778, the Committee submitted a general report to Congress, appending all the letters, instructions, and other papers which had been interchanged, and giving a detailed account of diplomatic progress. It is pleasing to reflect that the high praise given by the united voice of Congress to the Committee, demonstrates the harmony with which, in times of the greatest peril, all the machinery of the inchoate government worked. Seeing well the importance of such a feeling in all departments, Congress in a delicate and significant resolution directed the Committee "to

inform the Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France, and the Commissioners of the United States at the respective Courts in Europe, that it was the desire of Congress that harmony and good understanding should be cultivated between the Ministers, Commissioners and Representatives of this Congress at the respective Courts in Europe, and such confidence and cordiality take place among them as is necessary for the honor and interest of the United States."

A contention which arose between Thomas Paine, the Secretary of the Committee, and Silas Deane, early in 1779, resulted in the loss of the former's services to the cause. Mr. Deane had attacked with intemperate violence the Committee in general and had been especially bitter against their Secretary. The controversy was a long and violent one, conducted on both sides with great ability and with indecorous rancour. In his zeal to clear himself and the Committee before the public, Mr. Paine had been so indiscreet as to reveal several matters of importance, which it was necessary to keep secret. The indignation of Congress at this rash breach of faith was justly great. The papers and letters in Paine's possession were taken from him. The Committee was instructed to dismiss him. Before, however, action was taken, Mr. Paine avoided the disgrace of public discharge and resigned. No one attributed to this want of trust malicious intention, or any design ulterior to that affirmed by the delinquent Secretary, the endeavor to clear the honor and patriotism of the diplomatic department. Notwithstanding this affair, Mr. Paine had the heart to continue steadfastly the advocate of independence, and did constant and sterling service in its cause with his vivid pen to the end of the war. After its successful issue he went to England, and there published his celebrated treatise on "The Rights of Man," a work which brought him into such disfavor with the British government, that he found it advisable to quit that country. In France he found a congenial society where his restless spirit might work out its eccentric and startling problems; for then the capital was in the first mighty swellings of a revolution, brought about by intellectual and moral sentiment. Paine, without reflection, rushed headlong into the scheme of overthrowing the regime of the Bourbons, and establishing a Jacobin Republic. After the

events of that period, in which he took an active part, he returned once more to America, and died in New York in 1809, at an advanced age, in deep obscurity, moral degradation and poverty, the victim of his infidelity. We are more particular in noticing this remarkable man's career, as he was identified prominently with our early diplomatic system, and as few men attracted more attention throughout the world at this period.

The timid but well disposed Court of Spain now followed the lead so generously taken by the French king, and recognized the United States, and John Jay was nominated as Minister to Madrid. An amicable treaty was entered into, and the relations between the countries were put upon a friendly, and to us at least, upon a very useful footing. About the same time Arthur Lee was recalled from France, and William Lee, his brother, from Vienna and Berlin, whither he had been transferred from Paris. Among the most graceful incidents of this stage of the war, was the warm and generous interest of a Mr. Dohrman, a wealthy and powerful merchant of Lisbon. Practical evidence of his good will came to the knowledge of Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, and he communicated the pleasing facts to Congress. Mr. Dohrman was therefore appointed agent of the United States at his native Court, which, as far as it had taken any action, had manifested a sympathy for the colonial cause. Mr. Jay was sent on a special mission to Portugal, and finding so favorable a feeling there, negotiated an important maritime treaty with the king.

Thus, gradually and steadily, the interests of the United States penetrated to the knowledge and gained the favor of foreign powers: thus step by step, after the most incessant labor and the most untiring devotion, this fraternity of States acquired a foothold across the water, and was held in consideration among the nations. Long before the conclusion of the war, France had boldly admitted in honored recognition a fully accredited plenipotentiary to her diplomatic circle, where the representative of a late province met on equal terms and with equal rights, the titled ambassador of the tory king. Now, in 1779, Spain and Portugal, German principalities and Italian duchies, were added to the list of friends. Austria and Prussia failed to

take interest in the struggle : and England, proud but humbled, obstinate but well nigh despairing, stood solitary and alone, without sympathy and without aid except that pitiable aid which was derived from the hire of mercenaries from her ancient allies on the continent of Europe.

Prejudice of caste and prescription were lost in hatred of a rival potentate, and, we are led to believe, in a more generous interest in the success of a brave and struggling people.

The success which had attended the labors of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the favor with which our envoys had been received abroad, and the incalculable advantages which arose from that state of feeling, were as certain presages of the ultimate triumph of the insurgent arms, as the more striking events of the military campaign. The early statesmen were justified in regarding the favorable attitude of European powers as a sure indication of their judgment as to the issue ; and were well aware that the experience which long centuries had drilled into their political codes, made them better judges, perhaps, of the tendency of events in any country than they themselves who were on the spot. France, though undoubtedly a generous, was neither a presumptuous nor a heedless power, and Vergennes certainly looked to the end, when he counselled and obtained the recognition. When therefore, encouraged by the double efficacy of substantial aid and favorable premonition, the Congress met in 1780, and took a comprehensive view of the state of affairs military and diplomatic, it became evident that the latter department was becoming too cumbersome for the subordinate labors of a committee, and that a new system of foreign correspondence must be established. So delicate and complicated were becoming our relations with foreign powers, every day more so because of the more particular connections constantly forming, that however able and industrious the Committee, its numbers and necessary differences of opinion, as well as its constant reliance upon Congress, made it apparent that a more thorough plan should be adopted. It was therefore determined to erect a department, similar to some extent to the complete systems of old established governments, and yet retaining in a degree the principle of subordination to Congress. In January, 1781, a committee was appointed to draft a plan

for a "Department of Foreign Affairs"; and a report by them was promptly submitted. Putting forth, in clear and logical tone, the reasons which made such an establishment necessary, they asserted that the extent and growing power of the United States entitled them to a place among the greatest potentates of Europe; that the war had advanced to such a state that there could be but little reasonable doubt of its successful termination; that the commercial interests of the nation manifested the necessity of cultivating with the European countries an intimate and friendly intercourse and connection, a connection which would promote the interests and honor of this country, which would aid her advancement to prosperity and power, which would enrich and enlighten the community; that to render such an intercourse efficacious, it was necessary that there should be a full knowledge of the interests, opinions, relations, and systems of the sovereigns; that a knowledge in its nature so comprehensive was only to be acquired by an assiduous attention to the state of Europe, and an unremitted application to the means of acquiring well grounded information; that it behooved our government to maintain with our ministers at foreign Courts a regular and particular correspondence, informing them of every event affecting the public honor, interest and safety; and that the fluctuation, the delay, and the indecision to which the existing mode of performing these labors was necessarily exposed, made the necessity of a Department obvious.

The head of the new Department was to be styled, after the manner of the English precedent, the "Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs." He was to reside and perform his duties in the place where Congress was convened. He was to keep and preserve all the books and archives relating to his Department. He was to receive and report the application of all foreigners for commissions, contracts, and other services. He was to obtain, not only by correspondence with our own ministers, but also by direct communication with foreign statesmen and citizens, all the information which could be useful and was available. He was to take an oath of fidelity to the United States in the presence of the President of Congress; and was to report to, and receive instructions from, Congress, whenever by that body required.

But the negotiation of treaties was not included among his prerogatives ; he had no right to transmit positive instructions abroad without submitting them to Congress, and receiving the approval of that body ; and was much more dependent on Congress, which was the executive as well as the legislative estate, than the Secretary of State is, under the Constitution. At the same time measures were taken to establish a War and Financial Department. The new system, known as the Confederation, was made complete by the election of Robert R. Livingston of New York as first Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Henry Knox of Massachusetts, Secretary of War, and Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, Secretary of Finance : and it was a matter of happy augury to the former department, that it went into operation on the anniversary of the birthday of Washington ; its organization having been somewhat modified at the suggestion of Mr. Livingston, who, after several months' examination of his field of labor and a judicious contemplation of its wants, proposed such changes as occurred to him, to the consideration of Congress. The modifications tended to enhance the responsibility of the Secretary to the Congress, and made him removable at the pleasure of that body ; and he was powerless to perform any executive act. He was instructed to communicate as well with the Governors of States, as with foreign powers, and to bring to their notice such complaints as were urged against them from abroad, and affording them such information from his department as might be useful and important for them to know ; for already State governments had been formed out of the old colonial ones.

Another power granted to him was that of attending the sessions of Congress ; where he was to explain, and answer objections to, his report ; and give such information as was required by the members.

We have now with necessary brevity, given an imperfect outline of the early foundation laid by the fathers of the Republic, whence has arisen our present diplomatic system. A volume of great interest might have been devoted to the limit of time to which we have confined our remarks ; namely, the period during which the issue of the Revolution was still uncertain. Enough has however been said, to illustrate the wisdom with

which, in each department, the embryo Government was conducted. It will be an abundant reward for the labor which has been necessary to present even so much of our history, if the public attention is called to the names and labors of those men, who, albeit neither martyrs in the conflict, nor conspicuous in the halls of legislation, yet exercised every virtue of patriotism; who were praiseworthy for exalted self denial and constant honesty; who directed the rays of monarchical sympathy toward the drooping cause beyond the seas, and by the vivid logic which truth creates, compelled unwilling royalty to hear, and feudal aristocrats to acquiesce in, the demands and the destiny of an empire in the West.

ARTICLE IV.

THE VITAL PRINCIPLE OF LITERATURE.

THE same principle is to be recognized in literature as in other departments of human effort. The political ideas and the political institutions that have been current in different ages, have a value for us now only as expressing more or less fully the Christian conception of individual freedom. The greater the political freedom, the more enduring the influence of political institutions, the greater their service to human happiness. The Republics of Greece and Rome still live in the lives and political arrangements of modern times; while the despotisms that flourished on the Nile and on the Euphrates, live but in name, and owe even that to the painstaking of the curious and the antiquarian. Religious freedom is the central principle about which revolved all the intellect and glory of the eighty years' struggle of the Netherlands against Spanish intolerance and despotism. It was the great desire of Arnold, that his history by its high morals and general tone might be of use to Christianity without actually bringing it forward. And it is

with the same thoughtful recognition of divine providence that Bancroft and Motley write. And a yet clearer, grander exhibition is now taking place, soon to be ready for the Christian pen.

The history of art is still more to our purpose. Despite the abuse that has been made of it for low and sensuous purposes, modern times have hardly excelled the ancient in their devotion of art to the service of the popular religion and moral ideas. The greatest works of the ancient masters were the representations of their gods, and a very large share of the works which crowd the galleries of Europe, owe their existence and their place, to the religious conceptions they aim to express. In many a gallery in Italy, full half of the paintings that adorn the walls are representations of the Virgin Mary or other objects of devotion in the church of Rome, and the greatest genius of modern times devoted his best thoughts and his highest skill to setting forth the Transfiguration. In other works, mediæval or more modern, beauty alone is not sufficient, were such a thing in the true sense possible; there must also be truth, some high thought, some noble conception of duty, or heroism, a self-sacrifice, or other idea within the range of human sympathies. In Cole's "Voyage of Life," for instance, it is not the exquisite grouping of the different elements of the landscape, attractive as this is, but the moral emotions awakened in our minds, that perpetuate our gratitude and kindly remembrance of the artist.

But in literature, as the more direct and immediate expression of thought, this law of life and power is more fully illustrated. And it matters little for our present purpose, whether we understand by literature, all written and printed works on whatever subject, science, history, fiction, morals or philosophy, or restrict it to the narrower sense given it by later writers, and following De Quincey in the main, define literature to be that which addresses man in man, and appeals to the common, universal character of our humanity. In any case only that which has a moral purpose, or can be made to contribute to moral uses, can long retain a place in the hearts of men. The literature whose office it is to instruct will constantly be superseded as further advances in knowledge are made. And this must continue to be the fact, till all the subjects of scientific

investigation are thoroughly known, and their determining principles adequately set forth. Then they will minister not only to the truest intellectual development of the human soul but to its moral life by illustrating the wisdom and goodness of the divine architect, and raising the believer to a more devout adoration and a loftier praise. Till then the literature of knowledge must be of a temporary character at the best. Works of this class will have an interest as way-marks set up along the track of time, indicative of the different stages of human progress. They will excite only a passing intellectual interest. The crude conceptions of an early age, the inadequate and oftener erroneous notions of the physical world, may help us, it may be, to a more grateful appreciation of the blessings and privileges we enjoy, but have little power over our hearts. On the other hand the earliest struggles of the human mind to understand itself, its first serious questionings with itself of God and duty, of life and immortality, have an undying interest. Here all the world is kin. Every noble aspiration, every more generous emotion, every conflict with sin, every noble sacrifice for our fellow men, lives imperishable in the story of the past. It matters not what may be the theme, or in what department of literature, whether a humble treatise in angling, the story of a nation's struggle for its rights, or the poet's high imaginings of immortality from the recollections of childhood, be it never so high, never so humble, let it rouse and stimulate our moral life, let it only quicken us to worthier conceptions of duty, to both thinking and doing, and the work shall live, a possession for the ages. Whatever is wrought out in the truth, and for the ends of truth, becomes a sharer in its triumph and immortality.

The interest we feel in the sacred literature of the Hebrews, is not by any means to be referred solely to the fact of its containing a revelation from God, and to having a claim upon our regard. As we read the story of the early patriarchs, of Moses and Joshua, or the records of religious experience depicted in the Psalms, or the loftier strains of prophecy, we quite forget all else but the moral truths set forth and illustrated. It is not the outward lives of men of whom we read, differing but little if at all from what may still be witnessed and has been described by

each succeeding traveller who has visited the Holy Land. It is not even the quiet beauty of the narrative, or the power of poetic imagination, that holds the attention, but something richer, worthier, of which these are but the appropriate setting, the picture of silver for the apple of gold.

The literature of the Greeks has long held the first place in the estimation of scholars for beauty of conception, for finish in expression, and for the great variety and interest of its thought. Yet we venture the remark that much of the interest ascribed to these causes really belongs elsewhere, or at the least, that a still higher intellect belongs to it from the moral and religious ideas it contains, coming out in constantly increasing clearness as we go back further and further into the earliest eras, the legacy, it may be, not wholly lost from a primitive revelation of God to the race, or the purest expression of the moral nature of man before it had suffered from the vices of a later civilization, or as it was preserved in the minds and hearts of an elect few for the better cultivation of their times. It was not then without reason that the works of Homer have been called the Greek Bible. The power he exerted for centuries over the Greek mind, was not found in the beauty of his poetry, in the historical traditions he preserved, in the artless simplicity and freshness of his narrative, but rather in the high thought he now and then expressed, in the ideals of moral heroism he exhibited, so wakening in the minds of his hearers and readers aspirations for noble achievement, and satisfying in part the moral hunger and thirst of their souls. He taught them to recognize the gods as determining the circumstances of our earthly life, and as allotting to each individual man, his physical and mental endowment. Hector says of Ajax, "God has given you greatness and strength and prudence." And the aged Peleus says to his son on going forth to the wars, "My child, Minerva and Juno will give you strength"; words not so much unlike, save in the name applied to the divine being, to the parting words of many a Christian parent under similar circumstances.

Homer taught that God rules in the house and home, gives the young man his bride, and blesses their bed and board. When Ulysses returned home after his years of wandering and exile, his wife not less faithful to the gods than to her husband, ex-

claims, "The gods have brought you back"; "The gods have made you come back to your well-built house and your native land." The individual acts of men, and the particular incidents of their lives are all dependent on the will of the gods. Man proposes, but God disposes. Zeus does not fulfill all the plans of Hector. The wicked sisters of Penelope desire many a cruel thing that Zeus will not bring to completion.

But besides this recognition of the gods in all the providential arrangements of human life, Homer taught a practical confidence and trust in them. His favorite heroes are eminently religious men. Hector places his hopes of victory on the aid of Zeus and the other gods. And Diomedes, when deserted by his companions, upon the battlefield, exclaims, "Fly who will, Sthenelus and I will fight on, for we came with God." This sense of dependence and trust in God, finds utterance in prayer.

It would not be easy to find any history, or biography even, in modern times, in which there is so full and practical a recognition of a divine hand in the common affairs of life, as in the works of Homer. And in this fact we recognize the secret of their power over the human mind, without which they would long since have perished with the great mass of literary production that the world is willing to let die.*

The sublimity and moral grandeur of the Greek drama, are nothing but the sublimity and grandeur of the moral ideas embodied in it. The lofty conceptions of justice, the certainty of retribution for sin, now crushing in remediless ruin the guilty offender, now visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation; the determined will, that, steadfast in its moral might, is ready to withstand the direst torture, and the thunderbolt of Jove; this it is that gave the works of Æschylus and Sophocles their power over the minds of their fellow men, and made the drama the great source of moral instruction to the people of their age; and the absence of those high qualities, the substitution of mere form and the prettinesses of style for moral truths, soon brought it to ruin even in its own day, and lost it the respect and remembrance of mankind.

* For numerous other illustrations of the topics referred to in Homer, grouped under appropriate heads, see Nagelsback, *Homerische Theologie*.

So again in oratory, Athens counted its men by scores, the distinguished man, Quintillian tells us, in a single age. Yet one man alone has secured imperishable renown; and that not more from the artistic form in which his thoughts are presented, than from the thoughts themselves. When Demosthenes stood forth almost unaided and alone to withstand the despot and the armies bent on the subjugation of his country, it was something more than rhetoric, than graces of style, or speech, that were required to hurl back the weapons of the foe. He recognized the fact that moral ideas rule the world, that moral laws enter into the economy of God's providence, that high moral truths are alone capable of truly inspiring men to noble efforts in a noble cause, can alone give power and solidity to political action, and secure permanent results. And so he charged his orations to the full with moral ideas, ideas that would have done honor to a Christian statesman, and that for substance have often been reproduced on the floor of modern senates and parliaments. And these orations live, while those of his contemporaries are in great measure lost, or are but dimly visible in the light borrowed from the great master.

In strict keeping with this it has of late come to be acknowledged in our schools of rhetoric, that all true eloquence must rest on a moral basis, and be the application of moral truths to the great practical questions of life not less at the bar and in the senate than in the pulpit.

“What portion of Greek literature,” says one of the latest writers on eloquence, “throbs with such an intense life as the speeches of Demosthenes? If there be any of the *vis vivida vitæ* in Roman literature, that literature, which unlike all others was born old and never exhibits any of the morn and liquid dew of youth; if there be any fresh vital force in Roman letters, is it not to be found in the orations of Cicero? And where in the modern world, do the most vehement and passionate energies of the human intellect expatiate and career, if not in the vastly widened arena of political and sacred eloquence; if not on that theatre, where the active practical interests of man for time and eternity come up for discussion and decision?—Shedd's *Thermein*, Introductory Essay, pp. 47, 48.

But we must turn to the Greek philosophy as represented in Socrates and Plato for the clearest and worthiest conceptions of

moral ideas, the highest the human mind has been able to attain to unaided by revelation ; so like Christian conceptions, that many have been led to suppose an acquaintance with the sacred books of the Hebrews. But a better explanation is that the human mind was in these men to demonstrate the need of a revelation, by sounding along the very limits possible to unaided human reason. They bear witness to the reality of our moral nature ; to its intrinsic worth and possible greatness despite its ruins, and thus command the admiration and love of subsequent times. It is hardly possible to read the apology of Socrates without tears, that one so good and true, should yet fail of the highest light, and meet so sad and unjust a doom ; without feeling that he was a regenerate man, a Christian at heart, lacking only the intellectual object of faith. In the spirit of the apostles Peter and John, but earlier by hundreds of years, he declared that if required to give up his practice of teaching his peculiar doctrines on pain of death, he would say,

“ Though I love and esteem you, men of Athens, I must obey God rather than you, and so long as I live and have the power, I can not cease my instructions. For I shall go about doing nothing else but teaching your young men and your old men, not to care so much for your bodies and possessions as for your souls, as of the highest importance ; telling you how virtue comes not from riches, but riches and all things else both to individuals and the state come from virtue.”—Apol. c. xvii.

It is truths like these, shining forth amid the darkness of heathenism, and forming the staple of their works, and set forth in fitting diction, that have given such power and enduring reputation to the great masters of Grecian thought. The truth lives, and the works that embody it somehow escape the ravages of time, the conflagration of Alexandrine libraries, the plundering hands of savage tribes, and continue to minister to the thought and activities of humanity.

We have dwelt thus minutely upon the different branches of Greek literature, because of its high character and admitted excellence as pure literature. It is the better suited to our purpose because existing prior to Christianity, and owing its preservation to no purely Christian regard or reverence for its authors. Its worth is purely in itself, it borrows no foreign aid to

minister to its influence or to perpetuate its reputation. For a brief period and over a few minds only, did these ideas of the good and the true have the ascendancy. The Greek mind was given rather to beauty and art. But this short period and these few minds gave birth to a great part of what is great and good in Grecian story. The moral and the spiritual thus exert their rightful prerogatives. The human mind can not long rest in the merely beautiful, but sooner or later demands spiritual verities, the substance rather than the form. And to whatever meets this demand, and only to that, is destined an immortality.

The history of English literature is not less conclusive in favor of the position we have assumed, whether we regard particular eras, or the works of individual authors. If we were called upon to name that period in English history or English literature, the most remarkable for its strong men, for those who have left their mark on the institutions and on the literature of this country, we should at once go back to the Elizabethan; to that which was emphatically under the influence of theological and moral ideas. It was these ideas discussed in parliament, by the press, from the pulpit, in private circles and in public places, as never before or since by any people, that gave strength and solidity to English character and English thought, not in one branch of effort but in all. To cite the names of the great masters of this period would be to summon up most of the great names of England's glory. We still turn back to the pages of the judicious Hooker for the profoundest discussions on the grounds of law, divine as well as human. Spenser brought all his wealth of allegorical and mediæval imagery, and his rare mastery of verse, and offered them upon the shrine of the moral virtues. In Shakespeare as in no other dramatist was found a recognition of moral truths, and the sure and inevitable consequences of their violation. Where else do we find more truthful representations of the power of a guilty conscience than in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*; where out of revelation, a truer estimate of the power and capabilities of human nature than in the latter play? "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god!" Take away from

Shakespeare the moral ideas he derived from his age, and he sinks at once, if not to the level of other dramatic writers, at least to a position far less commanding than he now holds. Not that he is always moral, not that there are not passages we could wish he had never written, but Shakespeare is Shakespeare not because of these, but in spite of them. Bacon again had no rival in philosophy, truer to the spirit of his age in his head than in his heart and practice, and the representative of the power which Christian ideas are capable of exerting over philosophic thought. And the church holds and will forever hold in highest regard the divines of this period, Owen and Howe and Hall and Taylor and Baxter and Bunyan, not all contemporaries but all the legitimate fruitage of the period. And last, not least, stands well nigh unapproachable, in lofty dignity and sublime devotion to the noblest interests of humanity, whether political, social, literary or religious, the name of John Milton, a man in whom, taken all in all, those great moral and religious ideas which dawned on the English mind in the Elizabethan era, and in which he had been educated, were to shine forth in their meridian splendor, *ultimus Romanorum*. The limits of this period have been extended beyond the reign of Elizabeth nearly a century, so as to include what stands in properly organic relations as one whole. And here, as in Greek literature, the names we love and cherish most, are those who have contributed to our moral necessities. Of the great number of dramatists, poets, and other writers whose names swell the catalogues of our libraries, those alone live and find audience in the busy world of to-day.

If we now carry our examination into the different branches into which literature is divided, as history, poetry, and philosophy, we shall find the same principle verified. History as we have already noticed, in its true and proper sense, is the record of providence, educating different tribes, nations, peoples, under the control of certain moral laws. It is these moral laws in each given case that furnish the material points of interest. It is not the record of physical prosperity, the enumeration of cities and armies and conquests and battle-fields, however large the space they have hitherto held on the reading page, but the determining principles that sway the national mind and rule in

the national heart. The raw materials of a structure, the lumber, brick and stone, are nothing without the thought of the architect, to mould them into form and beauty, and to invest them with a human interest. It is not the thousand and one incidents in the life of a nation or of an individual that are worthy of record, but only the thought that sways that life.

Philosophy, though hardly a part of literature in its strict sense, has for its object the intellectual solution of the great moral problems of the race; whence am I, what, and whither? And when it wisely confesses its inability to solve these questions, and bows meekly to accept the oracles of divine truth, it then finds its noblest exercise in reducing to a systematic order the materials of knowledge, human and divine, then making them minister to man's highest culture as an immortal and spiritual being.

But as more truly literature in its narrowed sense, so poetry is most closely connected with our moral culture and discipline. Its proper place and office is admirably presented in the old fable that when Innocence left the world, she met Poetry on the confines. The sisters met, embraced, and passed on their several ways, Innocence back to heaven, Poetry down to earth, where she was henceforth to hold up to men in ideals, what was now no longer possible, but after which the human soul was found to aspire, and which was then to be a means of its elevation and culture. It is in much the same spirit that the greatest of English poets observed of the abilities of the past: "These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, yet to some in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbue and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind and to set the affections in a right tune." *

True poetry is the work of the imagination, and the imagination in its highest and noblest sense is the faculty of ideas, and works in harmony with the eternal truth of things. Hence the very essence and substance of all true imagination, and works of high imagination, is truth; truth purer it may be than finds full realization in a world of sense and sin, yet truth which the

* Muller's Prose Works, Bohn edition. Vol. 2, p. 479.

human soul recognizes as akin to its own essence ; sometimes subduing the soul to sadness like the remembered tones of the loved and lost, or thrilling the heart like the sound of one's native tongue falling upon the ear of the traveller in a distant land, or wakening to juster conceptions of the possible power and greatness in reserve for the redeemed soul.

Thus we may lay down the general principle in reference to individual authors, that of all the writers of a given period, whatever the subject of which they treat, and however great their abilities, only those will have an abiding place in the respect and the regards of men, who recognize and in some degree illustrate and enforce those moral ideas on which the welfare of society as of individuals depends. We have already indirectly called attention to this fact in referring to some of the leading names of literary history. It will not now be necessary to cite more than a few, and such as belong to literature in its narrower sense. By general consent, Washington Irving has been assigned the first place in our American literature, as, on the whole, the most thoroughly accomplished literary man our country has produced. Yet he never loses sight of a moral purpose. "You laugh," said he to his nephew, who on reading to him a flattering review of his works, smiled as he came to this sentence : "His most comical pieces have always a serious end in view" ; "you laugh, but it is true. I have kept that to myself hitherto, but that man has found me out."* Irving knew full well that the humorous must have a serious undertone in order to its greatest power over the human heart. If another author were to be named at once popular, and one that at first thought would seem to be opposed to the principle here asserted, that author would probably be Robert Burns, and yet it is more than probable that if his greatest admirers were asked to name the poem for which they value and love him most, they would name first of all the "Cottar's Saturday Night," and that without thinking, because of its truthfulness as one of the fairest pictures of humble Christian life. And if they were to quote some of the passages that first come to their memories, they would cite such as are expressive of the moral sentiments of his better hours, and which he often intersperses in his lighter verse.

* *Life and Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

Where shall we find truer conceptions of manhood than in the song, "For a' that and a' that"; or of worldly pleasure than when compared to

"the snow falls in the river,
A moment white, then melts forever";

or, again, in some of those sad dirges in which he gave utterance to his deep sense of the insufficiency of all earthly good to satisfy the cravings of our immortal nature?

In fact this element of sadness enters largely into the popular poetry of the masses. It meets a response as none else can. It is true to the actual experience of men; it is a confession to the fact of sin and sorrow as a great fundamental fact of human experience. So Byron utters one long wail of disappointed hope with its manifold changes from highest to lowest, yet often wonderfully true to the minor notes of the human soul, because the truthful confessions a brilliant, highly gifted, abandoned worldling. And the same sad sympathy is the occasion of much of our interest in the greatest poem of an American poet in some aspects similar to Byron, the "Raven" of Edgar A. Poe.

On the other hand, but meeting the wants of the soul on another side, see what a hold, what a tenacity of life is possessed by the sacred lyrics of the church, sung in all lands, by believers of every age and name; and because true to the deepest experiences of our spiritual being. Thus Watts, and Wesley, and Steele, and Newton, and Bonar, have won for themselves undying names. Thus the recent productions beginning, "Just as I am," and "Nearer my God, to thee," strike a chord in the popular heart, and became at once favorite expressions of faith, spiritual communion and joyful confidence.

The literature of the world then, in different ages, heathen and Christian, in its different branches, and as the product of individual minds, pays its homage to the moral order of the universe; and finds the law of its life and real power to be at one with those great moral ideas which divine providence is employing for the renovation and sanctification of the race. The words, "I came not to destroy but to fulfil," find their application in literature as in other fields of human activity. Humanity is for Christ. All that is truly noble in it, all that is worthy of it, finds its perfection in Christ as the centre of di-

vine truth ; and so literature is made to serve the ends of his government, and his purposes of grace to a fallen world.

Is it too much to say, then, that literature has its law, its determining principle, its scientific basis? May it not be reduced to a science? May not its different branches, so far as they are properly distinct, or so far as they exhibit some characteristic quality, though more or less blended with others, be classified, and distributed according to the degree in which they minister to the popular wants ; with perhaps a reference at the same time to the faculties more immediately concerned and addressed in their production? The classification would range all the way from that which addresses our proper spiritual being, down through that which presents truth to us under the form of beauty, to the strictly scientific or philosophic statement, from the most universal to the least so, from that which, independent of time or circumstance, belongs to man as man, to the highest forms of æsthetic or philosophic description.

No account is here made of the form in which the truth is expressed, because the form is not independent of the truth. The best, most adequate form is the one that most adequately expresses the truth. The story of Lear had been told by scores of chroniclers, and with not a little power by Layamon, enlarging upon his French original, but its entire truth, its moral power, still waited for Shakespeare. In this view it matters little how many authors discuss the same theme, he who utters the truth in the best way, in all its fulness, records his immortality with the truth. Some men have the power to set forth a truth full-orbed, with that "rich economy of expression" that leaves nothing to be desired. It is so much like creation, that we at once and without question give them the name of genius, and count them among the world's benefactors. And yet it is not the beautiful form but the truth that lives and throbs beneath the form, that wakens our highest admiration.

Finally, we find in the principle discussed the determining grounds of literary criticism. Back of local associations, back of the accidents of time or circumstances as the peculiar spirit of an age or people, lies the question, whether a given production shall live in the minds and hearts of men, as a living power for good, with its divine mission in the moral and social eleva-

tion of mankind. Is it true? Is it the whole truth in consequence of a fitting form? Does it minister to the common needs of men, with power to quicken and strengthen whatever is best and worthiest in our nature? If so it will live, live among the

“ Truths that wake
To perish never.”

ARTICLE V.

THE UNJUST STEWARD: AN EXPOSITION OF LUKE xvi. 1—12, IN A NEW VIEW.

MOST readers of this parable have felt great difficulty in discovering in what respect the conduct of the steward, here referred to, is called wise; or how it could with propriety be set forth as an example for Christians. We may infer this from the almost innumerable explanations which have been offered by interpreters.

The Saviour is here admonishing his disciples to act justly, wisely, and to use their property, talents and opportunities of doing good in such a manner, that when they shall be removed from their employments in this world, they may give up their accounts with joy, and be received into everlasting habitations as good and faithful stewards.

But how such conduct is taught and illustrated by the example of a man who seems, at first view, to have acted neither justly, wisely, nor charitably, who first wasted his lord's goods, and then endeavored to deceive and defraud him, is somewhat hard to be made out by the common interpretation of the parable.

We can not suppose that our Saviour meant to justify dishonesty, however cunningly practiced, and to exhort his disciples to imitate the conduct of a man who was turned out of his office for scandalous breach of trust, and made provision for

his future support by joining with fraudulent debtors to cheat his employer.

And yet the passage declares that the lord of the unjust steward commended him because he had done wisely; while our Saviour urges the children of light to adopt the same principle of action.

The parable is, doubtless, capable of an explanation which will set the conduct of the steward in a better light, and show that he was commended, not for a low and dishonest cunning, which is never in the Bible called wisdom, but for strict justice, and a wise forecast.

If it can be made to appear that, in making up his accounts, and in his arrangement with these debtors, he acted faithfully and wisely both toward his employer and those with whom he transacted his business, we shall see in the Saviour's address a just and necessary inference from the parable, and an essential doctrine of Christianity. Let us then examine this parable.

A certain rich man had a steward, to whom he had committed the management of his estate. Upon a charge of having, in some way, wasted or injured the property, he was called to account, and threatened with expulsion from his office. In order to silence his accusers, to satisfy his employer, and to retain his place, he sent for those who were indebted to the estate, and reduced their debts, some one half, others one fifth, from the original amount, thus giving up a large amount as the price of safety. This proceeding merited the approbation of the employer, of the debtors, and of our Lord.

Now in order to understand the ground upon which this proceeding is commended, we must ascertain the relation in which this man stood to his master on the one side, and to the debtors on the other.

It was common in the East, as it is in many parts of the world now, for the owner of a very large estate, which he was either indisposed or unable to manage himself, to put it into the hands of an agent who had skill and experience, who managed it according to his own discretion, and, so far as others were concerned, stood in the place of the owner.

The agent, or steward, was bound to pay the owner a round sum annually; and so long as this was paid punctually, the pro-

prietor did not trouble himself to inquire how it was raised, and was frequently as ignorant of the manner in which the estate was managed as a stranger.

The steward received no salary from the owner for his care and labor. But in order to pay himself, he rented the estate to under tenants upon such terms as could be agreed upon, and thus was enabled to satisfy the owner, and to maintain himself.

Now if the steward were a just, honest and benevolent man, and the estate was a good one, he could discharge his obligation to the proprietor, and at the same time, deal with the tenants as the different circumstances might require, thus gaining their friendship and good will by many acts of kindness, which could be no injury to the owner, but would on the contrary, benefit the estate by rendering the tenants contented and industrious.

If a blight injured the crops, if illness rendered the tenants unable to labor, if any affliction came upon the families, the steward could, in many ways, relieve them; and if, in doing so, he did not rapidly enrich himself, he could enjoy the satisfaction of doing good with his means, without diminishing the income which the lord had a right to expect and demand.

But, on the other hand, if the steward was an unjust, avaricious, hard man, he had it in his power to enrich himself by oppressing his tenants, while he seemed to act in good faith and honestly toward his employer. He could demand exorbitant rents. He could embrace every opportunity which the necessities of his tenants, or the state of the times offered to amass wealth. He could lend upon oppressive usury; he could sell the productions of the land at ruinous prices; he could seize the goods of debtors to the estate, and demand payment for restoring them. He could in many ways exercise over those who served him a grinding oppression.

By these means he could unjustly enrich himself, without affecting the income of the proprietor, who, so long as he received his stipulated income, might not inquire into the manner in which it was raised; and being removed from all personal intercourse with the occupants of his estate, perhaps also to a great distance from it, might not hear any complaint, nor suspect that his steward, so faithful, apparently, to him, was, at

the same time, grinding the faces of the poor, and amassing wealth by extortion and virtual robbery.

But an estate managed in this manner, must be greatly injured. The tenants would become discontented and discouraged. Only those whose necessities compelled them to hold lands upon hard terms, would submit to oppressive exactions. And the steward would naturally resort to all iniquitous measures in order to enrich himself speedily. Thus the estate would be wasted, and the proprietor eventually sustain great loss.

Such seems to have been the condition of the estate referred to in the parable. The steward described by the Saviour was entrusted with the management of property that he was wasting, or injuring by intolerable extortion. The owner was informed at last of the manner in which his estate was managed, and to bring this system of injustice and oppression to an end, he called the steward suddenly to account, thus at once arresting his career of oppression, relieving his tenants, and forcing the wrong-doer to look about for a refuge from the storm that was gathering over him. It is therefore with great earnestness that the unjust steward raises the practical question, "What shall I do?"

Upon inquiry into the various conditions and responsibilities of the tenants, he found that one owed, or had obligated himself to pay, "an hundred measures of oil," or at least the value of it; another, an hundred measures of wheat, and so on.

With apparent surprise at the exorbitance of the debts, as if he had had known nothing of his lord's demands, and with a show of justice, if not of great benevolence, the steward desired one to take his bill, lease, or obligation, and write what he would, say fifty; and the other, eighty. And, although no more examples are given, doubtless he administered equal justice to all.

The effect seems to have been just what he desired and anticipated. The debtors had been oppressed, and probably nearly ruined. Yet they had no legal claims for redress. They had voluntarily agreed to pay so much; and they could not release themselves from the hard obligation.

And now, when the steward voluntarily, kindly, and honestly, as it appeared, inquired into their circumstances, as if it

was his lord and not himself that was to blame in this matter, and lightened their burdens at his own peril, while they were expecting to be treated with still greater rigor; and when they found the seeming oppressor changed into a considerate friend, a hard creditor into a liberal benefactor, it is not strange that they should be inclined to reciprocate his benevolent regards, and, if he should be turned out of his stewardship for an act of such palpable generosity, to receive him into their houses.

On the other hand, in doing this act of strict justice, if not of benevolence and mercy, he did not defraud or injure the proprietor. His own obligation to his employer remained uncanceled. The waste which he was accused of committing, consisted in oppressing the tenants by the extortion of these very sums which he now, by a constrained justice, voluntarily gave up. So far indeed was the proprietor from being injured by these acts of the steward, that he was directly and greatly benefitted by them. The estate was relieved and brought into better condition. The tenants were satisfied and made contented, and the man who had become the object of their fear and hate, had suddenly become their friend in appearance, if not in reality.

And the lord of the estate, as we should have supposed, commended the unjust steward, once unjust but now honest, not because he had cheated his employer with consummate dexterity, not because he had acted with a wonderful, but guilty cunning, not because he had laid a deep plot to outwit his master, and procure a precarious and dishonest livelihood for himself, but "because he had done wisely." And so far as we can learn from the parable, he was retained in his office as a faithful and trustworthy servant.

We find no ground for the exposition that he made friendship with the debtors by reducing their bills, and thus defrauding the owner of the estate.

For where was the wisdom of a shallow fraud that would be at once detected? What prudence or foresight was there in calling witnesses to an act of treachery and dishonesty? What profound insight into human nature was manifested in the hope that those debtors, who were witnesses of his frauds, and partakers of his crime, would treat him with confidence, or show him any favor when he received from his master the just reward of his

dishonesty? What wisdom was there in putting it within the power of all his lord's debtors to convict him of forgery, and thus to defeat his only hope of assistance in his coming want?

No; he was commended because he had done justly, that is, wisely; because he had restored that which he had unjustly exacted; because he had adopted the only course which could secure at once the confidence of the master and the tenants, and which if it had been adopted sooner, would have prevented complaint and saved him from all trouble.

If this be the true explanation of the parable we see in the conduct of the steward here described, an example worthy of praise, and of imitation by Christians. But upon any other interpretation, the parable loses all its force, and furnishes no valuable instruction respecting the true use of earthly things, which it was obviously the Saviour's design to communicate. On the common interpretation the conduct of the steward, so far from deserving commendation, was contemptible, both for its folly and its dishonesty, nor could it have been set before us as an example for our imitation, without teaching us to violate the fundamental laws of God's kingdom.

The declaration of the Saviour, that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light, is most forcibly illustrated by the conduct of the steward as described. Upon the first intimation that he was in danger of losing his stewardship, he adopted, without delay, the most effectual, the only means, of retaining his office, or of future support. He acted wisely. He made such a use of what he had, as to secure the approbation of his master, make friends of his debtors, and gain the good will of his fellow men.

Now this is just what every man ought to do as a steward of God. He has made us overseers and rulers over a portion of his vast estate. He has revealed the great principles upon which he would have us act, and pointed out the manner in which all our affairs should be managed. The command of our Lord and Master is, "Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." That is, use these earthly things which are transitory, and so often the subject of wrong doing, as to secure the approbation of the true owner, and the confidence of your fellow servants. Be honest, faithful, and wise. If you have, as Zac-

cheus confessed, taken any thing from any man unjustly, restore him fourfold. Relinquish the exorbitant demand. Be charitable in all your dealings with men, and honest toward God.

And he who is thus faithful in that which is least, that is, who acts justly, wisely, and piously, with respect to this world and its relations, which are of subordinate importance, who serves God and man with his substance and influence, and endeavors to do good to the extent of his ability, proves himself to be a wise and faithful steward, and shall be entrusted with the true riches of future glory, and received into the everlasting habitations which Christ has gone to prepare for his disciples.

While he who is unfaithful and unjust in the use of earthly goods, who with selfish eagerness, and unscrupulous rapacity seeks to aggrandize himself at the expense of others, really wastes his Lord's goods, and shows that he is unworthy to receive the higher blessings of that kingdom which endures forever. His stewardship will be taken away, and there will be no everlasting habitations to receive him.

ARTICLE VI.

CONCERNING LEAVING OFF.

It is an exceedingly rare gift, and thrice blessed is the man who has it. We have heard of a preacher who maintained his popularity for a long course of years among the same people by his peculiar faculty of leaving off. His beginning was well enough, and his continuance respectable; but his leaving off was graceful, and always seemed the more so for the fact that it never failed to anticipate weariness; and it is interesting to observe how ready people are to feel kindly toward a dull speaker, and even to praise him, provided he is short.

The lack of the faculty of leaving off spoils many a good enterprise every day, and that in other matters than preaching.

A distinguished Baptist clergyman made an admirable speech to a great audience in Exeter Hall, and then, instead of leaving off, went on and on, until his father, a quaint old preacher, who was sitting just behind him on the platform, pulled his coat-tail and said in an under-tone, "Why don't you say a good thing and sit down?" "That's just what I'm trying to do, father," was the reply.

Dr. John Campbell, of London, applies this notion with his own peculiar point and eloquence, to a man's dying, which should be, as he argues, in the time and adjuncts thereof, such as that the life, thus ended, shall be a harmony. He cites John Williams, the distinguished missionary in the South Seas, as a fine illustration, who, after a career of romantic interest and almost unparalleled success, came to a sudden and tragic death on the island of Erromanga. Dr. Campbell argues that if Williams had lived longer, his subsequent career could not have come up to the expectations which his previous singular and remarkable history had excited, and moreover that there was a striking concinnity between his brilliant and romantic missionary career and his death by the hands of those stalwart savages.

The practical benefits of the Doctor's theory, as applied to this matter of dying, are considerably abridged by the fact, that a man is not permitted to have control, and that his friends cannot manage it for him. There was another minister, either English Baptist, or in relations equally well defined, in the present century or the past, whose career had been one of remarkable brilliancy and popularity, up to a certain point, where he broke down, but did not die. It was only too evident, however, to his attached and admiring flock, that the event could not be far off, only a few years. Fully resolved that the end should be altogether in harmony with so beautiful and useful a life, and also with the pleasant relations which had subsisted between themselves and him, they raised a fund which should carry him handsomely quite over Jordan, making all comfortable on his part, and generous and fitting on theirs, leaving nothing more to be done, except tears and eulogy and everlasting remembrance. But the time came and passed, and he still lived on. What was to be done? The funds were spent, the beautiful conclusion of the drama, as arranged in the programme,

was lost, he had had his opportunity, and had failed to improve it ; and nothing remained save a new illustration of an old saying :—

“ The best laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang oft agley ! ”

There is, perhaps, no more affecting illustration of the great value of the faculty of leaving off than is furnished by the history of authors. Genius is a deep, translucent lake—always runs clear and is inexhaustible ; but genius is an exceedingly rare attribute. Sir Walter Scott can produce his Waverly series, and the Lady of the Lake, and the Lay of the Last Minstrel, and be immortal in all ; but even he fails utterly in his Life of Napoleon. The works of John Milton fill eight goodly octavos, but who reads anything, except the Paradise Lost and a few of his minor poems, as L’Allegro and Il Penseroso ? There are some things of rare value, certainly, for profound thought and eloquent diction, and singular adaptation to the stormy times in which he lived, in the six volumes of his prose works, yet if he had written only these, would not his have been comparatively an unknown name in English literature ? He should have left off, at least, before that rancorous and degrading newspaper correspondence with Salmasius, where he stoops to defend himself in detail against the miserable attack of his adversary on his personal appearance, in which he applies to him the words of Virgil, “ *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.* ” The great poet actually sets himself gravely to refute the charge, and finishes with affirming “ that even his eyes, blind as they are, are unblemished in their appearance.”

Mademoiselle Madeleine De Scudéry, whose romances were so popular in Paris toward the close of the seventeenth century, might have been immortal, had she been better advised concerning leaving off. But even Victor Cousin’s elegant essay on the most celebrated of all her works, *Artamene ou le grand Cyrus*, which fills ten octavo volumes, cannot cause it to be regarded as any thing more than a literary curiosity. The history of two lovers extending through ponderous folios, and which it took the novel-reading ladies of a hundred and fifty years ago six

months to read, *including Sundays*, would stand little chance in our day.

Cardinal Richelieu was undoubtedly a political genius, and ought to have been satisfied with that, and to have left off before he began the composition of a tragedy to rival Corneille's "Cid," or theological treatises in imitation of Cardinal Ximenes; in both which are exhibited only his pitiful vanity and weakness—or the ordering of battles only to ensure defeat, and lose the confidence of his king.

The age of the Scholastic Philosophy was remarkable for many things; but for nothing more than the strange absence of all right notions concerning leaving off, whether as related to the subjects of their investigations, or the length at which they should be treated. It could hardly have been said in truth to Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, as Hamlet said to his friend:—

“There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.”

The "Angelical Doctor" filled seventeen stately folios with his subtle philosophy and dreamy speculations. One of these tall folios of 1250 pages of very small close print in double columns, contained only a single treatise, all about the most abstruse metaphysics of theology with nineteen appended folio pages of double columns of errata, and two hundred additional of index! Need we wonder at the complaint of Melancthon, that "in the sacred assemblies the ethics of Aristotle were read to the people, instead of the gospel!" Need we wonder to find the "Angelical Doctor" gravely discussing the probable color of the Virgin Mary's hair, or proving by a philosophical argument that "the motion of an angel is a succession of his different operations?" Have we not, in the all but incredible history of that scholastic age, an instance of retributive justice in the judicial blindness of a wonderful race of learned and philosophic men? They could not be quite sure whether the abstract idea we form of a horse was not really a *being*; while one of the most favorite topics of discussion, which the acutest logicians could never solve, was in form following, to wit: When a hog is carried to market with a rope tied about his neck, which is

held at the other end by a man, whether is the *hog* carried to market by the *rope* or the *man*?

Mrs. Beecher Stowe's name went up like a sky-rocket with "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but her next essay was a "Dred"-ful fall, nor has she produced any thing that has materially mended the matter since. Our American reading community has been considerably interested by the series of papers which the Rev. Mr. Boyd, of Edinburgh, has been sending forth, "Concerning" a great variety of matters. There is genuine merit in these essays, but Mr. Boyd has fallen into the common error of popular essayists, that of continuing to write after his stock was used up. The mind is not like the sea, whose riches can not be exhausted, but rather a dark cavern in which stalactites slowly form. When a man has brought out the last of these, then is the time for him to leave off. It is a great pity if he goes on, honestly thinking that he is still producing stalactites, while his friends see that it is only rough pieces of stone, plucked with some violence from the walls of the cavern. His friends ought to tell him of it, and he ought to stop, and in due time, other crystals may form as perfect and as beautiful as any that he has already found, and that without any conscious effort of his. Or if not, then he had better remain forever quiet,—a dignified Doctor in Divinity—rather than weary himself and others also with these same rough fragments from the rock.

Everybody will remember newspaper serials, tolerable at the outset, which have been spun out till they have become like withered and decaying vegetables, producing nausea, so that every friend of the unfortunate writer has longed to have him leave off.

Now and then we notice a premature leaving off, a thing even more to be regretted than the other, because something is lost, whereas in the other case nothing is gained merely, except rough pieces of rock. Allston's unfinished pictures are painful instances of this. We never look at them but with feelings of real sorrow. When Robert Hall came suddenly to a dead pause in the middle of an eloquent sermon a second time, and could not proceed, and exclaimed in relation to it, "If this does not cure me [of my pride,] the devil must have me!" we are disposed to conclude that any immediate mortification and loss to

himself and the congregation were more than compensated by his subsequently increased humility, unction and power. When the venerable Lord Brougham was compelled to stop short in the midst of an eloquent oration in the house of peers, by the dropping out of his teeth, and could in no wise arrange matters so as to proceed, the catastrophe would seem to have been of questionable benefit, at least, to his lordship's temper, as he is related to have stalked out of the assembly in a towering passion. Doubtless it must have been a severe affliction for one whose normal condition would seem to be talking and his abnormal silence. Yet assuredly the great orator, who is so much a man of science, should have remembered that the little dental incident was the direct result of the operation of law as exact and beautiful as that which regulates the revolutions of Jupiter's satellites, or the ebbing and flowing of the tides at his villa of Louise-Eleonore, and that a great philosopher and illustrious savant ought not to march out of the British house of lords in a towering passion, because of a simple operation of natural law.

We confess a sincere regret at the sudden and unexpected leaving off of our contemporary and in part namesake, the *New York Round Table*. We could name half a score, yea a whole score, of pretty good things which we think might have been better spared than that. It exhibited marked ability well directed. It was exceedingly valuable for its honest and fearless criticism. It made some mistakes, of course, but its aim was uniformly right, and, for the term of its labors, it gave rich promise of valuable service in literature and art and morals. Suddenly cut off in the infancy of its days, and its Minerva-like maturity, *requiescat in pace*, until, peradventure, when hoped for happier days shall come, we may be permitted to greet its return from the shades.

Enough, we trust, has been said, to convince our readers that this subject is of very grave moment. Has it received the attention it deserves in the current discussions of the day? Might not some portion of time be properly devoted to its illustration and enforcement in all institutions designed to prepare men for the practical business of human life? And should not all our theological seminaries add to the course of pastoral lectures, at least, one which should be especially concerning leaving off?

ARTICLE VII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land.”—*Ex.* xxiii. 30.

To give Israel possession of Canaan had been promised for more than four hundred years. In bringing it about many nations had been disturbed, and when accomplished its results were of such vast magnitude as to recast the face of the world. Yet when to man all seems ready to finish promptly the work, God proposes to complete it “by little and little.” This fact unfolds a principle in the administration of God. He performs many of his great and good works slowly, as :

1. In creation. The purpose is eternal and the execution runs through untold ages in those six geological days.

2. In the present productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. As the gardens are deltas that the rivers are ages in preparing, the flowers and fruits and forests are often hundreds of years in maturing. So coals, the metals and precious stones are the slow growth of thousands of years.

3. In the changes of the seasons and day and night. Gradually, beautifully, sublimely, God works these out. Nothing is abrupt and hurried in the blushing dawn, the evening shadows and the floral processions of the spring months, and the cereal ones of autumn.

4. In the reformation of nations. At the Exodus he began to reform Israel from idolatry, and completed it in the close of the Babylonish captivity, nine hundred and fifty-five years.

5. In the work of redemption. A little light falls on our first parents through the first shadows of the apostasy; yet it is four thousand years before the star that shed it, the star of Bethlehem, rises above the horizon.

Then in many of our great and good works, we may well be patient in our industry in doing good. Working, waiting, expecting, this is Godlike.

“Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.”—*Psa.* li. 10.

A SHORT but great petition. No work is so original, organic, radical and great as that set forth by the word “create.” Is it acci-

dental or of design that this word is chosen in the New Testament to express the supernatural act that constitutes one a Christian, to express the desire for it in the Old Testament, and to declare the work of God in bringing the universe into order, beauty and glory? Such is the fact, and so the text suggests the analogy or parallelism between the creation of the new heart in regeneration, and the creation of the world.

1. The creating act of God in both cases had chaotic material on which to work. The earth was in wild, tumultuous disorder. It was but a mob of particles of matter. So the unregenerate soul, the moral of the man, which sin has ruined in apostacy and total depravity. The moral elements are in anarchy.

2. The creating act of God in both cases is the practical assertion of sovereignty. God makes his presence and power felt in each as one to whom obedience is due and must be yielded, so that the earth and soul alike say: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

3. The creating act of God in both cases is, in part, the introduction of law. This is one of the steps in physical and moral creation. The coming of a sovereign is followed by a code. In the new heart are enacted the laws of heaven, as natural laws take possession of the new earth.

4. A separation is made between light and darkness. God divides between the two in both cases, so that what before was confused and blended is now two kingdoms, and we have the regions and the subjects of both.

5. The creating act separates between earth and heaven. As in the material chaos, so in the unregenerate heart, there is no clear and appreciated distinction between the two. The creating is in one of its forms, a dividing process.

6. The creating act makes the earth and the heart fruitful. The lawn, forest, flowers, fruits, appear in one, and the "fruits of the Spirit" in the other.

From all which

(a) We see the import of many New Testament phrases, as "a new creature," "his workmanship," "which were born not of blood," etc.

(b) We see how deeply and totally the apostasy affected the nature as well as life of man.

(c) We see why the Lord Jesus and his apostles insisted so strenuously on regeneration as a necessity.

(d) We see who is the agent in regeneration.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1.—*Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton, [Eng.]* By the late Rev. FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON, M. A., the Incumbent. Fifth Series. 12mo. pp. 283. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

MR. ROBERTSON'S works, as now given to the American public, consist of six 12mo. volumes, four of which are sermons; one, a series of lectures on the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians; and one, addresses on literary and miscellaneous subjects before working men's and other associations. These volumes are a valuable and permanently productive contribution to our religious and general literature. The first two contain sermons of more careful elaboration than the others; the later series are not much more oftentimes than rough outlines of discourses, the beams and timbers standing out in Doric nakedness and strength. We will indicate, in a few particulars, our estimate of these productions.

(a) Directness. They are farthest removed from the essay-like style of sermons. Spoken extemporaneously and reported as spoken, they are the personal address of one man to others before him, with whom, and not with an imaginary reading public, he is dealing. None of these discourses were produced as chapters for a forthcoming book—a poor way of sermonizing.

(b) Freshness. Mr. Robertson had a true genius of his own for originating thought. He borrows from no one, reflects no one's light, echoes no one's voice. His ideas are his own even when they are the same as others'. He grasps with quick perception the spirit of his text, and most neatly dissects it out from related truth. He carries the knife of a practised surgeon in thus dividing one truth from another for special use.

(c) Variety. The topics of his sermons are very various, ranging the fields of theology and ethics with a fine freedom, while none of them are irrelevant to the purposes of the Sabbath pulpit.

(d) Suggestiveness. This subtle attribute of the best mental organizations is diffused throughout these pages. They start the reader's mind on a thousand tracts of independent thought, which is one of the most valuable features of authorship, and one of the rarest.

While we thus express, in a fragmentary way, our sense of the worth of these volumes, we add that some of their author's views are defective, and some in our judgment positively wrong. Of the latter,

we instance his notions about the Sabbath ; of the former, his opinions, among others, concerning the atonement and the duty of prayer. Mr. R. was too honest a thinker to conceal any shade of belief which, for the time present, he held. He was minister of a church which imposes small restraint on the propounding of erratic theories in religion. Consequently we find crudeness, error, and incertitude on subjects of the first importance. But there is evidence of a steady tendency in the preacher's thinking to a more balanced and thorough theology, while no one can question the hearty earnestness of his faith, nor help admiring the manly strength, the eagle-like flight of his intellect, the delicate, nimble activity of his bright, free genius, in studying these deep things of man and God. We would rather have on our study table, for mental stimulus, these rough hewn discourses, than piles of the rhetorically finished productions of the Hugh Blairs and Robert Halls of the day.

2. — *A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark*, Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, embodying for popular use and edification the Results of German and English Exegetical Literature, and designed to meet the Difficulties of Modern Scepticism ; with a General Introduction, treating of the Genuineness, Authenticity, Historic Verity, and Inspiration of the Gospel Records, and of the Harmony and Chronology of the Gospel History. By WILLIAM NAST, D. D. : Royal 8vo. pp. 760. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1864.

THE author has so fully set forth his design in this lengthy title, that we need not say much more than that he has learnedly and very carefully executed his intention. The work was undertaken and is published under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Nast is a German, and combines the exact and thorough criticism of his countrymen with a devoutly religious spirit. Preparing his commentary first in German, and then re-thinking and re-writing it into English, he has had the advantage of an unusually protracted study of his subject, which exhibits great breadth, candor, and strength of treatment. His preliminary dissertation, containing a complete synopsis of the Gospel narrative, covers almost two hundred pages, and handles the topics in controversy between believers and the sceptics with great ability. The work, though popular, or rather for this very reason, goes into the objections which unfriendly critics are raising, with much care. It also has appended to each of its sections excellent practical instructions. We notice on the 24th of Matthew, that the author discards the pre-millennial view, and allows the double sense of prophecy in cases where the harmony of

the Scriptures renders it necessary. This large and excellently published volume is to be followed, in like style, by a commentary on the remainder of the New Testament. We shall better be able to see how much of a dogmatic character the work is to assume when it gets into the Pauline Epistles. A portrait of the author fronting the title-page has a substantial and inviting look. He was a university room-mate of the infidel Strauss.

3.—*Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, D. D.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., Author of "The History of The Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism." 12mo. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864.

THIS is a model book, at least in one particular. It is the *Life and Times* of a man who was for half a century a distinguished preacher, and a leader and champion among the Methodists, all comprised in 426 pages, 12mo, in good, clear readable type. It is a deeply interesting and instructive volume. Dr. Bangs was an eminently good and useful man, and contributed more than any other to the present strength and efficiency of Methodism in the United States. His labors were incessant, manifold and of very wide range. He was preacher, pastor, editor, one of the founders of the Missionary Society, its first Secretary and the writer of its Annual Reports for more than twenty years, author, historian of Methodism and principal founder of its American literature. He was a Methodist from conviction, and an earnest and able defender of its doctrines and usages. He was a believer in Christian perfectionism: he assaulted Jonathan Edwards' treatise on The Will, with all his might, and saw only doctrinal error and practical evil in personal election and the perseverance of the saints.

The volume is enlivened and enriched by incidents and anecdotes, and is a valuable contribution to American Biographical and Ecclesiastical literature.

4. — *A Treatise on Homiletics*: Designed to illustrate The True Theory and Practice of Preaching the Gospel. By DANIEL P. KIDDER, D.D., Professor of the Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1864.

THIS volume has evidently been prepared with great labor and care. It is at once comprehensive and minute. While it modestly sets forth in the preface that its design is "to aid clerical students and junior ministers of the Gospel in preparing for their life-work," we venture to assert that there are very few preachers and pastors who might not derive valuable aid from it. No topic of interest to the Christian minister has been omitted by Professor Kidder, and he

brings rare ability to the discussion of every point. His views on "Doctrinal Preaching" are excellent. The manner of preaching, whether by recitation of sermons written and committed to memory, reading, or extemporaneous address, is discussed very fully, with the advantages and disadvantages of each, with apposite quotations from the wisest men who have written on the subject in different periods of the history of the church. We commend this part of Professor Kidder's valuable work especially to the careful attention of "clerical students and junior ministers of the Gospel."

5. — *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile.* By JOHN HANNING SPEKE. 8vo. pp. 620. New York: Harpers. 1864.

ONE cannot follow the adventurous steps of this traveller and his companion, Captain Grant, without admiring the courage, ingenuity, endurance, and thorough manliness thus developed. Men who undertake and carry through such explorations into but little known lands, put the entire civilized world under weighty obligations to their enterprise and intelligence. We open such volumes with a strong prepossession in their favor, and it is the tourist's own fault if his narrative does not satisfy the reader. This work has commanded a wide success, and in the main, deservedly. The spirit of the book is gentlemanly, modest, frank, moral: the route of travel unworn and full of interest. The gallant captain who tells the story does it clearly and naturally; his brother officer, who draws the illustrations, holds a free and facile pencil. The publishers have put the whole into their usual generous style of bringing out this kind of authorship, and the result is as gratifying as can be looked for in the present stage of African discovery.

The reader will not expect the ethnological expertness of a German professor, nor any very great display of Ethiopian erudition. The travellers were not *savans*, but men of the world in quest of a great object, putting their sharp, shrewd common sense to the best uses, and digesting the results into a narrative of sprightly incidents and much weighty knowledge, about the lands and peoples of their new acquaintance. Concerning the chief purpose of their journey, the discovery of the Source of the Nile, the world knows that they did not absolutely verify that discovery, but so approximated it, that it is generally considered settled. They left the Eastern shore on a parallel of latitude which they calculated ought to cut the headwaters of that river, and did actually find it emerging from a noble lake, which unfortunately they did not travel around, but concluded from all appearances and what the natives told them, that this was the final solution of the long unresolved mystery. Of course there

will be a doubt whether this is so, which it will require another journey either to confirm or remove. We don't believe that Dr. Kane would have left that question unsettled.

The exuberance of recent African literature is remarkable. It effloresces like the vegetation of that fervid clime. But this is only the result of the facts stranger than fiction of that land of wonders. The physical geography and the social features of the interior of that continent are of unexampled interest. These characteristics are well described in these pages. There are people here who might put to the wall not a few of the sons of Japhet, and a few crowned heads who have as much brain underneath their scalps as some of the slips of European royalty. We cannot express a complete gratification with this narrative, but it merits a very high and cordial commendation.

6. — *Savage Africa*: being the Narrative of a Tour in Equatorial and North Western Africa, &c., &c. By W. WINWOOD READE. 8vo. pp. 452. New York: Harpers. 1864.

A TRAVELLER does not strongly prepossess us in his favor who broadly hints to us that he goes to Africa or any where else to flirt with pretty savages, though only as a solace for severer experiences. Mr. Reade very likely accomplished that part of his programme satisfactorily, but he has not made so good a book as he should have done about that latterly much bewritten country. He has too much dash and swagger—too much *squeak* in his boots. He is one of the sort of youth who like to make as well as feel strong sensations. He is not always decent in his descriptions, if always true. He saw gorilla tracks and nests—nothing more of those amorphous beasts; and does not believe that Du Chaillu was any more fortunate. He has the missionary-phobia quite alarmingly, and this without respect of persons or rather sects: perhaps he fears that their success might interfere with the flirtations aforesaid. As to the salvation of these children of Ham, he turns them over very coolly to the green-turbaned prophet, possibly concluding that his own type of Christianity would do them little good. On the other hand, Mr. Reade holds a graphic pen, scatters some new information along his pages, brings further proof that central Africa is possessed by a comparatively elevated and manly race of natives, and, bating his extravagances and loose ethics, has made a book which, we presume, will do for a “Fellow of the Geographical Societies of London.” The pictures remind us strikingly of the lively imagination and dramatic force of the Du Chaillu gallery of natural history.

- 7.—*Light in Darkness*: or Christ discovered in his true character by a Unitarian. 12mo. pp. 125. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1864.

HISTORIES of religious experience, when truly written, are always useful, and their intense personality is apt to give them a strong hold on the reader's sympathies. They are among the hardest things to be well written, for to make them personal enough without spoiling them egotistically, requires an unusual judgment and taste. We have read a number of these narratives of minds in search of a religion, and in this modest volume, the Rev. William L. Gage (his name is freely connected with this work by our contemporaries) has added another to the list. Its style is simple and manly; its spirit courteous; its impression good. It bears throughout the stamp of honesty. The writer carries our conviction of his conscientiousness, of his sincere search after truth, in this story of his spiritual progress. We are not disposed to criticize any shades of opinion which may not fully represent our own interpretation of theological truth, in a frank self-revelation like this. Rather would we join in the author's "hope that it may be blessed to others, who, in like circumstances, are groping their way in darkness."

- 8.—*Human Sadness*. By the COUNTESS DE GASPAREN. 12mo. pp. 273. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1864.

THE estimable lady who writes this book has a quick eye to analyze the peculiar elements of our passing social condition, and a lively, graphic pen to delineate them. She catches the spirit of the times with much truthfulness, and shows what a strain is coming upon human life from the "Oppressions, Mistakes, Weariness, Decay, Soul-Torture, Death"—the forcible and touching comments upon which topics make up her successive chapters. It is a book which will irresistibly attract numerous readers; and it will do them good, for there is no puling sentimentalism or atrabilious humors in it, after the fashion of the fainting-away novelists, or moody hypochondriacs. Its tone is that of true Christian fortitude, and faith in the sufficient grace of a present Saviour.

- 9.—*Missions and Martyrs in Madagascar*: Boston American Tract Society: 1864;—

CONTAINS the substance of the marvellous work of the Lord in that important island within the last thirty years, compiled from the best English authorities. It should be read in all our families as a chapter of apostolical faithfulness unto death for the sake of the

Lord Jesus. The nineteenth century has renewed the experiences of Pagan cruelty, which the first generation of Christians suffered. We can see in these pages what the founding of Christianity cost, while we rejoice that the old martyr-spirit is still active, and able, through grace, to stop the mouth of lions.

10.—*Expository Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism.* By GEO. W. BETHUNE, D. D. In two volumes. New York: Sheldon & Company. 1864.

THE Heidelberg Catechism is among the richest fruits of the Reformation, and one of the very best extant manuals of Christian doctrine. The treaty of Passau, Aug. 2, 1552, which secured full religious freedom to the Germans, was followed by warm disputes in theology, the followers of Luther and Zwinglius being arrayed against each other. As a natural result of these disputes several catechisms made their appearance, besides those of Brenkius and Luther. These found their way into the Palatinate churches, and, by their discrepancies, caused frequent disputes. To remedy these evils and secure to the churches “a symbolical book of their own, clearly setting forth the true Christian doctrine,” the pious Elector Frederic III, “proposed the composition of a Catechism, in 1562, to Zachary Ursinus, a learned professor at Heidelberg, and Casparus Olevianus, the court preacher, a favorite of Frederic.” The Elector himself also took part in the work and wrote the Preface to the first edition. When completed it was submitted for careful examination to a synod assembled by Frederick for the purpose, in Heidelberg, in a church, part of which is still standing. It was pronounced a remarkable production, and was introduced at once into the churches.

We have here Dr. Bethune’s “Expository Lectures,” in two volumes of uncommon beauty, and after careful examination, we express without hesitation, our high sense of their value. The work is what it claims to be — not a diluting or explaining away, but an exposition. The Heidelberg Catechism is exceedingly rich in Christian doctrine, as it has always been held by the most distinguished fathers in the church, and its riches are here brought out for the edification and comfort of God’s people, in a course of Sabbath Lectures delivered to Dr. Bethune’s congregation, and exhibiting the peculiar beauties of his style.

It is altogether a masterly work, comprising the result of great labor, and exhibiting the peculiar excellencies of the author’s style. The singular elegance of the volumes is such as befits their rich and eloquent contents.

Are there not great advantages in having such a "symbolical book" as the Heidelberg Catechism, to be diligently taught in the family and the Sabbath-school, and expounded by the pastor in his ministrations to his flock? Would not the restoration of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism to the place it once held among us have a tendency to bring us back to the old doctrinal landmarks from which we are so sadly receding?

11.—*Enoch Arden, &c.* By ALFRED TENNYSON, D.C.L., Poet Laureate. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

THREE children, Enoch Arden, Philip Ray, and Annie Lee, played and grew together on the same bit of British coast, a hundred years ago. Both the stout youth loved Annie, but when the time of choosing came, she gave her hand to Enoch. They lived quietly and humbly till three children were born; then things went wrong, and Arden was obliged to resume his sailor's life to provide bread and roof-tree for his little household. Cast away on an island, he is not heard from for ten years, when, reluctantly, Annie consents to marry Philip Ray, who has been as a father to her bairns during this sad orphanage. By and bye Enoch is taken off his island by a cruiser, and reaches his native village so bowed, and gray, and broken that no one recognized him. He hears his family history from the mistress of the village inn—how true and loving Annie was to him till hope all died away, how gentle and good was Philip to the desolate ones, how the whole neighborhood rejoiced in the marriage of Philip and Annie; and hearing all this Enoch resolves that he will keep his secret and not break up so peaceful a home, by disclosing his return. He does it in the spirit of a heroic Christian self-denial, living near the unconscious idols of his heart, honestly earning his frugal fare, watching around the precincts of a paradise which he will not enter, until death gently removes him to a better paradise; and then the tale is told to the wondering people of a love so deep and strange, and they who had so long mourned him as dead bend over his grave as sacred as that of a martyr and a saint.

This is a fine conception, and the poet has wrought it out in a befitting simplicity and purity of delineation. It is one of those colorless art sketches which give you the perfection of drawing, leaving the imagination to fill in all the rest. Mr. Tennyson's later style is almost statuesque in its severity. He no longer steeps his canvas in the burning, blushing hues of sunset. He wins on the reader's admiration by the faultless selection of just the right features in his

landscapes, and a magical fitness and beauty of language. The first paragraph of *Enoch Arden* is a gem of descriptive art.

“ Long lines of cliff breaking have left a chasm ;
And in the chasm are foam and yellow sands ;
Beyond, red roofs about a narrow wharf
In cluster ; then a moulder'd church ; and higher
A long street climbs to one tall-towered mill ;
And high in heaven behind it a gray down
With Danish barrows ; and a hazelwood,
By autumn nutters haunted, flourishes
Green in a cuplike hollow of the down.”

Notice the “ cuplike hollow,” as illustrating the author's felicity of word-choosing. So the babe's “ creasy arms,” and “ the scarlet shafts of sunrise.” And the returning sailor —

“ like a lover down through all his blood
Drew in the dewy meadowy morning-breath
Of England.”


That prayer of *Enoch's*, too, for strength to complete his great self-sacrifice is as noble a thing as Tennyson ever penned. The whole poem steals through one's soul like a strain of thrilling, plaintive music.

Of the rest, “ *Aylmer's Field*,” about the same length as the first, is cast in a sterner mould, and, with a pathos more turbulent, hurls a fierce, just rebuke at family pride and tyranny crushing hearts that love. The shorter pieces have no special merit, though all of them are distinctively Tennysonian. “ *Tithonus*” recalls the soft notes of “ *Ænone*” and “ *mother Ida*.”

12. — *The Imitation of Christ*. Four Books. By THOMAS À KEMPIS. Boston : E. P. Dutton & Co., Church Publishers. 1864.

THIS is an exceedingly beautiful reprint of a work which has long held a high place in the affections of devout Christians. It is on tinted paper and in the very best style of the Riverside press. We confess to a particular liking for a beautiful book ; beautiful we mean in paper, letter press, form and binding ; such, for example as Pickering's exquisite editions of Milton and Coleridge, Little & Brown's Shakespeare, and not a few volumes which have been sent forth by Ticknor & Fields for some time past. And we see no good reason why a manual of devotion should not be as beautiful as any other book.

We shall not enter into any discussion as to the real authorship of the “ *Imitation*.” That point we believe to be settled in favor of



the monk of St. Agnes, whose name it bears. For more than three hundred years the book has been a great favorite, both in Romish and Reformed churches. At least forty editions in the original Latin have been published, and more than sixty translations have been made into various modern languages. In the original edition the doctrines of purgatory, penance, and other popish dogmas were intermingled in almost every chapter. These have been omitted in most Protestant translations.

Dean Stanhope published a new version in England, which was so wide a departure from the original that it had little favor. John Wesley also made a new and greatly abridged translation, leaving out many rich and valuable thoughts. He also greatly impaired the force and beauty of the whole by cutting it all up into separate sentences. We are very sorry to see the same serious defect in the elegant edition before us. Nothing is said in the introduction of the way in which it has been prepared. As a translation it is far inferior to that of Payne, of which several editions have been published in England and the United States, and of which a careful reprint, collated with an ancient Latin copy, was published by Lincoln & Edmunds in 1830. We think that version in the exquisite dress of the edition lying on our table would leave nothing to be desired.

13. — *The Marriage Gift*: By JAMES PETRIE. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication —

Is a neat little manual of hints and counsel to young married people, with a blank certificate of marriage for a frontispiece. In a series of short letters it handles these topics: On entering the married relation — The importance of religion — The choice of a home — Economy — Family worship — The Bible in the family — Industry — Liberality — Personal efforts to do good — Training of children — Attachment to the church — On being helps to each other — Death and judgment. The spirit of the book is eminently serious and wise.

14. — *The Memorial Hour*; or the Lord's Supper in its relation to doctrine and life. By JEREMIAH CHAPLIN, D.D. 12mo. pp. 294. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1864.

IN devout and lucid prose and appropriate poetical selections, the venerable author sets forth, with much beauty and impressiveness, the leading aspects and applications of this ever-delightful theme. It is a book for the Christian fireside and closet, rich in mature wisdom, and fervid with the spirit of Christ. We commend it to all our communicants to aid their preparation for, and enjoyment of, this holy Supper of our Lord.

15. — *A Memoir of the Christian Labors, Pastoral and Philanthropic, of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

Dr. Wayland here presents a comprehensive and graphic sketch of the great Scottish Preacher in a volume of 218 pages. The sketch is limited, as the title-page intimates, to the pastoral and philanthropic labors of Dr. Chalmers, and is drawn directly from Dr. Hanna's voluminous memoir. With such materials in the hands of Dr. Wayland, the result could not be otherwise than a book of absorbing interest and great practical value.

16. — *The Early Dawn; or Sketches of Christian Life in England in Olden Time.* By the author of the *Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family.* With Introduction by Prof. Henry B. Smith, D.D. 12mo. pp. 400. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1854.

Though reprinted in this country later than the Cotta chronicles, we judge this work to be the earlier of the two, to which it is not equal in skilful delineation, although it exhibits the same general characteristics of style and spirit. It is pleasant to get these home-like, personal glimpses of our own very remote ancestors. This lady's pen is doing good service alike to the cause of elegant literature and sound religion. Her pages are rich in wholesome nutriment as well for the æsthetic taste as for the soul. They ought to do much toward checking the common run of the religious novels of the day.

17. — *The Good Steward, or Systematic Benevolence.* By the same.

THIS essay is by the Rev. Dr. D. X. Junkin, and is an able, thorough discussion of a highly practical part of Christianity. Oblation as a part of religion and of worship, and as a means of grace is fully set forth. The central idea of the volume is that "the frequent, stated and systematic contribution of a portion of worldly substance for pious uses, as a part of the worship of God, is the Bible system of beneficence."

18. — *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood.* 16mo. pp. 441. Am. Tract Society, Boston. 28 Cornhill—

Is one of the best issues of this Society, and will be hailed by all who love to read true records of a true Christian. We are resigned to the reduction of the English edition, from six hundred pages octavo to this small volume, only by the thought that this was the only way to give the life of the author of "Little Henry and his Bearer" to our American children. We rejoice in the book as one

of facts and not stories, and of profitable facts well stated, showing that we are not driven to the field of fiction for material with which to make interesting books for the young.

19. — *Ancient Egypt : Its Antiquities, Religion and History, to the close of the Old Testament Period.* 16mo. pp. 400. By the same.

THIS is a reprint from the London Religious Tract Society, and like so many of their historical works is an accurate and interesting condensation of the history of the chosen field. It is well backed, yet not burdened by references to authorities. The illustrations, which are numerous, and a map add much to the value of the volume. It will be a permanent and always desirable book among the publications of this Society.

20.—MISCELLANEOUS. *Heavenly Hymns for Heavy Hearts.* Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. A choice collection of sweet and comforting hymns for hours of sorrow. Many of our best Christian poets are represented here. *Aunt Harriet's Tales about Little Words.* By the same. These will surely interest our young folk, and must do them good. *Familiar Letters to a Young Convert.* By the same. We should hesitate on the teachings of the "Letter on an Immediate Profession of Religion." For the step here urged we incline to think that the early church had a better; we mean a class for catechumens. The revival and adoption of this ancient usage would, we think, give us more Christians and fewer professors of religion. *Biddy Malone, Jack Myers, Early Dawn, Bessie Haven, Carrie Trueman, The Five Gifts, and Harry Edwards* are stories published by this Board, written in a good style, and with good truth and principles interwoven. *Grapes from the Great Vine.* By the same. The author of this is the Rev. W. P. Breed, and it is a very happy production. It has in its nine chapters bits of story, with large portions of history, facts and truth. The fiction is the smallest part, and yet the book is very fascinating. It comes nearer to our model for a child's book than any thing we have seen of late among new books. *Homes of the West.* By the same. A lively picture of Western life in its beginnings and joys and trials. The sketching is well done. *The Christian Soldier,* by this Society is an excellent pocket miscellany for our hardy and noble sons at the front. *The Gospel among the Caffres.* 16mo. pp. 284. By the same. Another valuable reprint from the same excellent Society, giving a lively and truthful account of Mr. Moffat's missionary labors in Africa.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ROUND TABLE.

OUR COUNTRY.—European nations are looking anxiously for the permanent dismemberment of our Union. Even England cannot see the very smallest difficulty or objection in the way of two North American republics in stead of one, with the reserved right, of course, to any section or State of each to get up a new ordinance of secession, and constitute a third or fourth or fifth confederacy, oligarchy or empire, as the case might be. England thinks that, on the whole, there are some things to render such a termination (?) of our dreadful struggle desirable. For instance, we should be very much in the condition of Samson when shorn of his locks. It would be an easy matter comparatively to put out our eyes and make us grind in a prison. If the world in general and England in particular will pardon us for having an opinion in relation to our own affairs, we will take leave to say that we entertain rather decided objections to such a disposition of ourselves. It may appear very strange to the nation on whose dominions the sun never sets, but we find ourselves filled with a strong desire to maintain the integrity of this American Union, and, what is more, we intend to do it, with or without the approval and sympathy of our very respected friends and neighbors. Our war was undertaken for this particular purpose, though we believe God will make it the means to accomplish other valuable purposes. For the sake of preserving the Union we have given the very flower of our American manhood by hundreds of thousands, sending forth armies, such, for the intelligence, moral character and social position of those composing them, as the sun never shone upon. We have multiplied widows and orphans and fathers and mothers written childless throughout all the land. All this we have done, and done cheerfully, that we might still be a nation, having a place and a name in the earth, and not a miserable fragment of a once glorious, but forever dismembered Union. What yet remains to do or to bear, for the securing of the same great end, we trust we are prepared to do and to bear.

We have listened so long to dismal prophecies across the waters of our fast-coming financial ruin that we are grown used to it. The financial ruin has not overtaken us, and it will not overtake us. We shall have embarrassments of course, heavy burdens of taxation, financial revulsions and possibly convulsions. It is simply a matter of course that mistakes have been made in finance and

very grave mistakes ; and all men are seers after the discovery, and it is always exceedingly pleasant to have a scape-goat to send away into the wilderness with curses on his head. We ought to have had taxes imposed much earlier and to a greater extent, and ought not to have issued so many greenbacks, and ought to have done many other things, and to have left many other things undone.

This is all very plain now, and we have got to pay the penalty of our blunders. But what then? Can we not afford to do it? Did not Richard Cobden say more than two years ago that there was not a state in Europe that could have done what our government had already done in the raising of armies and subsidies? And yet all that was only the small beginning of what we have done since. Why it is scarcely more than two years since we heard the wealthy men of a wealthy town in Massachusetts gravely deliberating in legal town meeting whether they should offer so large a sum as fifty dollars to each volunteer in the cause of his country ; and now while we are writing we read that another town in our Commonwealth has just offered one hundred and twenty five dollars in gold to each volunteer, besides what the National government gives, and this amount in gold will pay a debt of \$318 75 incurred the day on which that smaller sum was debated.

Our material resources are such as no other nation on earth possesses. This war, enormously expensive as it is, is not going to ruin us. We can pay every farthing of our immense debt, interest and all, and it will do us good. *Sub pondere crescit*. If we had owed all that we owe now fifty years ago, it would have been the salvation of the country — would have saved us from that fearful corruption and debasement of political parties and that social extravagance and consequent effeminacy and vice which must have effected our downfall in time, and which have had not a little to do in bringing us into our present distresses. We have long been a wonder and almost a by-word to Europeans for our reckless and often witless expenditure — an expenditure which has added not the smallest particle to our dignity, comfort, contentment or respectability, but has produced results very much the contrary of all this.

Our taxes must be heavy, doubtless, for a long time to come, if measured with our own past experience ; but as compared with the burdens which other nations have borne, are bearing, they will be moderate to say the least. We recall our own experience in England not many years back, and the recollection alleviates very materially any apprehensions we might otherwise have in view of our present prospects. Our library was a pleasant room in an ample and substantial brick house, looking out upon a beautiful fruit

and flower garden in the rear; and the said library had just one window, because the light of the sun was such an expensive article in England that at that time even rich men were prudent in its consumption. Seven is the perfect number, and the father of a household might have seven windows *of a moderate and prescribed size*, without paying for the light that came through them, but for every additional window or opening, with or without glass, through which heaven's sweet light was admitted to sitting-room, chamber, office or cellar, there must be paid to the government of "our Sovereign Lady," a sum equal to two dollars and a half. This supremely absurd and barbarous law had the effect greatly to mar the beauty and comfort of English dwellings, and to kill annually a multitude of scrofulous children. We do not remember the number of windows in the house of which we have spoken, but the sum total we paid for sunlight must have been at least twenty five dollars a year, and that, be it remembered, for light inferior in quality, and in only moderate quantity. We recollect one day seeing a strange man surveying our premises in a curious way. Presently he rang at the bell, introduced himself as a new Inspector for the district, and said we were liable for one window more than we were paying for. We asked him where it was, and he pointed to an opening into the coal cellar, about two square feet in size, and thereafter we paid for it the same as for a full sized window in our library. This was the new Inspector's way of commending himself to those to whom he was indebted for his office, and, possibly, to secure promotion. It is gratifying to the humane and benevolent feelings to know that this odious and cruel tax was repealed some twelve years ago, and a house tax substituted for it, proportioned to rental.

This was one item in the list of direct taxes. And the repeal or commutation of this was by far the most important relief which England has experienced in the matter of fiscal burdens for the last half century, unless we should except the repeal of the corn law. For a carriage with four wheels, and drawn by two horses, the owner pays an annual tax of \$17 50, or \$10, if drawn by one horse. For a carriage of two wheels the rates are about one half as much. If the carriage is used for carrying merchandize whereby a livelihood is sought, a carriage with four wheels pays eleven dollars, and with two wheels six dollars and a half. For every horse kept for riding or driving in a carriage liable to duty the tax is five dollars. On every dog, "mongrel, puppy, [of six months or over] whelp or hound," a yearly tax of three dollars is imposed, with the express provision that no man shall be taxed for more than sixty-six dogs.

If you use a ring, seal, or any other article having on it your crest "or other armorial device," you will pay a tax of three dollars and a quarter therefor, provided you are an individual of no more than ordinary consequence; but if you drive a pair of horses and have four wheels to your carriage, then your crest rises surprisingly, and you pay thirteen dollars a year for that important indication of respectability.

We think our income tax, with the addition, a serious impost; but let us see how this matter is arranged in England. A man with a salary or total income exceeding \$500 and not exceeding \$750, is taxed on the whole amount, at the rate of \$2 40 per \$100, equal to \$18 on an income of \$750; on all incomes exceeding \$750, the tax is at the rate of \$3 60 per \$100 on the entire amount, equal to \$36 00 on a total income of \$1,000.

But the direct taxes paid by Englishmen are small when compared with what they pay in the shape of customs and excise. Bricks are excised, and malt is excised, and every home produced article that can be, and the consumer pays it in the advanced prices. Every drive which you take with horse and carriage from the livery stable is excised, and the proprietor pays it out of the amount charged to you. The consumers of tobacco pay an enormous aggregate tax to government, the average duty being a dollar a pound, and the better qualities being rated much higher. We remember to have paid a dollar and a half a pound for the best black teas, one third of the amount being duty; or if we used what was sold for a dollar we still paid half a dollar to government for every pound consumed. Coffee was half a crown, or sixty two cents a pound, and other luxuries in proportion. All this was in a time of profound peace, with no derangement of the currency, and no unusual inflation of prices by speculation. Yet we seldom heard an Englishman complain of taxes. A much more common remark was, that his was the best country and the best government in the world, and well worth paying for.

We are to be taxed, let it be remembered, for the preservation of the Union — our very national existence; with the immense undeveloped resources of our country we can bear heavy taxes better than England can; there is no prospect that our taxation will come up to what Englishmen have paid cheerfully from time immemorial; the bearing of very heavy burdens of this sort will do us no harm whatever, but will tend directly to promote social economy and social morals; will be a guarantee for the integrity of our statesmen and politicians; will bind us firmly together as a people, and cause

us to appreciate far more highly than we have ever done before the blessings of a good government and a happy country.

MODERN IMPROVEMENTS IN THEOLOGY.—Is it not simply a thing of course, and so a certainty, that there should be such improvements? Are we not nearer the Millennium than were John Howe, and Owen and Bunyan, and Jonathan Edwards? Must it not follow, as a necessary consequence, that our illumination surpasses theirs? Else what is the benefit we have in living in this later age?

With these postulates, which we beg to have conceded to us that we may be saved the trouble of proof, we proceed. We have been at no little pains to ascertain for our readers and ourselves, what are the particular indications of this higher illumination, and we are most happy to say we believe we have arrived at a tolerably safe result. We think that one, and indeed the main indication of progress in theology is the greatly increased uncertainty of theological conclusions. The readers of such men as Howe and Edwards must have been impressed with the fact that they were positive and confident in their theological opinions, on such points, for example, as original sin, the atonement, regeneration, future judgment and eternal destiny. This may be supposed to have been owing to the fact that they were accustomed to receive in a very simple, implicit sort of way the declarations of such men as Paul, who had a singular habit of saying "I KNOW."

(The great sign of progress, as we said, is uncertainty.) And the higher the illumination, the greater it would appear, the uncertainty becomes, until excess of light is almost total darkness. A theologian of this advanced type does not exactly believe or disbelieve; does not *know* much of any thing, for the matter of that; but from his sublime height, he sees, most clearly that a thing may be. The heathen *may be* saved without the gospel; the gospel *may be* preached to them in the world to come; and then, if they do not repent, they *may be* annihilated together with those who heard the gospel in this life but refused to accept it.

It will be observed that the "*may be*" is always in the same direction. Whether it would hold the other way we are not advised. We do not know whether it is equally clear to the vision of these men of the higher illumination that, possibly, the heathen may perish without the gospel; and that their destruction may be just, though the gospel has never been preached to them; and that the punishment of all who perish in sin, whether in Christian or in heathen lands, may be eternal. The confessions of these men always

lack definiteness. It is their sublime peculiarity that they dwell among clouds and mists.

We have queried whether all this is to be set down as exoteric teaching of esoteric doctrine ; and that in the case of the initiated the mists disappear, and things are stated without a "*may be*," and with a frankness and assurance which we who are without are, as yet, unable to bear.

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS. — The theology of a people shapes and tones their ethics. Impure conceptions of the Divine taint and mislead the human. Then, the corrupted soul in man goes forth in quest of a corrupt god, to keep it in countenance. Jeremy Taylor quotes from Julius Firmicius, in illustrating this idea: "*Adulterio delectatur quis? Jovem respicit et inde cupiditatis suæ fomenta conquirat; probat, imitatur, et laudat, quod Deus suus in cygno fallit, in tauro rapit, ludit in Satyro. Cœnum de cœlo facitis, et errantes animos per abrupta præcipitia crudeli calamitate ducitis, cum hominibus peccare volentibus facinorum viam Deorum monstratis exemplis.*" This made Athens, Corinth, Rome, dens of flagitious vice, with all their æsthetic and legal culture. What effect will the modern letting down of the Godhead to something, of which Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us that we can predicate no virtue nor personal will or preference, have on our popular ideas of right and wrong? Will it give us a better public or private conscience?

A DEGREE of infirmity clings to everything human. An instance: Take a picture by a great master, Michael Angelo — he excels in the gigantic strength of his conceptions; another artist in the softness of his creations; another in minuteness of detail. Now all these qualities are essential to a perfect picture. But no artist has them all; and had he, the strength of individuality would be lost in perfection. Hence even the sublime forms of art partake of the incompleteness of all human things, whose nature and feelings indeed they embody.

EVERY independent and over-bold writer is almost sure to develop some catholic truth into heresy. He exaggerates the truth until it has the show of originality; but this very originality, especially in religion, carries one away from the church catholic. Hence one man stands against many. Which shall we believe?

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ARTICLE I.

EQUITY OF THE DIVINE GOODNESS.

THE popular conception of the goodness of God is exceedingly vague and defective. The main idea is that of parental sympathy, with no proper comprehension of its elementary nature and constitutional limitations. The goodness of the Almighty Father is the constant theme of eulogy with many whose views of this attribute appear to have little in common with its inspired definition: "Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy; for thou renderest unto every man according to his work."

The error results from a defective view of the divine justice, leading to the sinking of the governmental in the paternal character of God, the forgetting that the Maker of man is also his sovereign. It is lost sight of that Jehovah assumed the relation of creator to unintelligent and intelligent beings, not as an ultimate object, but as subsidiary to another and far grander purpose — the extension of his supreme, everlasting, universal jurisdiction over the creatures to whom his uncounselled will and omnipotence had given existence.

Here, then, we find the central point to which all other views of the divine character, all other studies of the divine works, converge. If creation, in all its parts, exists with a direct reference to the extension over it of his control who made it, all our investigations of the Godhead, whether in nature or revela-

tion, are chiefly valuable to us, as they clearly and truly illustrate the nature of God's supreme rule. The production from nothing of universal being was a stupendous work; but the laying the foundations of universal government was far more stupendous. The analyzing of the constitution of created things, rational and irrational, is an engaging, noble employment; but fraught with a loftier wisdom, and urgent with a more pressing need, and opening to vaster, richer fields of thought, is the investigation of the rudimental laws by which Jehovah reigns upon the eternal throne.

It will aid our progress here to remember that the God who created and who governs is the same. But as the latter is the ulterior office, we must attach no ideas to him as creator which, transferred to him as sovereign, will involve him in a want of integrity. We involve ourselves in gross delusion, if, while tracing delightedly the footsteps of the divine goodness in the natural world, we draw conclusions respecting that goodness, which, invested with the trusts of moral administration, would overturn the foundations of personal and public justice.

The purpose of this article is to assert and defend the Equity of the Divine Goodness in moral government; in other words—that this amiable attribute of Deity rests firmly upon, and works steadily within, the fixed conditions of impartial rectitude. God is good because he is always right.

All benevolent government presupposes these facts :

That it aims to secure some rational and valuable result as its final object :

That it recognizes some law which shall regulate its administration :

That obedience to such law is obligatory on the governed :

That obedience or disobedience does constitute a radical dissimilarity of character and position in the eye of that government, and must secure a corresponding difference of treatment; else it lays itself liable to the charge of arbitrary rule or abject impotency.

These principles are involved, by the nature of the case, in the structure of the divine government. It has a final purpose: and we hazard little in saying that this purpose is the production of the largest practicable amount of true, substantial well-being

throughout the universe; that is, the securing of the highest attainable glory to the sovereignty of heaven, which we regard as convertible expressions. Nothing short of this can be predicated of God's known perfections. Whether this final purpose shall banish all evil and suffering from his empire, or find a limit to its production of happiness, is an important question which will meet us at another point of this inquiry.

So too does the government of God recognize and publish a supreme and changeless law. Nor can the obligation of the creature to obey that law be questioned, when even hostility itself confesses that its spirit is as faultless as its Author is perfect.

But obedience involves a voluntary act of the mind preferring compliance with law to its rejection and transgression. It implies the possibility of a wrong decision, the refusal of submission to authority — disobedience.

These are primary truths lying at the basis of all organized authority which is deserving that name. We are unable to conceive of an equitable jurisdiction over rational beings which does not involve them. There must be law, and obligation, and power of mental determination to respect or reject its claims. A moral government is easily conceivable in which the presence of actual disobedience shall not exist; where, under strong constraining and constantly purifying influences, every choice and act shall be holy. Heaven is so governed, freely, yet without sin. But to affirm the practicability of an administration of law over accountable agents in which transgression shall be absolutely impossible under all contingences, seems to be the confounding of all just distinctions.

The seal of the primal creative work was this; "And God saw every thing which he had made, and behold, it was very good." To vindicate that seal, it was not demanded of a God of goodness, that in setting up the framework of moral government on earth he should render rebellion against his authority an impossibility. This would have been to organize, not a moral government, but essentially one of physical forces over passive, irrational, unaccountable beings. The Lord intended no such jurisdiction over creatures made in his own image. He placed them under law, such law as rules the unfallen in

heaven ; he illumined the excellence of that law to their intellect and conscience ; he moved their moral nature by powerful influences to obedience — personal experience, however, of the evil of sin was a dissuasive which they could not feel ; but, guarding inviolably the dignity, the innermost manhood, the essential quality, of the human soul, its choosing power, he threw on it the responsibility of its own ultimate resolve to live or die. If God could not equitably have done less than this, did justice or goodness require of him to do more ? To have rendered sinning impossible would have demanded the reconstruction of man upon the scale of the inferior animals. He formed a government the design of which was beneficent ; he published a law which itself was the charter of celestial privileges and blessedness ; he made man holy, and surrounded him with powerful influences to keep him thus — if not the most powerful compatible with the infantile condition of our race, certainly that were consistent with his own wisdom. All this God's goodness did accomplish. We ask again, was he under any obligation to infinite equity to do more ?

Does the objector venture the reply that, foreseeing the revolt of mankind, it would better have comported with a just benevolence to have foreborne the origination of all moral government, of all accountable creatures ? and if of human, then equally of angelic souls. This is a difficult point where the finite should tread reverentially as in the very presence of the Infinite. Words should be few and well chosen here. It is safe, however, to say that though God has no preference for sin to holiness either in the general or in the detail ; though, as actual sovereign, he has done nothing to introduce or perpetuate, but everything to restrain and exclude it, yet it must be true that the final issue of his reign to the universe, ruinous as the offender will make it to his own soul, will nevertheless secure immeasurably more glory to God, well-being throughout his empire, than had the blended history of sin and redemption and holiness never chequered the annals of time. While the Most High has never done nor instigated moral evil that good might come, he has known how, when men, originally made upright, have persisted to seek out many wicked inventions, to cause their wrath to praise him.

“ A wonder-working alchemy draineth elixir out of poisons.”

It might with entire fairness be asked, why are not the same objections urged against the equitable management of human power which are levelled against the divine? Is there the record of an administration on earth under which the possibility and the fact of civil and criminal disobedience, and consequent suffering, have not existed? Yet who, in his senses, would impeach the clemency and uprightness of that administration, or infer that the presiding will preferred this state of things to its contrary? Is the concession made so universally and properly here, a concession merely to the imperfectness of human works, or does not the demand for it lie further back in the elementary conditions of the problem itself? "The origin of evil (writes Neander) can only be understood as a fact possible by virtue of the freedom belonging to a created being; but not to be otherwise deduced or explained."*

Passing from these incipient stages of moral government over our race, we proceed to trace our leading idea in later developments of human rebellion, and divine restraints and remedies.

Sin is nonconformity to righteous law. Law, whether divine or human, is not simply good advice. Law is obligatory. Advice is not, necessarily. In the former there is a claim to obedience. If so, there must be the means of enforcing it stronger than mere precept or persuasion. That is, law must have sanctions of punishment and rewards by which to make good its authority over the governed, or it is no law. This is one of the most familiar and practical of truths entering into the stability of all human governments public or domestic, poising upon itself the very existence of national and social security.

The true doctrine of punishment, under the divine government as elsewhere, is this: without it law can not be upheld with any adequately binding force or respectability, but degenerates into powerless, unheeded exhortation. Without the upholding of law, government necessarily falls into riotous anarchy, carrying down with it all social well-being. Recalling now a former point — that the grand aim of God's jurisdiction is to secure to his universe the utmost attainable amount of good, of holiness and consequent blessedness, thus

* History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. p. 238. Note.

to augment and declare the honors of his throne, and it is obvious at a glance why punishment must follow the infraction of that code of statutes which, as a barrier high and dreadful and glorious, surrounds and defends the welfare of Jehovah's empire. Penalties are not then disciplinary for the offender. This is not their controlling design in any well organized state. They are declarative and vindicative of right, prompted by the immutable justice of the divine character, and the human consciousness of their righteousness. Their purpose is primarily to maintain the inviolability, the integrity, the security of government, that thus it may make good its guarantees, may preserve the welfare, may secure the widest, most lasting well-being of all who desire to avail themselves of its protection and benefits; that so it may sustain its own just renown, while, according to its divine institution, it stands for a terror to evil doers and for the praise of them who do well.

It lies not, therefore, at the option of a just ruler to execute or not the penalty of law upon the rebellious. He must enforce these penalties or do immeasurably worse. Lenity is never more misplaced than when it pleads against the grasp of law upon convicted guilt. Compassion to the culprit, if exercised so as to weaken the restraints of law upon the turbulent, the evil-minded, is rank injustice to all who look to that law for safety and prosperity.*

Events in the civil state are continually illustrating this position. Here is a convict in one of our penitentiaries condemned for the crime of forgery. He has moved in high social circles, has respectable friends and popular influence. Strenuous efforts are made to enlist the executive sympathies. It seems a sad thing for such a man to wear a felon's garb; a trifling stretch of power to open his cell and bid him go free on the promise of good behaviour for the future. But no: that magistrate can see no way to pardon this culprit except at the ruinous price of degrading, weakening the statutes of the commonwealth, exposing the community to the repetition of similar crimes against property and commercial confidence. Now, however the suf-

* This truth is continually meeting us in universal literature. Thus *Seneca* represents the pagan sentiment of a benevolent justice, in the pithy apothegm: "Bonis nocet qui malis parcit;" while *Gregory* gives us the Christian idea of the same virtue: "Qui non corrigit resecanda committit."

ferer may arraign the clemency of a firm official like this, and interested friends censure him for a needless severity, the world decides that such justice and nothing less is goodness to the whole ; that the criminal and the government are not the only parties to the case ; that society in all its members and connections is vitally interwoven with these transactions, and has a paramount right to plead before every such bar its claims to protection. Very well-meaning rulers often break down most unfortunately just here, as our own present administration lately, in releasing from durance, without any equivalent in fine or penal exaction, the Brooklyn forger of public documents and presidential signatures, thus making those prerogatives of executive authority cheap to a cypher in the public eye. What was it which claimed as a public right and necessity the execution of Webster, and which to-day says that Green the Malden murderer must not go unpunished ? It is the sense and the demand not of vindictive but of vindicatory justice, which is one of the purest forms of benevolence. When the assassin dies, men's innermost consciousness responds that the sentence is mercifully just. So heaven responds, when the sinner dies beneath the stroke of God's broken statutes : " Good and upright is the Lord." " Thou art righteous, O Lord, who hast done this !"

Many will concede the necessity of punishment in human government ; also, that some penal infliction is needed under the divine government, who object to the idea that such infliction on account of sin is eternal. They can not reconcile God's goodness as a Sovereign and Father with the endless misery of any of his offspring. To these it may be answered that there is evidence that God will punish the sinner no longer than that sinner persists in preferring rebellion to loyalty : further, that until this preference is reversed, it matters nothing where that soul may be, its doom must be perdition, its habitation hell. But further still : while civil governments, organized for temporary objects and not attempting to secure strict, moral obedience, may rest in temporary, limited penalties ; the government of God, universal in extent, eternal in duration, aiming at high spiritual results, and extending its authority over the inner as well as the outer life, can rest in nothing short of endless sanctions. It is not to be questioned that the proclamation that the

sinner, either at death or at some remote age of his eternity, should be relieved of the punishment of transgression, would, if accredited, operate as a license to sin. Would not the lover of sensual and godless pleasure say; "I will pursue my indulgences, will quaff the cup of exhilarating vice, and if I am to suffer awhile, so be it, for it will not last alway; by and bye I shall go free." This is enough to stamp the restoration and annihilation theories as untrue to the Christian spirit and tendency. The latter tells the brutal sensualist that, after awhile he will sleep in utter forgetfulness and dissolution. What cares he for that, so that now he wakes to glut his passions with the feasts of vice? The other talks mincingly of a probation after death amidst some not very severe ministrations of purgatorial pains — a dim and distant prospect of quite endurable penalty, compared with the woes which Jesus pronounced over Corazin and Bethsaida. It requires but small knowledge of man's thirst for wickedness to learn how feeble are such schemes to put a bit and bridle on the head of lust. Is it then to be looked for that a God of sincerity and goodness shall publish to his subjects a punishment of transgression which, upon a tremendous scale of mischief, will inevitably work as a bounty upon rebellion? No. If sin be an incalculable wrong, that would be a vast cruelty. If the avoidance of sin be virtue and blessedness, then to encompass it with a gulf of everlasting pains is goodness to the universe in which it is an outlaw, and a common foe. And if from the beginning every transgressor in God's empire had been visited, as was the host of Lucifer, with unchecked and unmitigated punishment; had been hopelessly shut up in the prison-house of traitors, God's throne had not contained a tyrant.

" No pleasure from the misery of his foes
Can God derive. 'Tis the general weal
That calls for vengeance on the rebel's head;
Thus justice to benevolence is changed,
And judgment into mercy. Hell is made
The woful dungeon of the universe,
Where universal foes, and only such,
In sad imprisonment forever lie.
Its depths were hollowed out, its gloomy walls
Raised for the peace of heaven; and for the peace
Of God's whole empire they remain.

Those everlasting chains were forged in love
Impartial; perfect goodness binds them on,
And turns the fatal key that locks up all
Who enter once that dreadful gate; unlocked
To none returning."

If these lines of the gentle author of "The Age of Benevolence" be less genial than the gorgeous imaginings with which the author of "Festus" marshals the entire tribes of Gehenna, Satan their suzerain not excepted, into heaven, at the winding-up of the final Judgment —

"Behold they come, the Legions of the lost,
Transformed already, by the bare behest
Of God our Maker, to the purest form
Of seraph-brightness" —

it is not difficult to determine which representation has the endorsement of sound ethics and inspired truth.

The introduction of the atonement into the administration of God over our race, which was no after thought but a counsel from eternity, does not vary our conclusions concerning the equity of the Divine goodness. Its triumphant justification is, that it fully maintains the sacredness of moral law and infinite truthfulness, while it transfers the decreed punishment of sin, as an expiation, to the head of one victim, himself unstained by depravity, able to propitiate a world's transgressions, willing to do it, and so allied to the Godhead as to make obvious to all worlds that Jehovah, in refusing to issue pardons to rebels except by such a vicarious ransom, is no less the foe of sin and the determined upholder of a holy law and government, than if the course of his justice had taken its distributive execution on each individual offender.

The sacrifice of Christ, meeting the just and good demands of God's violated statute by its substitutionary virtues, guards at every point, with extremest vigilance, the integrity of his moral government over man. Its mercy leans, in no wise, toward license. It offers to the condemned reconciliation with God, as it lays an ample basis for the reconcilment of God's regal position with revolted subjects. But the death of Christ was never designed actually to effect our restoration to God. All that the atonement could do, unless by breaking down all

equity, was "to render pardon possible on conditions seen to be safe and wise." Its provisions for forgiveness are unlimited, but of itself it no more accomplishes the salvation of men, than the original promulgation of God's perfect law secured universal obedience; than the loading a table with food removes, without further action, the hunger of the starving beholders. The final cause of this wonderful measure was the same as that which inaugurated the administration of Jehovah under the code of Eden, namely, the securing of a character in the creature conformed to that of the Creator. It aims at the reproduction of holiness, where it should ever have been, to the widest attainable extent. But it operates no arbitrary, unconditional revolutions. Christ's work of expiation makes no man holy save by his free, unforced abandonment of sin as his chosen portion. Penitently and submissively he must believe on the Son of God. This is a requisition inseparable, in the nature of the case, from a plan of redemption the only purpose of which is, to bring about a cheerful return to loyalty of those who have been travelling, all their lives, the road of rebellion and death. Beyond this, the divine mercy goes not in proposing a basis of reunion with the fallen. It could not go beyond this and sustain its rectitude as pledged to the defence of moral purity. Every sinner may be saved through our Lord's mediation. Whether he shall be depends on his own decision under the movements of the Spirit of God. Much as Jehovah desired man's observance of the law of Eden, he did not compel him to keep it. He did not compel angels to hold their first estate in heaven longer than they elected. So, under the purchased grace of the blood of Jesus. Whether we now discern the truth or not, light enough will doubtless illumine it at the final day to show to all the gathered multitudes at the Judgment, that the equity of the divine goodness demands that the persistent rejecter of Christ's atonement shall perish in his sins.

The principle which we have illustrated and vindicated runs not less obviously through the regenerative work of the Holy Spirit in human hearts. There is here no arbitrary exertion of almighty power in the production of holiness, which might imperil the sanctions of virtue by deadening the conscience with the opiate of irresponsibility. Holiness is a voluntary, an

active exercise, a preferred habit of the soul. While the trophies of the Spirit's power are as many as the truly regenerate on earth and in heaven, that agent of grace well understands, for his own inspired word has affirmed it, that the only submission which God will accept, which in fact can be called *submission*, is the sinner's own choice to return to the service of his sovereign. This the Spirit of God secures, by agitating the conscience, enlightening the understanding, moving the affections. Yet with his last, most melting entreaty, he still but says, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." If, when this invitation given in good faith to all, is naturally negatived so far as God's rights and claims are concerned, the Divine Spirit continues his efforts with a remnant of the unbelieving and disobedient throng, until they relent and are converted, who shall impeach the justness or the goodness of this sovereign election of the saved to everlasting life? That selecting mercy is as equitable as it is efficacious. It simply decrees that all shall not utterly perish in their needless and most guilty impenitency. It holds the prerogative of judging, according to its own wisdom, how many and whom its long suffering patience can thus wait upon with the offers of forgiveness, until their wills submit to duty. It has adjudged this question from the beginning. It interferes with no one's salvation, while it prevents a promiscuous and universal destruction of infatuated rebels. It prevents this by no coercive measures, but in strict accordance with the free and responsible nature of the soul of man. The election of grace, so far from hindering salvation, is the last and only hope that any of our fallen and sin-bewitched race will avail themselves of Christ's redemption. Instead of quarrelling with this doctrine, every lover of God and man should rather join most heartily in the apostle's doxology :

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ :

"According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love :

"Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will,

"To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved :

"In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."—Eph. i. 3—7.

Throughout this vindication of the equity of the divine goodness, two facts are conspicuous. The one is:—That God is unchangeably resolved to uphold free moral action in his intelligent offspring. The provisions of his law, the arrangements of his grace recognize every where man's personal responsibility to duty. Jehovah has ever kept open an avenue to the human mind to influence its decisions; he is its actual source of power, without whom it can do nothing: he has steadily plied it with motives, agencies, spiritual forces, adapted to its constitution, to secure right feeling and action. But he who fashioned the human soul on the model of the divine has never offered "violence to the will of the creature." He never will. Who would desire him to depart from his fixed rule of conduct? to level his jurisdiction over mind to the low impulses of mere mechanical force? They might covet this self-contradiction and self-subversion, who, wishing to live a brutal life, would escape the necessity of accounting for its self-abuses to God. Sin is ever restive under restraint. Is it wise for theological speculation to propound views either of divine or human agency, legitimate inferences from which will furnish the restive transgressor with an almost certain quietus for his fears?

The other fact which confronts us in the light in which we here are standing is:—That God will forever hold in his own hand the right of confirming unalterably man's final determinations. When, in the individual history of men, that act of confirmation is made, the Omniscient alone knows. In the case of the lost, its moment is that at which the spirit of truth and grace leaves the transgressor, not again to renew his saving endeavors. Then, whether at death or previously, hope to him terminates.

"To pass that limit is to die!"

In the saved, the hour of the soul's submission to Christ confirms its title, by its adopting Father, to ultimate, complete salvation. These ratifications of the decisions of time the Judgment will authoritatively announce to all worlds, and eternal ages will perpetuate in the fruit of the seed sown in the body, whether it be good or evil.

How true of these harmonies of Jehovah's attributes of good-

ness with the demands of universal equity are the Psalmist's inspired words : " Mercy and truth are met together ; righteousness and peace have kissed each other ! "

ARTICLE II.

CULTURE OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE CHURCHES.

WE revert very naturally to the first age of the Christian church for examples of the spirit and practice of a pure and apostolic Christianity. It seems quite certain to us, that they, who so recently had received the epistles of holy doctrine and living from the personal followers of our Lord, should furnish illustrations of the power of this faith over the life, which would be well worthy the study and imitation of all after times. As we might thus expect, so we find it. Concerning regulations of church order and administration which are not vital to the Christian body, we discover no positive and invariable rule : while nothing can be more clear and satisfactory than the light shed upon the really essential questions of the personal character and social intercourse of the early believers. With the precept of Christ so fresh upon the record : " By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another " ; with the ink scarce dry upon the letters of a John and a Paul ; " My little children, love one another " ; " Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love " ; we look to see, in the common lives of those Christians, a marked expression of mutual regard and helpfulness.

Nor are we disappointed. The outburst of charitable sympathy, which made the days of Pentecost so memorable, was not a momentary freshet of brotherly love. It was the headspring of a deeply flowing river of benevolence and beneficence which did not lose itself in the sands of selfishness and indifference for many generations. On a large scale, the first period of the church of Christ gives us the truest and fairest manifest-

ation of the Christian social element which we have ever had. Presenting, therefore, this topic, we prefer to do it in the way of a few historical sketches, than of a formally didactic discussion. It will be easy for any one to note and distinguish the not very many points where the examples brought forward are not applicable to our altered state of society. No one, of course, will expect any original contributions to a subject so often and thoroughly treated by the ripest scholarship. But if, from this field of ancient beauty, we bring back only familiar flowers, they may be none the less sweet and precious.*

The feelings of those brethren of the household of faith were something like the strong attraction to one another of fellow-countrymen in a new or a foreign land. They drew toward, and leaned upon each other like emigrants or travellers of a common stock, far distant from home. They were pressed together by a gigantic persecuting outside world of political and spiritual wickedness, the high places and the low alike filled with its virulent antagonism. They had to make common cause for self-existence, against this raging adversary. And yet, the tie which bound them so solidly together was not passed about them so much by these external forces, as it was woven softly and silently from soul to soul through the consciousness of having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one hope, one purpose in life, one home in heaven.

"Behold, how these Christians love one another" passed into a familiar proverb among the pagans who were the constant spectators of their daily conduct. This was not the fact simply when a handful of them were just beginning a new church or community, and were much in each other's society, and more dependent on one another's counsels. In the great centres of their population, harmony and deference pervaded their assemblies, there were few rivalries and jealousies, and the disposition was uppermost to promote the happiness of all. The authentic memorials which have brought to us the records of those primitive days abound in illustrations of the quickness of their sensibility to the sorrows and the joys of the brotherhood, whether near or far away. The good fortune of another was a

* Coleman's *Christian Antiquities* has furnished our most convenient reference. In reproducing these features of primitive Christianity we have partly used our own words, and partly the language of this compilation.

subject of lively gratitude to all. The misfortune of any sent a thrill of sadness as widely among them. The whole church, far and near, was a veritable family circle to their hearts. So when they met, either in their houses or in their places of worship, they interchanged the kiss of charity, as a token of fellowship and a pledge of good will. Their common speech was modified by this intensely real affection. Whether relatives or not, they addressed each other, according to their respective sex and age, by the name of father, mother, brother, sister. There were no strangers in their communion. To have received the Christian baptism was all the introduction they wanted to the warmest intimacies of friendship.

Thus their hospitalities to those before unknown to them seem almost fabulous. If different localities practiced some peculiar customs in matters of indifference, there was so much oneness of life everywhere, that, whenever any of their number went abroad, either on their own private affairs, or on religious missions, they found a ready welcome to the Christians of whatever place they visited. Under whatever name they might go, and to whatever remote sections, among people of other language and nationality, they were sure, wherever they met a Christian, to meet a friend whose house was free to their reception, whose table would be spread for their entertainment, and whose smile of recognition would often, by its honest warmth, make them think sadly of the coldness of their unconverted kinsmen at home. In the eyes of such as these, it was an enigma "that men who, as Jews, had despised all other people, and as Gentiles, would not share the fireside with strangers, should be on terms of closest acquaintance with Christians without respect to name or color." They construed it sometimes as a deep and spreading political conspiracy, and now and then succeeded in raising terrific persecutions against the Christians. Then it was the token of some league of magic, or of impure rites of secret confraternity, when foreigners were seen to be received with abounding cordiality by those who never before had heard of them. "The heathen knew nothing of these inner emotions, that unselfish love, that fellowship of the Spirit which created these mighty ties between the Christians, alike independent of the natural and national boundaries of the earth";

one manifestation of which was their holding their possessions so much at the command of the brethren of Jesus, from whatever clime arriving.

This was their simple and charming way of procedure: when a Christian came to a town, he would go straight to the church, in or about which somebody would be found to receive his errand, and to provide him lodging. This might be done at the charge of the church funds if necessary. But as a fact it was seldom so done: for as soon as such an arrival was reported, there was no lack of applicants for the privilege of receiving the traveller; and whatever was his rank in life or his calling, he would directly be the guest of some one whose circumstances were similar to his own. A minister would lodge with the local pastor; a merchant, artizan, teacher, with one of their class. When, by and bye, this generous conduct came to be abused by imposters who would palm themselves off as Christians, for profit or for mischief, a plan was adopted to prevent such imposition, like this: when a brother or sister left on a journey, the pastor gave him a letter of introduction to the church whither he went, which was his passport to their fellowship and help. To prevent forgeries, these letters were folded in a peculiar way, and bore some private cipher within, which assured their genuineness wherever carried. By these presents, varied in style and form to denote the character of reception which the bearer would expect, whether as an agent of the church for some special work, or as a common Christian traveller needing kindly attentions and entitled to full communion, or as a nominal but not yet a regenerate and professed adherent—these people were welcomed among the churches all over the world, were taken into families as one of themselves, had their dusty feet washed by the wife on their arrival, and when they departed went with the benediction of the master of the house which was always pronounced in a solemn prayer to God for the wayfarer's well-being. So fully did the first disciples observe the inspired command, "Use hospitality one to another without grudging."

The same spirit of unselfish kindness had a constant manifestation in their care of the poorer members of the church. These, as might be expected, they had always with them. It

was not left to the rich to look after this duty. There was a regular system of benevolent supervision and supply. The whole Christian community assumed the burden, as a privilege, of ministering to the wants of the necessitous. As soon as their Sunday worship was closed, a list of the needy, of the widows, the orphans, the aged, was read; any one who knew of a fresh case of suffering or destitution was expected to bring it forward; and then a donation sufficient to provide for present wants was granted from the common fund which was kept replenished by the freewill offerings of the brotherhood. "No strong or heart-stirring appeals were necessary to reach the hidden source of their sympathies; no cold calculations of prudence regulated the distribution of their alms; no fears of doubtful propriety suggested delay for the consideration of the claim; no petty jealousies as to the preference of one recommendation to another were allowed to freeze the genial current of their charity." By whomsoever the application was made, or in whatsoever circumstances, the requisite supplies were dealt out, with a cheerful and emulous unanimity. If, in one place, the poor were too numerous to be aided by the limited means of that particular church, some richer, neighboring church was applied to for help; and it was an unheard of thing that such a call was neglected. Though they had poor of their own to support, other churches near and remote were ever prompt to send contributions to their sister congregations; and many and noble are the instances on record of pastors and people, on intelligence of any pressing emergency, hastening with their offerings for the relief of those whom they had never seen, but who were their fellow disciples in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. This is a case in point: When a horde of African barbarians had captured a large number of Christians in Numidia, and the churches to which they belonged were unable to raise the ransom money demanded, they sent a delegation to Carthage where Cyprian was chief pastor, who at once took up the case, and never relaxed his efforts till he had collected about four thousand dollars which he forwarded to the Numidian churches, with letters of condolence and good cheer. These are some of his words: "In cases like these who would not feel sorrow, and who would not look on a brother's sufferings as his own? As the apostle says, when one member suffers, all the

members suffer with it. Therefore we must consider the captivity of our brethren as our own captivity. We must see Christ in our captive brethren, and redeem him from captivity who redeemed us from death." How suited to our own times and duties, this admirable sentiment.

As might be supposed, their charities to the persecuted, and to the sick, were unremitting and almost unbounded. They would go to the dungeons of their imprisoned brethren, and when denied entrance would lie for days and nights outside the walls, waiting with clothing, beds, fuel, food, to minister to their comfort, and when admitted, would kiss their chains, wash their feet, and nurse their illnesses with tenderest care. When Christians were enslaved and sent to toil in unwholesome mines or to labor on the other public works like beasts of burden, their brethren would visit them for sympathy and relief, at every hazard, often themselves being doomed to the same fate when detected by the oppressors. Space would fail us to relate the narratives of such acts of dangerous kindness, or to give any truthful account of their attentions to the sick. These were the especial charge of the female members of the community. Every moment the Christian matron could spare from her own household she devoted to these errands of mercy. In the absence of asylums and hospitals there was a ceaseless call for such ministries. And the highest born and richest of the Christian sisterhood vied with the less distinguished, in fulfilling these sacred trusts. What we have been doing so bounteously for our brave soldiers through the Christian Commission and other agencies, and are beginning to do for the freedmen of the South, was universally done by the church of the first centuries for all classes of distressed Christians. By and bye, new orders of persons, male and female, arose to meet the increased demands of these charities. In Alexandria, at one time, six hundred had charge of the sick and dying. When the frequent plagues and pestilences broke out in city or country, it was the signal for multitudes of these helpers to hasten thither with money, and every kind of supply, to relieve the evil. Nor were these merciful offices confined to the Christians. While the heathen fled in dismay from their own stricken households, or looked on with stoical apathy, the Christians would bury the

dead pagans and succor the living. When the plague raged in Carthage, Cyprian urged his flock to take care of foes as well as friends. "If," said he, "we only do good to our own people, we do no more than publicans and heathens. But if we are the children of God . . . who spreads abroad his blessings not upon his friends alone, but upon those whose thoughts are far from him, we must show this by our actions, blessing those who curse us, and doing good to those who persecute us."

What we are to learn from these pictures, for our own more thorough and symmetrical manifestation of the Christian social element, is

That all this beautiful life did not spring from natural sources, but from a vigorous spiritual character and experience. There was enough of this to give tone to the church-life of those days. All did not have it; there were hypocrites and backsliders in the church, then as now. But the prevalent spirit was of this eminently religious type. The condition of the church, with respect to surrounding heathenism and persecutions, fostered these virtues, but did not produce them, nor alone could have sustained them. It was a result of the indwelling of Christ in the heart, and of the love of God flowing freely forth to his people. We have known something like it in times of religious revival. The same cause would ever produce similar fruits.

A social element essentially like this is as much needed now as ever. It must have the same origin, and will always have ample opportunities to exercise itself in common things. Modern Christians need a greater fusion of hearts; to be melted and poured together into a closer communion and correspondence of interests. We should not suffer the public provision made for the poor, the sick, the variously distressed, to disincline us to the doing of many personal acts of kindness and helpfulness to these unfortunates. Christ never designed that the church should thus slide off her trust given her by himself, to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. The church is a charitable institution constitutionally, and to forget this practically is suicidal. She would be worth a thousand fold more to herself as well as others, if the old examples of unwearied, social benefaction could again live within her, if not precisely in their an-

cient forms, yet in their ancient spirit, which should be perpetual.

Our easier circumstances, and perhaps our northern temperature have gradually toned us down to a very chilly state of Christian sociality. Our churches have settled into an unmonstrative habit which looks too much like a selfish indifference to the common wants and interests. We do not take time enough for social visiting, and the cultivation of acquaintance. We are reproached for this as being aristocratic and proud. Christian strangers coming to reside in our neighborhoods are not sought out and welcomed as they should be. Instead of taking pains to know them and to introduce them to the circle around them, they are allowed to make their own way, as best they can, to the public regard. How unlike the primitive custom of receiving brethren from abroad! This does not prove that we are not ourselves Christians, that we do not love Christ's followers, that we are not glad of their coming among us; it is not aristocratic pride which locks up our kind words and smiles. The evil we are noting is a habit of social seclusiveness which comes from carrying our domestic and secular industries to excess. We live too much within and for ourselves. Yet there is a vast amount of mischievous intermeddling with others' affairs. This shows that there is time enough for a better kind of social intercourse. Our scandal-mongering ought to give way to a sincere Christian interest and helpfulness. The early habit of the church ought to be revived and reinstated as the rule of social life among Christians. It is wholly practicable, as it is religiously obligatory. The world needs just this everyday, simple, useful exhibition of brotherly love to convince it again that its prevailing spirit is not like that of Christ and his kingdom. His love abounding in the church must again restore these offices of fraternal sympathy and coöperation, if, by our Lord's own test, all men are to know that we are his disciples.

Some of our readers will find an obstacle to the practical and personal application of our subject, in the gradations of social standing which exist in our communities generally, and which do not stop at the boundaries of our churches. These will ask, if our train of thought intends to abolish all class-distinctions in

the Christian state ; if the church is meant to be a promiscuous leveller. We suppose not. Christianity is not agrarianism. It does not force nature. There are grounds for some social gradations and classifications among men, lying in the nature of men, and in the rulings of providence. These, of course, are not antichristian. But these are to be judged of under a religious and not a worldly light. The actual groupings and pairings-off of people in our communities are, to a large extent, determined by motives of pride, ambition, personal jealousies and antagonisms, selfish clannishness and partizanship, which certainly are unchristian. The social life of the church does not demand a promiscuous intercourse of its members on all the varied occasions of concourse which are incident to associated living. Common sense and unperverted constitutional tastes must not be denied a fair exercise here. Such unlimited mingling of social elements from unlike conditions of life would not conduce to the best happiness of either side. Yet, there is a Christian fellowship and coöperation which may be most real and precious, without involving any of this forced and awkward attempt at assimilation. This is what the apostolic epistles continually enjoin. Society and the churches then were full of gradations and inequalities. These were not required to give place to any demand for some impossible equalization of ranks, or amalgamation of interests. The gospel makes no such requisition. It aims to infuse all souls with a common love to the one kingdom of redemption which shall be supreme over all other moving forces, and which shall make all renewed natures so far one, that nothing shall have power to interfere with the sympathies, the kind acts and offices, which Christ calls for between the several members of his own spiritual body.

We add only one other thought : the culture of such a social spirit in our churches would furnish a much needed protection from worldly and evil amusements to which so many of our professedly religious people now resort for pleasurable excitement. The church ought to provide, within the circle of Christian propriety and consistency, all the recreations which its adherents need. It is thus alone that the power of temptation to frivolous and demoralizing pleasures can be neutralized inside the distinctively Christian community. As before suggested,

its social life should draw the world to its association instead of the reverse. If the legitimate working of Christianity can not do this, it is not equal to the duties and trusts of a universal religion. It can do this. It will do this in the days when God shall make Zion the joy of the whole earth.

ARTICLE III.

SACRED RELICS IN THE PAPAL CHURCH AND THEIR USES.

It is easy to explain the origin of most of the peculiarities of the Roman Catholic church. The human heart gives them birth and nurture and a home very naturally, if one's circumstances of early life be favorable to it. There is no strangeness, no mystery in one's growing up a Papist. Each human heart has in it the germ of most of the inconsistencies and errors that are grouped in that system of religion ; and we need only favorable, fostering influences, a genial soil and clime, to develop it.

These facts of human nature, true of any people in any age, explain at once that, to us, very strange feature in the Papal system, the use of relics.

It is well known that there are, in many of the Catholic churches, what are called relics. These are, the bones of saints, being the whole or parts of skeletons, portions of the blood, tears, or garments of our Saviour, of Mary, of his apostles or some early saints, pieces of the cross, thorns of the crown, and a vast variety of other pretended antiquities that were once somehow connected, they suppose, with sacred persons and places and scenes.

As these relics are now made to bear a very important part in the policy and religious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church, it is proposed to give a brief examination of the history of them.

The origin of the custom of procuring and using relics is sim-

ple and natural. It originates in our reverence for what is ancient, and for what is good. No one can stroll about in Westminster Abbey and give himself up intelligently to the historical associations of the place without paying a kind of deep, awful reverence to antiquity. He stands where kings have been crowned for centuries. He turns his steps but a little and they all lie about him. He goes silently from aisle to aisle in that ancient house of dead men; he gazes on inscriptions, epitaphs, armorial bearings and sculptured devices, and he finds himself in the midst of the wealth, the beauty, the fashion, the mental and moral greatness of many generations. He is side by side with the statesmen, the heroes, the divines, the poets, philosophers and scholars that have been England's strength and pride for so many centuries; and he passes out from those time-hallowed walls with a strong, a reverential, a sacred regard for what is ancient.

And the more ancient the relic, ruin or antiquity, the deeper will be the reverence. Those who have walked about in the exhumed cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, or among the ruins of Nineveh, are conscious of this fact. With what interest do we preserve anything that once belonged to our Puritan ancestors. What gathering centres of intense interest, as well as of relics, are our Antiquarian Societies. Or if we enter families we shall discover this same reverence for what was once their ancestors'. It may be an antiquated dress, a portrait, jewelry, or silver plate, with their family name. With what care, as something very precious and very venerable, is the sacred volume often handed down from sire to son. The child regards with no ordinary feelings

“ The big ha' Bible, ance his father's pride.”

We cherish with more or less devotion any relic we may possess in proportion to the notoriety of the person or place to which it pertained. Could we own it, how should we value the compass that guided Columbus to a new world. How much is thought of a flower or a pebble from the grave of Napoleon, and how many have ranked among their precious things fragments that they have brought from the tomb of an eminent divine or devoted Christian.

Such allusions as these show us how natural and how very easy it is for human hearts to gather and reverence relics of by-gone ages and of eminent or beloved ones among the dead. This common and very worthy feeling of our nature the Papal church has so cultivated to excess, so modified and perverted, as to build up the very absurd and iniquitous system under examination. Several causes united to introduce and establish this system. The Christian church began very early to copy from heathenism and accommodate itself to it. The demigods and hero worship of Greece and Rome and Northern Europe gave place, under the progress of a formal Christianity, to saints and saint worship. And to such an extent has the creation of saints been carried that in 1847 there were eleven hundred and twenty-eight entered in the Romish calendar, who have their annual festivals. From the worship of the saint it was a very easy and natural process to give undue reverence to any relic of the saint.

Another cause had its influence. In the exceeding ignorance and almost barbarism of portions of the Christian church, it was supposed that a certain virtue or power remained in the body after the soul left it, so that it was able to work the same wonders that it did when a soul animated it. They strengthened themselves in this false philosophy by a false understanding and perverted use of the account of the effect of Elisha's bones on the dead body that was thrust into the sepulchre of the prophet. 2 Kings, xiii. 21. To the same end they misconstrued and misused the "special miracles" wrought by means of the aprons and handkerchiefs from the body of Paul. Acts xix. 11, 12. It was a gross mistake, or very crafty deception founded on this passage, that led the Papal church to gather so many relics other than bones of saints.

Some refer the origin of the practice to Egypt, where they were accustomed to embalm and keep near to them the bodies of friends and distinguished persons. Christians adopted this practice and preserved the bodies of saints and martyrs. At length they began to place them in the churches. To the belief already common in the fifth century that martyrs could act as intercessors in heaven, they added the heathen notion that the

souls of the departed were wont to linger about their mortal remains. Hence the preservation and use of those remains.*

But from whatever cause or combination of causes the system took its rise, its increase and strength were mainly owing to the intrigues of the clergy. They saw that the people could be deceived in this thing, and they saw, too, with their accustomed foresight, that this use of relics would enhance very much the power and wealth of the church, and so they left untried no means, honest or dishonest, to procure any and all kinds of relics, and then with them they wrought their "lying wonders." The origin and growth of the system, like any great system of error, was obscure and imperceptible. It came gradually over the Christian church with those other twilight shades that heralded and soon deepened into the midnight of the dark ages.

The number and variety of relics in the Roman church are very great. We by no means propose to give a complete list. Their number and constant increase make this an impossibility. Moreover the formation of a full catalogue of these strange spiritual treasures can not be made for the reason that many old ones are constantly disappearing while new ones are yearly added. It is the custom of a church having relics to expose, in some public place in it, a list of the same, as a merchant hangs out paste-board signs of his wares. This list is sometimes cut in marble or metal, and sometimes it is made out on parchment, or even printed, as a hand-bill, on common paper. This various method of advertising the relics shows that some are far less permanent than others. This is easily explained. When the novelty of a new relic has passed away, or the fraud by which it has been procured, has been exposed, or when the impositions by which the people through it have been deceived, have been made known, that relic becomes worthless, and so its name disappears.

We propose to mention only relics enough to give a sample of their kinds and number, though the list might be enlarged indefinitely. And it seems very fitting to introduce this list by mentioning the relics now or recently preserved and used in the city of Rome itself. By so doing it will be seen that we are

* *The History of Romanism, etc.* By the Rev. John Dowling, D.D. New York. 1845. pp. 94, *et seq.*

not recalling something antiquated and obsolete, that had being and use in the distant, and ignorant and dark days of the Romish church, but something that has present existence and influence in that church, and that too at its very head of knowledge and power and light, Rome itself.

We first make use of lists that were publicly exposed in the churches in Rome and copied in the years 1843, 1844, and 1846, by the Hon. J. W. Percy.*

One of the churches in Rome is called The Church of the Sacred Cross. On the right of the altar hangs a parchment giving the names of the relics preserved in that church. We quote a few of them :

“The finger of St. Thomas, apostle, with which he touched the most holy side of our Lord Jesus Christ, after his resurrection.” “One of the pieces of money with which it is believed the Jews paid the treachery of Judas.” “A great part of the holy veil and of the hair of the most blessed Virgin.” “A mass of the cinders and charcoal, united in the form of a loaf, with the fat of St. Lawrence, martyr.” This St. Lawrence was a deacon at Rome, and suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian, A.D. 258, by being roasted to death over a slow fire on a huge gridiron. “One bottle of the most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.” “Un'altra piena di latte della Bma. Vergine.” “The stone on which the angel stood, when he announced the great mystery of the incarnation to the most blessed Virgin.” “A little piece of the stone where Christ was born.” “A little piece of the stone where sat our Lord Jesus, when he pardoned the sins of Mary Magdalene.” “The stone where the Lord wrote the Law, given to Moses on Mount Sinai.” A portion “of the cotton with which was collected the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.” “Of the manna with which God fed the Hebrew people in the desert.” “A portion of the rod of Aaron, which flourished in the desert.”

In the church of St. Cecelia hangs a parchment tablet with the following :

“The great toe of the foot of St. Mary Magdalene.” Some “of the milk of the blessed Virgin Mary.” Some “of the thorns and sponge.”

* Romanism as it exists at Rome. Exhibited in various Inscriptions and other Documents in the Churches and other Ecclesiastical places in that city. Collected by the Hon. J. W. Percy, and Edited by J. O. French. London: Seeley, Burnside & Seeley, Fleet Street. 1847.

In the vestibule of the church of St. Cosmo and Damian are preserved, according to a parchment list of the relics of that church :

“One bottle of the milk of the blessed Virgin Mary.” A part “of the house of St. Mary Magdalene, and of St. Zachary the Prophet.”

In the church of St. Prassede, on either side of the railing of the high altar, are marble slabs, bearing the names of these relics :

A portion “of the comesia of the blessed Virgin Mary,” “of the rod of Moses,” “of the ground upon which our Saviour prayed before his passion,” “of the reed and sponge with which they gave to drink to our Lord Jesus Christ,” “of the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul,” “of the relics of St. John the Baptist,” “the image of the Saviour which St. Peter the apostle gave to Pudencius, the father of St. Praxedis,” “three thorns of the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ,” a part “of the napkin with which our Lord wiped the feet of his disciples,” “of the clothes in which the Lord Jesus was wrapped at his nativity,” “of the garment without a seam of our Lord Jesus Christ,” “of the stone with which St. Stephen, protomartyr, was stoned,” “of the reed in which was placed the sponge full of vinegar and gall, with which they gave to drink to our Lord Jesus Christ.”

In the adjoining chapel is the column to which our Lord was bound when he was scourged by order of Pilate.

In the church of S. Maria Transpontina, on the left, is an altar, on each side of which is a marble column, set in wood. Under one of these is inscribed as follows :

“This is that column to which St. Paul was bound, scourged and beaten by Nero the Emperor.” The other is the column of St. Peter. In the sacristy near by is a list of relics, one inscription of which runs thus : “Upon the altar of the columns, on the highest part, . . . is the image of Christ, which spoke to the Apostles while in torments.”

In the church of S. Maria, near the side entrance, are the base and feet only of a marble statue. Between the feet is the following inscription :

“This is the stone upon which angels were seen kneeling at the martyrdom of St. Peter.”

On the left of the entrance of the church of St. James Scossa Cavallo, is the following inscription on a square block of stone :

“ Upon this stone, according to the ancient tradition of historians, brought hither by Helen, the Empress, Abraham placed his only son Isaac, to be sacrificed according to divine command.”

Over the high altar in the church of St. John Lateran hangs the following :

“ Relics which are preserved in this tabernacle. Part of the arm of St. Helen, mother of Constantine, the Emperor, founder of the most holy Basilica. Part of the bones of Maria Salome, mother of St. John, the apostle and evangelist. A finger of St. Catharine of Sienna, virgin, and of the bones of St. Mary Magdalene, and of St. Mary the Egyptian penitent. Of the bones and the veil of St. Barbara, virgin and martyr. Part of the fingers of St. Joseph of Lionessa, priest of the order of Minor Capuchins, confessor. Part of the brain of St. Vincent of Paul, . . . and part of the bones of St. Francis, confessor royal. Of the blood and interior of St. Philip Neri. . . . The head of St. Zachary, confessor, father of St. John Baptist. Of the blood of St. Charles Borromeus, cardinal, bishop and confessor. The head of St. Pancratius, martyr, from which for three days and three nights blood flowed copiously, while this most holy Lateran church was a prey to the flames. Of the bones of the saints, Pope Alexander, Evenzius, Theodulus, Sabina and Serapia, martyrs. Of the bones of St. Lawrence, martyr. Cup in which St. John the apostle and evangelist, by command of Domitian the Emperor, drank poison without receiving injury, which afterwards being tasted by his attendants, at the instant they fell dead. Garments of the same St. John, which placed upon those who were dead by poison, immediately they returned to life. Part of the chin of St. John Baptist, forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ. Part of the chain, bound with which the same St. John came from Ephesus to Rome. Part of the bones of St. Andrew, apostle. Of the hair and clothing of the Mother of God, Mary. Of the cradle in which was placed our Lord Jesus Christ in the stable. Of the napkin with which our Lord Jesus Christ wiped his most holy hands after the Lord's Supper. Of the cloth with which our Lord Jesus Christ wiped the feet of the apostles. Part of the column to which our Lord Jesus Christ was bound in the prætorium of Pilate, and was most cruelly beaten. One of the thorns of the crown which was placed on the adorable head of our Lord Jesus Christ. Purple gar-

ment with which our Lord Jesus Christ was clothed in mockery, in the palace of Pilate, which is still sprinkled with some drops of blood. The veil of the head of the most blessed Virgin Mary, with which the same succeeded, with difficulty, in covering the nakedness of her only son, while he hung on the wood of the cross, still sprinkled with some drops of blood. Napkin with some marks of blood, which was on the head of our Lord Jesus Christ, whilst he lay in the tomb. Table made of the ashes of many martyrs, in the middle of which is a portion of the wood of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Blood and water which came out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, whilst he hung already dead on the wood of the cross." The table of the Last Supper is also in this church.

Among other relics at Rome of rare virtue and worth there are several paintings, said to have been executed by Luke the evangelist. Of one of the Virgin the following inscription is given: "The work of Luke and of Light. The Virgin whom you behold on the altar dispelled, when carried in procession, a black pestilence from the city."

On the right hand as you enter the church of St. Dominic and Sixtus, the following inscription may be read on a marble slab. "Here at the high altar, is preserved that image [picture] of the most blessed Mary, which being delineated by St. Luke the evangelist, received its colors and form divinely. Long venerated in the East, it at length, by celestial disposition, an angel being the bearer, came to the city," &c., &c.—Percy's *Romanism*, 74—91.

Between the Church of the Holy Cross and St. John Lateran in Rome, is a sacred building containing three flights of steps. The middle one is called The Holy Staircase. It consists of twenty-eight marble steps, and for protection against the wearing of the devout multitude constantly passing over them on their knees, they are covered with boards. These, they say, are the steps by which Christ ascended to the judgment hall of Pilate, and they still show traces of his most sacred blood. *

Such are some of the relics now preserved and used in several of the churches in Rome. They are indicative of the soundness of the heart of this great spiritual body, the holy

* *Rome Pagan and Papal*; By an English Resident in that city. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1846. p. 80. Also, Percy, p. 46.

Catholic church. The simple name and nature of some of these relics, mentioned without note or comment, cast a flood of light on this huge system of temporal and spiritual imposture.

We are, therefore, the more willing to enlarge this paper by mentioning some that are found, or have been, in other places than Rome. We shall give the names without much reference to the time when such relics were exposed, and not always giving their location, yet in no case giving the name of a relic unless the reference be supported by good historical authority. The various methods by which this religious Museum, this spiritual Curiosity Shop, of the Papal church has been filled, methods more curious and interesting often than the relics themselves, and the uses to which they are put, will furnish topics of instruction and entertainment if our limits allow.

In several Catholic churches they hold with great watchfulness and veneration the pocket handkerchief bearing on it the true image of the Saviour. Their account of its origin is as follows: "As our Saviour was carrying his cross to Mount Calvary and sweat ran from his face like drops of blood, a pious woman . . . wiped it with her handkerchief; upon which our Saviour to reward her piety, left imprinted the true image of his countenance. Hence the image is called commonly among them the Veronica. In lapse of time it has so multiplied itself that the identical handkerchief is shown at St. Peter's and at St. Sylvester's in Rome, at Turin, at Genoa and at Besancon.—Bower's Popes, II: 548. Mosheim, Eccl. His. II: 146, note 24. Dowling, 101.

We may add here that it is no anomaly in Romanism to find the very same relic in many different places at the same time. For examples, they have for adoration the body of St. Andrew at Constantinople, at Amalfi, at Toulouse, in Russia, in Armenia, besides a sixth and extra head at Rome. The body of St. James is at Compostella, Verona, Toulouse, Pistoie and Rome, with one extra head in Venice and a seventh in the Abbey of Arras in France. St. Peter has one body at Rome, one at Claude and one at Arles in France, besides one finger in the monastery of The Three Churches in Armenia, a thumb at Toulouse and three teeth at Marseilles. St. Luke has eight

bodies, St. Paul eighteen and St. Pancratius thirty, in as many different cities.—Bib. Sacra, V : 619.

In the church of St. Mary of the Footprints, at Rome, in the middle of the church, on the floor, with an iron grating over it, is a representation of the footprints of our Saviour. The account given of it is, that once as St. Peter was fleeing from persecution at Rome, the Saviour met him and persuaded him to turn back. On Peter's being persuaded, the Saviour turned away leaving his footprints in the rock where he stood. The original rock is said to be in the church of St. Sebastian.—Percy, 86.

When William the Conqueror meditated the invasion of England and the claiming of the English crown as his lawful right, he sought, like a true papist, the approval and benediction of the Pope, Alexander II. The Pope pronounced Harold, the legitimate king, a perjured usurper, approved the claim and plan of William, and the more to encourage him in his enterprise “sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it.”—Hume's Eng. So it would seem that from the battle of Hastings, 1066, to the present day, the destinies of England have been suspended on a solitary hair of St. Peter.

Sometimes a church or monastery is fortunate enough to obtain a relic of more than human origin. We have already mentioned such, e. g., the stone on which the Lord wrote the Law for Moses, now in the church of the Sacred Cross at Rome. A singular relic of this nature was to be seen a few years since in that Palace-Convent of Spain, the Escorial. This Catholic pile was built in honor of St. Laurentius who suffered martyrdom as we have described under Valerian. It is built in the form of a gridiron inverted, in honor of the saint who suffered on that instrument. It is of hewn granite, seven hundred and forty-four feet by five hundred and eighty, with a cornice sixty-two feet high and towers more than two hundred. It was twenty-two years in building, at a cost of fifty millions. The monks here formerly had an immense quill or feather three or four feet long, said to have fallen from the wing of the angel Gabriel when he announced the birth of Christ to the shepherds. It was kept with great care and much perfumed on a silken

cushion.* We may here add that the stone on which that saint was laid, after he was broiled, is now preserved in the church of St. Lorenzo at Rome; and the coals over which he was broiled have been precious relics in some churches.—M'Gavin's Protestant, I: 387; Neal, His. Puritans, I: 135; Rome, Pagan and Papal, p. 83.

In time past there were what were called the Glastenbury relics, and among them the identical stones which the devil tempted Christ to turn into bread.—M'Gavin's Protestant, I: 387. In the Abbey of the Trinity, Vendome, France, they have what is called the holy tear. The tradition is that when the Saviour wept at the tomb of Lazarus an angel saved his tears in a crystal vial, and afterwards gave them to Mary Magdalene. After many adventures among friends and foes, and through perils of battle among the Turks, the precious relic came to its present resting place.—M'Gavin, I: 391.

When the Reformation swept over England and Scotland large quantities of these sacred treasures were discovered in the churches and monasteries. Under the order of Henry VIII. for the examination and suppression of the monasteries, strange disclosures were made. The commissioners, says Neal, found portions of the Virgin Mary's milk in eight places, the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, and an angel with one wing, that brought into England the head of the spear that pierced the side of the Saviour.—His. Puritans, I: 35.

In the cathedral at Glasgow were found five silver caskets with these contents: (1) Some hair of the Virgin, (2) A part of the hair cloak of St. Kentigern, of the scourge with which he beat himself, and of the scourge of Thomas à Becket, (3) a piece of St. Bartholomew's skin, (4) a bone of St. Ninian, (5) a piece of the girdle of the Virgin, also a bone of St. Mary Magdalene, four vials of the Virgin's milk, and a piece of the manger in which Christ was laid, six hides [bags] containing very precious relics, two linen bags filled with saints' bones, and a vast quantity of small relics in a wooden chest.—M'Gavin, I: 395.

During the wars waged between France and the East in the

* Sketches of Foreign Travel and Life at Sea. By the Rev. Charles Rockwell. 2 vols. Boston: 1842. Vol. 1: 297, 8.

thirteenth century, the Emperor of the East in his straitened circumstances for funds found it necessary to pawn the sacred relics of Constantinople that he might raise money. Among the articles thus disposed of by himself and his barons, and which eventually came into the Holy Chapel of Paris, were the entire crown of our Saviour, a portion of the cross, his infant linen, the lance, the sponge, the cords with which he was bound, the rod of Moses, and a part of the skull of St. John the Baptist.—Guizot's *Gibbon*, II : 378.

It is well known that St. Dominic was the founder of the Inquisition, that terrible instrument of blood and agony. "One of the most celebrated images in Italy is that of St. Dominic of Surriano in Calabria, which, as their historians testify, was brought down from heaven about two centuries ago, by the Virgin Mary in person, accompanied by Mary Magdalene and St. Catharine."—Dr. Middleton, quoted in *The Protestant*, I : 363.

Some of the relics are of the most trifling and paltry kind. So great at times has been the passion with the Papists for any thing from the Holy Land, that large quantities of earth were actually brought from Palestine to Europe ; this dirt was bought and sold at enormous prices, and used for various religious impositions. The same use was made of the oil from the lamps that were kept perpetually burning in the tombs of saints. The smallest particles of a relic were esteemed invaluable and all-powerful. So when Constantia, who was building St. Paul's at Constantinople, wrote to Gregory the Great for some portions of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul to deposit in her new church, he replied that it would be impossible to take any thing from those bodies. He says to her that some workmen lost their lives by simply looking on the body of St. Lawrence when they were making repairs near his tomb. After this he adds :

"Be it then known to you that it is the custom of the Romans, when they give any relics, not to touch any part of the body. Only they put into the box a piece of linen, called *brandeum*, which is placed near the holy bodies. Then it is withdrawn and shut up with due veneration in the church which is to be dedicated, and as many prodigies are then wrought by it as if the bodies themselves had been carried thither. Whence it happened in the time of St. Leo, as we learn from our ancestors, when some Greeks doubted the vir-

tue of such relics, that Pope called for a pair of scissors, and cut the linen, and blood flowed from the incision. And not only at Rome, but throughout the whole of the West it is held sacrilegious to touch the bodies of the saints, nor does such temerity ever remain unpunished. . . . But that your religious desire may not be wholly frustrated I will hasten to send to you some part of those chains which St. Peter wore on his neck and hands, if indeed I shall succeed in getting off any filings from them. For since many continually solicit as a blessing that they may carry off from those chains some small portion of their filings, a priest stands by with a file, and sometimes it happens that some portions fall off from the chains instantly, and without delay ; while at other times the file is long drawn over the chains, and yet nothing is at last scraped off from them.”—Gregory’s *Epistles*, Lib. 4, Epis. 30.

But it must have been only early in the history of the Papal church that the bodies of the saints could not be touched without danger. Since the times of Gregory there has been such a traffic in holy bones, such transfer of them from church to church and such use of them in public processions, that the saints have become accustomed to the touch of men. It was not longer ago than 1848 that there was a great procession and rejoicing in Rome over the recovery and restoration of the skull of St. Andrew. It had been stolen by some one, but yet it is not recorded that the thief was struck dead by St. Andrew for stealing his head.—*N. Y. Observer*, Feb. 24, 1849.

We have already alluded to the existence of the garments, tears and blood of Christ in several Papal churches. The monks of St. Medara de Soisons, France, pretended to possess a tooth of our Lord with which they wrought miracles.—*D’Israeli’s Curios.*, Art. *Relics of Saints*.

Such was the passion for possessing these relics during the dark ages that Canute, the Danish king of England, commissioned his agent at Rome to purchase the arm of St. Augustine for the enormous price of one hundred talents of silver or one of gold.—*Ibid*.

Lord Herbert in his *Life of Henry VIII.* notices the great fall in the price of relics at the breaking up of the monasteries. His lordship says : “ The respect given to relics and some pretended miracles fell, insomuch as I find by our records, that a piece of St. Andrew’s finger, covered only with an ounce of

silver, being laid to pledge by a monastery for forty pounds, was left unredeemed at the dissolution of the house; the king's commissioners, who upon surrender of any foundation undertook to pay the debts, refusing to return the price again."

Henry III. of England was much affected by the superstition of his times in regard to relics. He once summoned of his great men a large assembly to London, exciting greatly their curiosity and drawing a large multitude. He then informed them that he had received from Jerusalem, under the seal of the patriarch of the Holy City, a vial of the precious blood of Christ shed on the cross. He ordered a procession for the day following, and the historian adds: "Though the road between St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey was very deep and miry the king kept his eyes constantly fixed on the vial. Two monks received it and deposited the vial in the Abbey, which made all England shine with glory, dedicating it to God and St. George."—Ibid.

Stephens, an old writer, makes record that "a monk of St. Anthony having been at Jerusalem, saw there several relics, among which were a bit of the finger of the Holy Ghost, sound and entire as it had ever been, the snout [nose] of the seraphim that appeared to St. Francis; one of the nails of a cherubim; one of the ribs of the *verbum caro factum*; some rays of the star which appeared to the three kings in the East; a vial of St. Michael's sweat when he was fighting against the devil; a hem of Joseph's garment which he wore when he cleaved wood. 'All of which' says the pious follower of St. Anthony, 'I have very devoutly brought home with me.'"—Ibid.

But we have already done enough and more than enough to accomplish the design of this paper, that is, to furnish a sample of the relics that have been and still are preserved and used in the Papal church. Yet must we conclude our circuit of gleaning where we began it, at Rome.

In 1729 Dr. Congers Middleton, an eminently classical English scholar, visited Rome for the purpose of making classical and antiquarian researches. He visited one church called "At the Three Fountains," of which Baronius and Mabillon, two eminent Romish writers, give the following account. On the spot where this church stands, St. Paul was beheaded. At the time of his execution milk only issued from his veins. His head, as

soon as severed from the body, made three bounds or leaps, causing a spring of living water to boil up at each of the three places where the head touched. The springs continued to flow, and the water, as they assure us, has the plain taste of milk. In another of the churches they had a picture of the Virgin,

“Which, as their writers affirm, was brought down from heaven with great pomp, and after having hung awhile with surprising lustre in the air, in the sight of all the clergy and people of Rome, was delivered by angels into the hands of Pope John the First, who marched out in solemn procession, in order to receive this celestial present.” “They have another church built in honor of an image which bled very plentifully from a blow given to it by a blasphemer.” “They show, too, an image of our Saviour, which for some time before the sacking of Rome, wept so heartily, that the good fathers of the monastery were all employed in wiping its face with cotton.” —Middleton’s Letters from Rome.

We have already given the names of many relics that were in St. Peter’s at Rome, according to a list of the same exposed and copied in 1847 and earlier.

It will be very fitting to close the selections that we make by quoting from the lists exposed in the same church nearly a century earlier, that is, in 1753. We hope to be excused for mentioning some of the items of this list, since, for a clear understanding of the nature of the Papacy and of its methods of imposition it is necessary to give historical, well authenticated facts faithfully.

“The cross of the good thief, somewhat worm-eaten. Judas’ lantern, a little scorched. The dice the soldiers played with, when they cast lots for our Saviour’s garment. The tail of Balaam’s ass. St. Joseph’s axe, saw and hammer, and a few nails he had not driven. St. Anthony’s millstone on which he sailed to Muscovy. . . . Part of the wood of the cross, a little decayed, and a nail of the same. . . . Part of the manna in the wilderness, and some blossoms of Aaron’s rod. The arm of St. Simeon, ill kept. The image of the blessed Virgin, drawn by St. Luke, the features all visible; one of her combs, and twelve combs of the twelve Apostles, all very little used. Some relics of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The arm and some part of the body of Lazarus; ill kept and smells. A part of the body of St. Mark, and a part of his gospel of his own handwriting, almost legible. A finger and an arm of St. Ann, the

blessed Virgin's mother. A piece of the Virgin's veil as good as new. The staff delivered by our Lord to St. Patrick, with which he drove all the venomous creatures out of Ireland. Some of St. Joseph's breath, which an angel enclosed in a phial, as he was cleaving wood violently." This last was long adored in France; thence it went to Venice, whence it was brought to Rome. "A piece of the rope Judas hanged himself with. Large parcels of the blessed Virgin's hair." Propriety forbids us to complete this quotation.

Sometimes a copy or *fac simile* of a relic is used for the relic itself. For example, Mr. Percy procured there the representation of the sole of a shoe. It was edged at the margin with a glory, had a star at the toe and the following inscription within :

"Hail Mary, Most Holy, Virgin Mother of God. The true measure of the foot of the most blessed Mother of God, taken from her real shoe, which with the highest devotion, is preserved in a monastery in Spain. The Pontiff John XXII. conceded three hundred years of indulgence to whomsoever shall three times kiss this measure, and at the same time recite three *Ave Marias*, the which also was confirmed by Pope Clement VIII. the year of our redemption 1603. This indulgence not being limited in respect to number, may be acquired as many times as shall be desired, by the devotees of the most holy Mary, Virgin. It may be applied to the souls in purgatory. And it is permitted, to the greater glory of the queen of heaven, to take from this measure other similar measures, the which shall have the same indulgence. Mary, Mother of Grace, pray for us."—Percy's Rom. 127, 128, and Appendix, 276.

If it is surprising that the Romish church should make such a gathering of bones and other sacred relics, the use to which they are put is still more so. While we can for a little time allow a wide margin for superstition in half-civilized and very ignorant communities, it is quite beyond our comprehension how leading minds, cultivated and scholarly, in this church, can defend and encourage such a use of sacred relics as we are about to illustrate by well accredited facts. Sometimes those two leading Basilican churches in Rome, St. John Lateran, and the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, will be filled and refilled and thronged for hours by the human tide of devotees, pressing to kiss a bone of the patron saint of the church, that so they may gain special favors from that saint.—Bib. Sacra, 5 : 616.

“ I never can forget a peasant whom I one day watched as he ascended these steps, [the Holy Stair-case] four or five times in a state of the deepest dejection, at each step pausing to repeat some devotions. . . . I learnt that the poor fellow on the previous night had lost his father, and was performing this labor of love in the hope of delivering his soul from purgatory.”—*Rome Pagan and Papal*, p. 81.

So Pope John XXII. granted an indulgence for ten thousand days to any one who would repeat the following prayer to the Veronica, or imprinted image of Christ :

“ Hail, holy face of our Redeemer, printed upon a cloth as white as snow ; purge us from all spot of vice, and join us to the company of the blessed. Bring us to our country, O happy figure, there to see the pure face of Christ.”—*Bower's His. of the Popes*, 2 : 549.

When Raymund, Count of Toulouse, was about to enter on that terrible crusade against the Albigenses, he made oath upon the relics of the saints that he would pursue them with fire and sword till they were converted or exterminated.—*Ibid.* 2 : 545. Under such strange oath he went forth and

“ rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. The moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven.”

So “ King Meurig and Cynfeddw met together at Landaff in presence of the bishop Oudoceus, and with the relics of the saints lying before them, swore to keep peace with each other.”—*Book of Landaff*. *Lingard's Anglo-Saxons*, 1 : 363.

Gibbon relates the story of the wonderful qualities of the relics of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, “ the minute particles of which, a drop of blood, or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue.” When first disinterred they “ instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants.”—*Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.*, Vol. 1 : chap. 28. The same historian details the financial transaction of borrowing thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-four pieces of gold on the credit and pawn of the crown of thorns.—Vol. 2 : chap. 22. “ The bones of Martyrs and the sign of the cross,” says Mosheim, *Eccl. His.* 1 : 343, “ were supposed to be the most sovereign remedy against the assaults of demons

and all other calamities, and to have power not only to heal diseases of the body, but likewise those of the mind." Vaughan in his *Life of Wicliffe*, p. 86, gives a graphic account of the pecuniary uses to which relics were put by the priests in the days of that early reformer.

Lingard, the Romish historian, in the work already quoted, says: "The veneration of relics was diffused as far as the knowledge of the gospel; and their presence was universally deemed requisite for the canonical dedication of a church or an altar."—*Anglo-Saxons*, 2: 96.

But it may be thought by some that this superstitious use of relics to avert pestilence and other calamities, heal diseases, cast out devils and release souls in the pains of purgatory, was peculiar to past and dark ages, and no longer prevails. We therefore illustrate further the superstition as posted and practiced but a few years ago and even now at Rome.

Tablets are suspended over the high altar in the Church of St. John Lateran, one of the leading churches in Papal Christendom, that "indulgence plenary and daily" is granted to those who venerate the image of Christ in it. "Those who shall on their knees ascend devoutly the staircase called Holy, composed of twenty-eight steps, . . . shall acquire various indulgences in ascending each of the steps, as is read on the table here affixed."—Percy, pp. 32—6.

These are the steps that Luther was painfully and sorrowfully ascending when the Spirit sounded in his troubled soul the key note of the Reformation and of the gospel: "The just shall live by faith." In the church of St. Cosmo and Damian there hung at the same time this notice: "Leo XII. grants the indulgence of one hundred years and as many quarantines, to all those who shall devoutly visit the churches in which shall be exposed the holy relics; to be applied in suffrage of the dead."—*Ibid.* p. 52.

Over the door of the Chapel, "*Domine quo Vadis*," was this inscription:

"Stop, O Traveller, and enter into this holy temple; for you will find there the foot-print and image of our Lord Jesus Christ, when he met with St. Peter, who was flying from prison. Alms are requested for wax and oil for the liberation of some soul from purgatory."—Percy, p. 57.

In St. Peters, in the Chapel of the Pietà, the following inscription is affixed to a spiral column :

“ This is that column against which our Lord Jesus Christ leant while he preached to the people, and poured forth prayers to God in the temple, and stood leaning against it, with others standing round. From the temple of Solomon to the triumph of this Basilica here it was placed. It expels demons and liberates those vexed by unclean spirits, and performs many miracles daily.”—Percy, p. 88.

A modernized form of this doctrine of relics and a modified use of them are worthy of notice in this connection.

“ The practice still prevails extensively in Spain, of burying the dead clothed in the old cast off garments of the friars, as a means of securing for the soul a sure and certain admission into heaven.” . . . For “ the Virgin Mary appeared to one Simon Stock, a general of the Carmelite order, and promised him that no person should be eternally lost, who should die clothed in the short mantle worn by the Carmelites, and called the scapular. As the friars used thus to make a clear gain of from four to six dollars on each of their old garments, it is not strange that they strove to perpetuate the imposition.”—Rockwell, i. 294.

This certainly is an improvement in the doctrine, since it allows the saint to dispose of some of his own relics and to his own advantage ; while his bones will avail just as much for posterity and in purgatory after he has sold at rare profits the garments worn out on them.

We conclude this paper humbled and mortified by the exposition it makes of poor human nature, while we deeply mourn that our divine religion should be so soiled and burdened by human additions.

ARTICLE IV.

HINDRANCES TO CIVILIZATION:

OR, SOME DEFECTS IN OUR SOCIAL EDUCATION.

THIS life assumes no real dignity till we confess to our immortality. Our future life ignored, this mortal one is but a preface without its volume, a portico richly wrought, but having adjoining and beyond only sky and cloud. If man live only in this world, then is he only a thinking animal, making instead of receiving his lair and clothing, less prudent in that he toils to lay by what shall never bless him or his, less happy in that he develops passions and longings ever to annoy, never to be satisfied.

And with all her studied and labored acquisitions his companion is less beautiful in form and hues than the flower, less graceful in motion than the swallow, less musical than the birds of song. Man's preëminence over beast, bird or flower, is not conceded without an argument, if his immortality be denied. Without a hereafter, his compound nature, the sensuous and the spiritual, is a vast mystery, and the creative outlay in the noble mechanism and sublime combination of the two, is but a significant index pointing to an approaching blank.

Admission of our immortality is the key that unlocks the otherwise mystery of life, discloses an object worthy that index, and reveals our dignity in revealing our destiny. This truth realized, our mortal life is a preface worthy the volume it heralds, a portico not too labored or costly for the temple of eternity to which it admits us.

That in man, then, which distinguishes him from the mere animal, allying him to God and marking him as immortal, is what claims his first and main thought as an object of development and culture.

The earthy and sensuous, as conjoined to him in his body and associated with him in the external world, should be made, not as primary and ultimate, but subsidiary and auxiliary, to the perfecting of his true worth and consummating of his high des-

tiny. The physical should ever be regarded as the bond-servant of the spiritual, thoughts above things, ideas above dollars, an added science or language more than a new mortgage or mansion. And for the reason that the man proper is the integral, indivisible, thinking self, not the corporal person, or any material possessions, the accident of the moment. A man, strictly speaking, is a reasoning, emotional immortal, not a golden wedge of Ophir. His measure is the compass of his soul, not of his acres. So his prosperity is enlargement of mind and increase of mental treasure, not of his bank stock. And progress in him or society is not more catering to the appetite, more foreign fashions on the person, more gold and silver on the table, more servants around one's carriage, and more temptations and facilities for luxury, indolence and uselessness. Progress is rather the pushing of thought farther and farther along the line of the true, the pure, the beautiful. It is making the mental and moral Ultima Thule of our fathers the nursery and play ground of our children.

If these things be true, then have we before us the true aim and compass of civilization. It is the exaltation to supremacy of the mental and moral in man over the physical. It determines the value of all things worldly as they promote this process. It grades a man by his attainments in it, and promotion of it. It chronicles progress by the increase of noble, true thought and pure feeling. It marks that as our best society where the greatest minds and best hearts congregate, where ideas rare, abundant, elevating, are the feast and the dessert, and where a new book of a royal thinker is more thought of than a new bonnet of a court milliner.

We have thus prepared the way to pass certain strictures on our present systems of education. We use the term, systems of education, not as limited to any academic or professional course of study, but in a more extensive sense, as embracing those influences that mould and give character to society. The community is, so to speak, a monitorial school, in which all are both teachers and learners. We are taught by those above us, and transmit the teaching to those below. These social, educational influences, are wide in their scope, potent in their force, and some of the existing ones very sad in their fruits. Hence

the need, imperious, yet painful, to point them out with a warning hand.

“ Briefly and gently let the task be tried,
To touch some frailties on their tender side.”

—Astræa, p. 22.

The current of social influence is too earthy, too strong toward materialism. The relative position of the mind to the body is inverted. The sovereignty of the former is usurped by the latter, so that what should have been the menial has become the master.

Life, instead of being a means for an immortal, is used as an end for a mortal. The grand ultimatum, with vast numbers, seems to be, the luxuries of the table, the mad chase after pleasure, the extravagances of the wardrobe, the show and glare of equipage, the eclipsing brightness of display in society, elegant and luxurious indolence, or the ponderous, solid name of so many tens of thousands. In all which the intellectual, the moral and perpetual, are no aim, end, or coveted fruit. There is no hint in it that the mind is the man, and that he is an immortal. It is but a daintier morsel for an epicurean stomach, a gaudier plumage for the aristocratic peacock, a livelier frolic for the ape, a wider range for the lion, when he goes on change.

How foreign all such tendency and life from man's nature and evident destiny, as allied to the spiritual and divine. It is an utter perversion of things temporal. They are furnished as means to elevate, not depress and enslave. They are stepping stones, a stairway, to something higher. Our creator gives them as a ladder from above to aid us in rising, while we, child-like, play on its rounds till the deep evening of life. Burns has expressively called man “ a compound of dirt and deity.” In the manner of life we have indicated how does the former preponderate !

Take the simplest manifestation of this frivolous life, pleasure-seeking. What multitudes are mad on mere enjoyment. Toil and denial for a portion of time are made auxiliary to it, money subsidiary ; health, Christian virtues and manly excellences, are sacrificed to it, while mental acquisitions are put at a greater remove than secondary. In the more public display

of this passion, society shows itself in two populous waves. In the pleasure-seeking season of summer, it flows abroad, leaving home deserted. Then our cities and towns are borne on its surging crest to the mountains, the springs, the seaside. Not only the mansion, but the office, the store, the bench, the anvil, the loom, the plough, lose for a time their attendants.

Houses are given up to domestics, counting-rooms to a forlorn partner and one clerk, and churches to the sexton, while the dying depart un comforted, and the dead beg for burial at the hands of strange ministers. Eddying, playing and sparkling till it is weary, the troubled wave, languid and turbid, returns. Soon begins the gay season for revels, routs and parties, theatres and concerts, lectures and the opera, with spasms in religious life for those who have an intermittent or winter piety. Thus with many passes the circling round of the seasons. For this they toil, if toil they must; for this they live. And for this multitudes of our youth are being educated. Enjoyment is the aim. Pleasure that is found only in the throng, evanescent as the bubble, bursting at touch, joy that the multitude make, this is the hot pursuit. They would go somewhere, see somebody, or something. With such, home happiness, the clustering gladnesses of the hearth-stone, are mythological, traditionary, antiquarian. How little noble thought, mental acquisition, elevating emotion, in all this wild wandering for excitement and pleasure. How unseemly for one whose peculiar, crowing idea is, 'I am an immortal,' to sport life away thus in flitting, trivial enjoyment. Yet in this giddy whirl of exciting, ever varying pleasure, what treasure and time are squandered, what minds perverted, dwarfed, what habits and passions developed, eclipsing the divine original and shaming one's destiny. Yet, with those who aim to lead society, this passion has become as a household regulation, and an element of existence. If they are not recovering from some recent dissipation, or preparing for some approaching one, then are they ready to die of quiet and dulness.

Another form of this same passion for present enjoyment is seen in our making so much tributary to the luxuries of the table. Not long since, on an outlay of four hundred thousand dollars, a hotel was opened in one of our principal cities, unri-

valled in the world for its splendor in general, but for the luxuries of its table in particular. Its "bill of fare" was an elegantly bound volume, offering to its hungry guest five hundred different dishes! It was a shrewd investment, whose high per cent. return was felt to be guaranteed by the growing passion for high living. Results have proved the shrewdness of the investment. Eating has become with us a kind of systematic mania. Every land, and all waters, are taxed for our table. Foreign cooks cater to our appetites. Course follows course at the social dinner. An evening entertainment in high life, that is ambitious to be the party of the season, swallows up the profits of the year's business; while the variety and richness of the public table of a fashionable hotel are absolutely enormous. Yet is it a provision demanded by the public appetite. For the first and main question, usually, concerning a hotel or boarding place, is: "Do they set a good table?" How much this question has to do with boarding schools and seminaries, trustees and teachers have good occasion to know. As if man's main characteristic were a stomach, and hence

"this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after"—dinners!

Can we be ignorant of the fact that such exaltation of the animal over the immortal is a mark of voluptuousness and sensual decadence in society? Look at Rome. Nursed in poverty, strengthened by toil, and buffeted by all adverse winds, she bred men, and conquered the world. But with conquest came wealth. Then luxury, indolence, effeminacy, ruin. "Luxury," says Juvenal, "more powerful than arms, enslaved the nation, punished the world's conquerer, and avenged the world."—Sat. 6: 291. One of her emperors, Vitellius, was accustomed to breakfast, dine, and sup with different persons, and each entertainment cost his honored host about fifteen thousand dollars.—Tac. 2: 95. At one supper given to the emperor by his brother, two thousand choice fishes and seven thousand fowls were served. An ordinary supper of Lucullus cost about seven thousand dollars, and one entertainment of Caligula was at an expense of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.—Seneca, *De Consol. ad Helv. matrem*. This was not in the

palmy days of Rome's ascendant in conquests, statesmen and scholars. Men go not from such banquets to the field, the forum, the library, to enhance the prosperity and glory of their country. The words of the historian of the times are in point here.

“Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment ; whenever they celebrate, with profuse and pernicious luxury, their private banquets ; the choice of guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober and learned are seldom preferred. . . . At the Roman table the birds, the squirrels or the fish which appear of an uncommon size, are contemplated with curious attention ; a pair of scales is actually applied to ascertain their real weight ; and while the more rational guests are disgusted by the vain and tedious repetition, notaries are summoned to attest, by an authentic record, the truth of such a marvellous event.

“The acquisition of knowledge seldom engages the curiosity of the nobles, who abhor the fatigue and disdain the advantages of study ; and the only books which they peruse are the Satires of Juvenal, and the verbose and fabulous histories of Marius Maximus. The libraries which they inherited from their fathers are secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day. But the costly instruments of the theatre, flutes, enormous lyres and hydraulic organs are constructed for their use ; and the harmony of vocal and instrumental music is incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome. In those palaces sound is preferred to sense, and the care of the body to that of the mind.”—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 31.

Does no one see, in this condensing paragraph of Roman history a possible description of what some are pleased to call “our best society” ? The body preferred to the mind, the banqueting hall to classic libraries and the groves of the academy ; better critics on a sirloin than a quarto ; more inclined to weigh birds and fishes than men ; a taste for champaign rather than the waters of Helicon, Parnassus or

“Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God.”

Alas ! alas ! that a people should sell their glorious birthright of God, the power to think, and the privilege to know, for a mess of pottage and sweet sounds !

We have been hoping that this terrible war, so deranging the

industry and dwarfing the prosperity of the country, would serve as some correction of these social vices. Yet pleasure-seekers have never been so abundant on our great thoroughfares and at fashionable resorts. High prices seem rather to have increased high living; extravagance is more rampant; and what we most needed, an elevation in wealth of the earning classes, and a promotion of moral, mental and social virtues as the radical elements of the best society, seem farther removed than ever.

The love of display, of glare and surface life are painfully on the increase, if not in the ascendant. This is sought in different ways. One acquires an incongruous agglomeration of upholstery, paintings, statuary and gewgaws, in vast parlors. Another employs cooks and confectioners, and then crowds her house to devour the proceeds. A third, through embroidered and perfumed notes, gathers the largest possible number of costly dresses and jewels with the supposed owners attached. With others foreign manners and customs are the infinite in gentility. Hence they seek to graft on our habits of simple, republican equality, the display of European nobles, who revel in luxury, and roll in splendor, at the expense of the oppressed masses. So we see this ridiculous aping of the foreign in servants in livery, and coaches that sport a coat of arms. The latest Parisian fashion must be the admiration and envy of the next party. The crowded wardrobe of the last season is positively vulgar. At every display each struggles to eclipse the other in splendor and folly. And they are the aristocracy, the leading members of society in the city, while following hard after, the country town apes the city. A new bonnet or bureau, carriage or carpet, in a neighborhood, is a signal for a general stir to maintain rank. What marks the absurdity of the whole thing in town and city is, that all feel happy with what they have, till they contrast their condition with those above them. Positively, they are content, comparatively, wretched.

Hence the race of the poor to rival the rich in display; hence the race of the rich to keep the advance, and hence the perpetual struggles in society for display, and surface life. The axioms, the great postulates, in such life, are, that appearance is more than substance, sound more than sense, the body more than the

mind. A symmetrical and solid education of intellect and heart is a doubtful guarantee to position and prominence.

As in the days of tilts and tournaments, the chivalric knight received his crown from dames and damosels, who could not read their mother tongue, so now, often, the arbiters of our social fate are little versed in book lore, beyond the last French novelette, translated, or some profound Monthly distinguished for its stories, and the fashions.

Such life declares that "the chief end of man" is to live in a palace and enjoy unrivalled display. No matter for one's ignorance, if he be wealthy.

" Though you are worthless, witless, never mind it ;
You may have been a stable-boy — what then ?
'Tis wealth, good Sir, makes honorable men."

See yon queenly one sweep along the hall, gorgeous in satins, rich in a mist of laces, and sparkling with jewels, external. Such a commotion she makes among common folk as a steamer among yawls and flat boats. That plain, modest woman standing by, in a last year's delaine, purchased before her husband and eldest son went to the war, carries in her head an undeveloped college, and in her heart a continent of benevolence. She was the playmate of the other in childhood. But why does the queenly one brush by her unseeing? She is a mechanic's wife! Gilded bauble that the haughty one is, how can she forget that she herself is a cobbler's daughter! How forget, that the adventitious circumstance of a marriage with a shoddy contractor who has found that patriotism pays, and not her own work or worth, has placed her where she is!

Let that nice young man, fresh from the tailor and the barber, escort her pompously to the piano, but with all her choice music, home and foreign, she will not give you that sweet, simple air :

" I remember, I remember
The house where I was born.

Yet such are the social, educational influences, that one half our daughters are aspiring to be like that woman. While in the society of such, one must forget emotions and aspirations that become a noble woman, or a noble man. And to gain such position, to make such display, in mansion or equipage, feasting

or dressing, it is mournful to see how many of our youth of both sexes are sacrificing substance and sense, ingenuousness, vigorous thought, and true manliness of character. It is daubing the temple of our eternity with untempered mortar. Under such influences, and guided by such aspirations, what wrecks are made! The youthful voyager on life's river, nobly freighted, nobly destined, is caught in one of these side eddies, where feathers and drift wood circle away their existence. Here he sports in the foam, till, with the common drift, he disappears through the giddy, turbid centre.

To gratify this passion for enjoyment, feasting and display, gold is in large demand. So to appearance the love of it is the master passion of the nation. And yet we incline to think that we are not so much a money-loving, as a money-using people. It is not characteristic of the Americans to amass and hoard, but rather to get and use. Hence this passion is rather auxiliary and instrumental to the others that we have mentioned. They can be gratified only through money, and so they goad us on to toil for it, and toil we do. To get gold we fill up valleys, tunnel mountains, bridge rivers, and pour them through cotton factories. We stretch the iron track away for thousands of miles, that dollars may come to us faster and easier. We harness the lightning to the endless wire, and convert the bolts of heaven into couriers, to run express to and fro for our purses. Just now we are threading the icebergs of the arctic with our speaking wires that we may be on social terms and in daily intercourse with the north pole and all beyond about per cents. We vex the waters of the Yellowstone, the Amazon and the Nile. We make glass beads for the Indian, and railroads and steam engines for the autocrat of Russia. We pick gums, spices, and precious stones, from the scorching sands of the equator, and through the frozen oceans we chase the whale. We chaffer with the Arab of the desert, with the animal Hottentot, the ice-housed Laplander, and the polyglot swarms of middle and southern Europe. We retail Fresh Pond ice in the streets of Calcutta, and calico in the city of the Caliphs. And but yesterday our navy began to stand off and on the strange shores of Japan, with the true American question, "How will you trade?" There is no ocean breeze but it fills an American

sail, no navigable stream, but it boils in the wake of an American keel. No island, but the footprints of Americans are on it, no tribe or city, but there is heard therein our accent of barter and trade.

And all this for gold ! To multiply dollars, our vast population, from ocean to ocean, is a bee-hive of agitation, an ant-hill of labor, each tugging to carry off his particle of dust.

We are aware that this passion and work are mingled with love of country, of knowledge, of national fame, and of the spread of noble principles. We by no means forget or lightly esteem our national enterprise. We love to think of the iron energy of a people whose will is as destiny, whose perseverance is as untiring as gravitation, whose footsteps go forth as the morning into all lands, whose hands gather treasure from city and desert, ocean and mountain-top, palace and iceberg. We love to dwell on the hardy enterprise that yearly turns a vast wilderness into a fruitful field, that pushes along the panting steamer, where till yesterday was only the Indian canoe, that makes the forest of to-day give place to-morrow to the bustling, jostling, struggling sons of trade. We love to contemplate the sublime project of sundering two continents, mingling two oceans, at the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and of casting up a highway for the nations across our entire continent, having one depot at the rising and one at the setting of the sun, and thereby enriching ourselves with the trade of all the Orient, and forming a new pathway for the commerce of the world. And yet, despite all the good or the glory of this, the admission is forced from us that the motive power and mighty aim of very much of this enterprise is the gain of gold.

So much and so far as this is the end, so far is it temporal and earthy, a reproach to our immortality, and a perversion of our destiny. Or if we regard it as a means, and then scan, as we have, the prominent uses to which it is put, we find the relative position of the mind to the body inverted. The sovereignty of the thinking part of man is usurped by the physical, and thus the quality, as the destiny, that distinguishes him from the mere animal, is obscured and forgotten. Here, then, in this insatiable thirst for gold, a sort of disease, national and chronic, we have another of those influences that distort the

aim, and contract the compass of a just and complete civilization.

What is to be done? We must habitually and practically make a more serious and just estimate of man in his nature and worth. In doing this we are not to examine the assessors' list, or call in a surveyor to count his acres, or ask the effect of his nod on exchange. We must look not in his larder, wine cellar, or wardrobe. We must inquire not if his coach be of solid silver, as in the days of Nero, or if his mansion cost one hundred and thirty thousand dollars in borrowed money, as did Cicero's, or if his wife wear one hundred and forty thousand dollars' worth of jewelry, as did Caligula's. These are the common questions, leading to the common error, in the estimation of men.

When we seek a just valuation of a man, we must mainly remember that he has a head and a heart; and in making out our inventory we must note carefully his golden opinions, his jewels of thought, his brilliant ideas. We must turn to every light the diamonds of truth, for which he has delved deep and long and hard, in the mines of knowledge. We must examine, with most absorbing interest, the pearls of great price that adorn his heart. We must prize, not the massive chain on his chronometer, but the iron links of his logic, by which he binds his erring fellow to truth. We must mark, not his leading in the fashions, but his power of word and life, by which, with gentle force, he leads to eminence in virtue and purity. We must inquire, if in giving and receiving knowledge, in the marts of learning, exchange is always above par in his favor. We must ask if he can honor drafts at sight, and to any amount, on his intellectual capital. We must know if his endorsement of a principle is as good as the golden truth counted out thought by thought. We must examine whether his wealth, intellectual and moral, is in good investments, paying sure, frequent and just dividends.

We must look carefully at the amount of mortgage he holds on the libraries of the dead. We must criticise his skill in converting the obsolete and curious literary coin of Greece, Rome and Venice, into the currency of to-day. Specially and above all, we must ask how much of all his treasure he can take with him

when the spirit returns to God who gave it, and how much at the same time will be left as an undevied yet precious inheritance to a growing civilization.

ARTICLE V.

THE POWERS OF THE WORLD TO COME:

AN EXEGESIS OF HEBREWS VI. V.

Δυνάμεις το μέλλοντος αἰῶνος: What is the meaning of this phraseology, rendered in the common English version, "The powers of the world to come"?

There is no similar formula in the Greek New Testament, nor in the LXX.'s translation of the Old Testament. Therefore we must take the words separately, in order to come at their meaning.

But there is no small difficulty in this, since there is such a multitude of passages in which each word occurs. Thus *δύναμις* and its derivatives occur in one hundred and eighteen instances in the New Testament, and in no less than one hundred and thirteen in the LXX.; and Trommius gives the following words as its different meanings, viz: potentia, altitudo, vir, opes, copia, robur, turba, vis, manus, castra, bellum, agger, servus, populus, os, exercitus, and militia. In looking through the whole, we may perceive that the single term "influences" may represent them all, and thus we have "The influences of *μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*," whatever those words may indicate.

Again, *μέλλω* and *μέλλοντος* occur in one hundred and ten passages in the New Testament and in seven of the LXX., if we include the Apocrypha; and in them all we have the meaning "about to be," or "about to come." Thus we have "The influences of the coming *αἰῶν*," whatever that may mean.

And now we come to "the hill of difficulty," which is to fix the meaning of *αἰῶν*. If we refer to its derivation we get the

meaning "always existing"; and yet the *usus loquendi* in Hellenistic Greek is exceedingly diversified. It occurs in no less than four hundred and four instances in both Testaments.

And to give a specimen of the great diversity of usage, take the following passages: Isa. lxiik 9, *τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος*, "days of old." Ps. cxlii. 3, *ὡς νεκροῦς αἰῶνος*, "as among those long dead"; and, in many passages, where it is used without adjuncts, it seems to be equivalent to "seculum," "ævum," "æternitas." These are so numerous that they need not be specified. Again, with various prepositions we have such formulas as the following, viz: *δι' αἰῶνος*, "through ages"; *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, "for ever"; *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα αἰῶνος*, "to eternity of eternity"; *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, "for ever and ever."

Again, it is used as the dwelling place of the Most High; as in Isa. lvii. 15: *τάδε λέγει ὁ ὑψιστος ἐν ὑψίστοις κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα*, "Thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity."

Again, it seems to mean the earth or the frame of nature; Prov. viii. 23; *Πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με*; "Before the world was he established me"; and that this was the idea of the LXX. appears from the parallelism that follows; viz., *ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι*, "In the beginning, before the making of the earth."

So also in the New Testament, Heb. i. 2; *δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησε τοὺς αἰῶνας*, "By whom he made the worlds." In passing, we may remark that there is no good sense in rendering this phrase according to the Unitarian exegesis; "By whom he constituted the ages," meaning the patriarchal, Mosaic and Christian dispensations. For, although the word might have been thus used by the Jews, it could not have been so used by the writer of the Hebrews; for it would make nonsense in this connection. For the words indicate a physical creation, as all the ancient Fathers from Justin the Martyr downward, strenuously maintained, and such appears to be its logical connection.

To make this the more certain, see Hebrews xi. 3; *πίστει νοοῦμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ*, "Through faith we understand that the worlds were formed by the word of God." Notice, moreover, what sense it would make to adopt the Unitarian exegesis of "the ages," in connection with the next phrase,

viz., "So that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

And, to make the thing more certain, if possible, we remark that the Syriac and other versions adopt the word which signifies "the universe."

So likewise Bishop Bull says that αἰών is frequently used in the Jewish writings as meaning "worlds," in allusion to their notion of "the three worlds," viz.; the lower world or the region of the elements; the middle world, or the region of the celestial orbs; and the upper world, or the abode of the divine majesty; or what Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 2, seems to mean by "the third heavens."

Thus, though we find that αἰών is used to mean the world; and though Jewish usage was as above indicated, yet we here see no argument for understanding μέλλοντας αἰῶνος as meaning "the eternal world," "heaven," or "the third heavens."

What then shall we do to fix the meaning of the words μέλλοντας αἰῶνος in Hebrews vi. 5? We find a phrase in Hebrews ii. 5, which is somewhat analagous, viz., οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξε τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν; which is rendered, "For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come."

Οἰκουμένην, that is here rendered "world" (which is derived from οἰκίω, that is used nine times in the New Testament in the sense of "to dwell" or "to inhabit," and sixty-three times in the LXX.) is employed in fifteen instances in the New Testament and thirty-eight in the LXX. for the inhabited earth; and by the showing of all commentators, as well as by its connection, it means the coming age or the new dispensation as distinguished from the old. The term μέλλουσαν seems to be used because it was "the coming age" so long as the temple and the Jewish state were in existence.

The apostle was showing Christ's superiority to angels, and consequently the superiority of the Messianic age to the old dispensation. Besides we find in 1 Cor. x. 11, another phrase that has some slight analogy to the terms μέλλοντας αἰῶνος, viz., εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησεν; rendered in our version, "on whom the ends of the world are come." But it needs hardly be said that it has been fully shown by learned commentators, both orthodox and heterodox, as Grotius, Crellius, Light-

foot, Whitby, Pearse, Rosenmüller and others, that this phrase cannot be properly rendered "ends of the world" in any appropriate sense. And some have maintained that there is an evident allusion to the Jewish notion of computing the duration of the world, which was by dividing it into periods of two thousand years; as (1) the period before the law, or of the Mosaic dispensation; (2) the period of the Mosaic dispensation; and (3) the Messianic age, or the final dispensation of God to man.

Now, if the apostle used *αἰών* in such a sense, it is as if he had said, "If the Israelites perished without mercy in an age of comparative darkness, because they lusted after evil things, how much more shall ye perish in your sins, if ye ignore all the greater and better light of God's final dispensation under the Messiah." Now if this has any bearing upon Heb. ii. 5, and Heb. vi. 5, we may consider the apostle as appealing to his Jewish brethren by a kind of *argumentum ad hominem* in respect to their views of the coming age, or the final dispensation of God to man. How powerful is his argument against apostasy as thus understood, since they would sin against the last remedy provided for the moral maladies of the world. It makes his argument more potent than any other exegesis possibly can. It may be stated as follows: "For it is impossible for such as were once enlightened and have had some correct knowledge of the heavenly gift, and have felt the convincing influences of the Holy Spirit, and have had some correct views of the gospel, and have felt in a measure the powerful influences of God's final dispensation of the church confirmed by miracles which none could deny, to renew them to repentance, since they have fallen away, apostatized from all the benign influences of that dispensation to which all Israel looked forward with intense interest as the final dispensation. For they have done worse than those who crucified the Lord of glory, since they have done it the second time, and in spite of all the wonders that attended the first crucifixion; and they have sinned against the last remedy, and put themselves beyond the pale of its blessings."

With this agrees the closing part of his argument, which seems to have been utterly ignored by most commentators, where such persons are compared "to those portions of the

earth which bear thorns and briars," which are destined to the fire.

But perhaps it will be objected that "tasting of the heavenly gift" can be predicated only of real Christians, and that therefore the apostle speaks hypothetically concerning the danger of apostasy.

To this we reply, that we have an argument against their being real Christians in the very words of the Greek. For γευσάμενους with the genitive τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου does not necessarily imply an experimental tasting of the heavenly gift. For verbs of sense with a genitive have a less meaning than with the accusative. We must admit this, or make Paul contradict himself in the two accounts of his conversion. Thus in Acts ix. 7, it is said that the men who journeyed with him heard the voice, ἀκούοντες τῆς φωνῆς, but saw no man. Here the object is in the genitive, and the substance of the declaration is that they heard a noise without understanding the words and their import. But in Acts xxii. 9. Paul says τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν, "They heard not the voice." Here the verb governs the accusative, and it means that they did not hear, understanding the utterance.

Now if we turn to Acts xxvi. 14, we shall see why it was that the men did not understand, while Paul did: ἤκουσα φωνὴν λαλοῦσαν πρὸς με τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ; "I heard a voice speaking unto me in the Hebrew tongue." Paul heard understandingly because he was familiar with the Hebrew, while those who accompanied him, in their ignorance of Hebrew, heard only a noise.

This peculiarity runs through Greek usage in all verbs of sense. So here in Heb. vi. 5, γευσάμενους as first used is with the genitive, and does not necessarily imply an experimental tasting of the heavenly gift, but some perception of it; while in the clause that follows the word governs the accusative. And they had such an imperfect and partial taste as Herod had when he gladly heard John preach, and felt somewhat the influences of God's final dispensation to the church. But they were never converted; and παραπισόντας, having apostatized, they are like those portions of the earth that bear thorns and briars, "whose end is to be burned." Thus the apostle would have the Hebrews take good heed not to follow those who went back and

walked no more with Christ, for they were in danger of sinning against the last remedy for fallen humanity, and thus falling into the fire that never shall be quenched.

But it may be objected, again, that the expression *πάλιν ἀνακαινίζουσιν εἰς μετένοیان*, in the sixth verse, makes it certain that the persons spoken of had been once renewed, and that *πάλιν* must settle that point.

But it is to be observed that *πάλιν* is used with very great latitude in both Testaments, in the one hundred and forty-two instances in which it occurs in the New, and the twelve in the LXX.'s translation of the Old Testament. While it is admitted that it often denotes a repetition of an act, it seems not always to do so; and for such as wish to show that a contrary view may be defended, we suggest for their consideration its usage in Matt. iv. 8; Mark x. 10; x. 32; xiv. 69; and xv. 13; John x. 7; Acts x. 16; Rom. xi. 23; Deut. xxx. 3; 2 Chron. xix. 4. In these places *πάλιν* may be considered as rather an expletive. And if this may be taken so in Heb. vi. 6, we may affirm that there is nothing hypothetical in this exhortation against apostasy.

ARTICLE VI.

OUR NATIONAL BANNER: ITS SACRED ORIGIN AND IMPORT.

It was valuable beyond estimation in the days of our Revolutionary fathers, who devised its present form, and suffered so terribly to maintain it. But it has become vastly more so of late, by the immense sacrifices made to crush this great and infamous rebellion. If a good thing may be properly estimated by what it costs, who can now estimate the full value of our national emblem? Language, and even our arithmetic, fail. For, though we may approximate in our estimate of the money expended and property wasted, on both sides, for both sides are

still our country and so the sacrifice is one, yet who can estimate the value of human lives also here sacrificed, with all the sufferings endured, the tears shed in desolated homes, and the misery involved? All this and more must be brought into the account and truly computed, would we know the full cost of this civil war, and the true value of our federal ensign. Nor have all this life and treasure and tears been expended in vain. Our banner is the emblem of our national sovereignty, protecting all our rights and privileges, our institutions of learning and benevolence, of civil and religious freedom, and leading the way for all nations, through our example, to enjoy, at no distant day, the same exaltation.

But this great value of our banner will appear still further enhanced, if we call to mind its Hebrew origin and design, as we may learn them from the Scriptures. The first mention of the name is not discoverable in our translation, except by aid of the "marginal reading." It is found in the following connection. On the departure of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, under Moses, the first conflict they had with an enemy was at Rephidim, with Amalek :

"And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek. To-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in my hand. So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek ; and Moses, Aaron, and Hur, went up to the top of the hill. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed ; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses' hands were heavy ; and they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat thereon ; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side ; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua ; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. And Moses built an altar and called the name of it Jehovah-nissi." Marginal reading, "The Lord my banner."—Ex. xvii. 9—15.

The Hebrew verb נָסַס, *nausas*, from which the noun נִסִּי, *nase*, including the pronoun, נִסִּי, *nissi*, rendered banner and my banner is derived, signifies, to lift up, to elevate; and so the noun, something elevated, lifted up, as a lofty signal, a standard, banner, flag of a ship, etc. But notice the connection here, that we may learn its original design and object.

Moses, as "Commander-in-chief" of the army of Israel, under Jehovah, having given directions to Joshua, his "Lieutenant-General," to select men and put them in battle array, at a set hour on the morrow, says, "I will stand on the top of the hill, with the rod of God in mine hand." Here was the banner, that "rod of God," now to be "lifted up" and displayed upon a neighboring elevation, in full view of Joshua and his army, that it might be seen by them. Not only so, but pointing toward heaven, it indicated the source whence he expected aid, as often before, when performing those stupendous miracles in Egypt and at the Red Sea. The circumstances on this occasion would seem to imply a flag attached to the staff, "the rod of God."

But why must this banner be kept uplifted? Notice the further connection. "It came to pass, when Moses held up his hand," and 'the rod of God' was in it, "that Israel prevailed; but when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed." Aaron and Hur, Moses' body guard, and staff officers, perceiving this, and also that Moses' hands were weary, contrived him a seat upon a stone, while they, one on either side, upheld his hands, containing the banner of God, until the going down of the sun, and the complete overthrow of Amalek.

When the victory had been thus secured, Moses is divinely required to "write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua," that he, the commanding general, and all Israel might know, and remember too, whence came this and every victory. And furthermore, an altar was built, probably on this very spot, and it may be, with that very stone wrought, whereon Moses sat, and this was called "Jehovah-nissi," "the Lord my banner," to be a lasting memorial of the event.

Although prayer is not directly mentioned, in this connection, yet it is clearly implied, both the altar and the lifting up of hands being the emblem of prayer. The pleasing result also in

connection with the narrative shows the peculiar efficacy of such service. God loves to be recognized, especially in his bestowment of great blessings. This origin of the banner, then, clearly teaches its beautiful and important significance, its original design and object, to lead all, but especially those fighting under the national banner, to remember whence the true source of success and prosperity; and not only so, but to unite their fervent and constant prayers to Him alone, who giveth the victory in war, or prosperity in peace.

A few other illustrations from Scripture may here be given briefly, enforcing the same idea. "Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain; exalt the voice."—Isa. xiii. 2. "Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth."—Ps lx. 4. "Lift up a standard for the people."—Isa. lxii. 10. "How long shall I see the standard?"—Jer. iv. 21. "See ye, when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains."—Isa. xviii. 3. Hence the officer who carried the banner, was formerly called an ensign, though now second lieutenant. In all these places the same Hebrew word is employed, as in Exodus, though translated differently, for the sake of euphony, variety or other purpose. But in each case there is distinct recognition of Jehovah, if not the duty of of prayer also, implied. It was something elevated, pointing to heaven for help to maintain truth and right. But while thus appealing to God in a righteous cause, and trusting in him, the soldier must also "keep his powder dry," and fight with Joshua against Amalek.

There is indeed another Hebrew word (דָּגֵל, dagel, from a verb signifying "to cover,") also translated banner and standard, used especially in connection with the combined camps of Israel, being of larger form, for three tribes in one camp, on their journeys through the wilderness; as the standard of the camp of Judah, of Reuben, Ephraim and Dan, but their design and object were essentially the same.

Our early American fathers well understood this significance of their banner, several of the earlier forms bearing this motto; "An appeal to heaven." It may be so construed, however, as to signify much more. The present form of our national

banner has its peculiar history and further significance, which may be here briefly stated.

In the time of the Crusades the banners of the cross and crescent designated the two great conflicting parties. But as various Christian nations united under the former standard, the banners of the cross must be modified to distinguish different nations. Thus England bore a red cross on a white field, and Scotland a white cross on a blue field. Other nations were still different. When England and Scotland were afterwards united, in 1707, these red and white crosses were joined as a double cross, on a blue field, the origin of our present colors, red, white and blue. This device of combined crosses, placed in the upper corner of the staff end of a red flag, continued to form the British banner till 1801, when the banner of Ireland was also combined.

Our colonies, of course, used the national banner of England, till the disaffection opening our Revolutionary struggle, when at first they only omitted the combined crosses, retaining a plain red flag, their desires being then centred on one point, victory, of which red was the heraldic emblem. Such was the flag used on Bunker's Hill, with the motto ; "Come, if you dare !"

As our independence was soon after contemplated, a new flag was desired, indicative of appropriate ideas, whose device required the first talent of the country. The long cherished old flag, with its red, white and blue, was before them. How should it be modified? The eight red and white bars of the old cross they happily changed into the thirteen red and white stripes of our present flag, indicating parallel and perpetual equality among the States, rather than the old centralism. The red denoted defiance and victory ; the white, purity and justice. These united upon the staff of prayer, formed a banner, symbolizing that by union we shall achieve victory, fighting in a just cause, looking above. The stars were not yet thought of, and the blue was then omitted.

Washington raised this new union flag of simple stripes at Cambridge, on the day which gave birth to our army, January, 1776. In June, 1777, the Colonial Congress modified this flag by that beautiful appendage, the stars, also to represent States. They ordered "That the Union be thirteen stars, white,

on a blue field, representing a new constellation." This suggestion is said to have come from the elder Adams, selecting the constellation Lyra, the fabled harp of Orpheus, who played so skilfully as to charm, not only savage men and wild beasts, but even trees and rocks, leading them to bow in homage to his celestial music. Hence, this zenith constellation became the emblem of harmony, and worthy to grace the banner that was to wave over the land of the free. The blue was either taken from the sky, or the previous Covenanter's banner in Scotland, significant of a league and covenant of the enemy of all oppression. May One, infinitely higher than Orpheus, again touch the now discordant strings of our modern Lyra, bringing them speedily into more than primitive harmony, so that from the true zenith of national glory, this new constellation shall shine upon our whole land, with superlative and ever increasing splendor.

From this sketch of the origin, design and progress of our national banner, we may learn to regard it more fully as the emblem of civil government. This, like the church, is "an ordinance of God," instituted for the sake of order and protection in civil society, and for the punishment of crime. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," and he does this through the civil magistrate declared to be, in close connection, "the minister of God"; his "revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." A just and righteous government must be sustained among men, or anarchy and every evil work will follow. Even life and death are in the ruler's hands, "for he beareth not the sword in vain." The military and navy may be called to aid, when the milder forms of civil power are inadequate. Hence, the lawful magistrate is "a terror, not to good works, but to the evil." When, therefore, the national banner is displayed, we should see in it, with joy, the emblem of this divine ordinance, civil government, established by God himself to protect the innocent and punish the guilty, be they few or many. In each banner all should see a union of divine and civil power, a union that is indeed strength with "God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing." "Therefore should we render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is

due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."—Comp. Rom. xii. 19 with xiii. 1—7.

So every national banner points to God, and invites to special prayer for protection and success. As already illustrated from the Hebrew, this would seem to be its original and main design. Nor should other significance, since properly appended, obscure the original. That is still of primary importance. The usual flag-staff, like Moses' rod, still points to heaven as the true source of help, and it may be a lawful ambition, with proper motives, to raise the banner on a high staff, on a high hill, as near to heaven as may be, that all may see it, and remember its lessons, prayer and dependence.

"The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but of God, who directs our steps, and shows favor." Joshua's victories illustrate this dependence; not only that over Amalek, but over Jericho, and all the Canaanites. So of Gideon and his three hundred, armed only with trumpets, pitchers and lamps, most unlikely weapons of martial success. So also of David's victory over Goliath. The Lord was David's banner, as well as Moses', and Joshua's, and Gideon's, and many others. The Bible is full of illustrations, familiar to all. But God is unchangeable, throughout all ages. He is still the God of nations, and of battles, and hears the prayer of faith, where the banner is borne aloft in his name. The following more modern examples will illustrate this fact.

In the time of Elizabeth, Queen of England, 1588, Philip Second of Spain fitted out that immense fleet, which from its formidable character was ostentatiously called "the invincible armada." Its express purpose was to exterminate the Protestant faith, and subjugate England to the Roman Catholic religion. This "armada" consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels of war of enormous size, arranged on its approach to the coast in the form of a crescent, seven miles in extent, while England then had but thirty small vessels to oppose. But wisely arranging all her military, as well as this small naval force, the queen yet relied upon the God of armies, through prayer, of which her numerous banners were so significant.

At this crisis, on the day appointed by the queen for humiliation and prayer, almost the whole nation bowed in earnest

supplication, and "Jehovah-nissi," the God of banners, heard. Through almighty power, and by divine direction, a terrible tempest then arose and swept over that sea, raising its mighty waves, till the ocean boiled like a seething-pot, and that proud armada was scattered. The larger part of the vessels were engulfed in the deep, by a providence not unlike that which swallowed up Pharaoh and his hosts, and the shattered remnant returned to Spain in disgrace. Not a ship or soul touched England's coast, where now her prayers were turned into praises for this signal deliverance of the Most High. How appropriate for such a people: "The Lord my banner."

Not altogether unlike this is another event, relating to early New England history. In the war between Great Britain and France, in which our colonies bore a conspicuous part on this side the waters, the most formidable armament ever sent to North America, was dispatched by France, 1746, to recover Louisburg and conquer New England. This intelligence filled even brave hearts with fear; but "Jehovah-nissi" was their key-note of preparation. On an appointed day of public fasting and prayer these New England colonists wrestled with the God of Jacob, and prevailed. Parson Moody, a venerable divine of York, Me., on that occasion is said to have offered, in substance, these words in public prayer, relating to the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib: "O Lord, put thou a hook in his nose, and turn him back by the way he cometh, that he may not shoot an arrow here."

These and other petitions were heard, for storm succeeded storm, beating upon that French fleet, till the greater part was destroyed, and sickness so raged with the remnant, that the expedition utterly failed. One or more of those in command, committed suicide, dying in mortification and despair. The few remaining ships and men that survived returned to France without striking a blow. No human aid had been interposed, save prayer; and anew the colonists sang, "Jehovah-nissi—the Lord my banner."

Many similar interpositions of heaven, of greater or less magnitude, often delivered our fathers, in times of danger, in the Indian wars, and especially in the war of our Revolution. The famous Pequot war was preceded by days of fasting and

prayer, and followed by thanksgiving, as the records of the early churches abundantly testify. These facts are often omitted in profane histories, but could we have one inspired, wherein the true causes of victory were duly entered, we should learn more fully the value of our banners, and the power of prayer.

We may here also see one reason why good and brave men are often so anxious, in the hour of battle, to keep their banner aloft, some nailing it to the mast, in naval battles, as if continuing their appeals to heaven.

So was it in the battle on Lake Champlain, during our last war with Great Britain, 1814. It was a quiet September Sabbath morn, when our fleet lay in the bay of Plattsburg, awaiting the movement of the British squadron. Commodore Downie sent a man to the mast head to see what was being done on the flag-ship of the American squadron. "Sir," answered the lookout, "they are gathered about the main-mast, and they seem to be at prayer," thus holding up the banner, as did Moses, appealing to heaven. "Ah!" said Downie, "that looks well for them, but bad for us." It was bad for the British Commodore, for the very first shot from the American ship was a chain shot which cut poor Downie in two, killing him in a moment.

McDonough, like Commodore Foote, was a devout Christian, a man of prayer, and on that occasion conducted the service himself. "Jehovah-nissi" was the continued, unfaltering appeal of his banner, nailed aloft, and "Jehovah-nissi," was the bursting cry from other brave hearts and pleading tongues on that deck. They were heard in heaven. God speedily confirmed his word, on both sea and land, giving them a signal victory, with the loss of little more than two hundred against a British loss of twenty-five hundred, while the "star-spangled banner" was left to wave in triumph, till the present, over the waters of Lake Champlain.

Surely, if such be the significancy of our banner, then every officer and soldier in our army and navy, should remember and be greatly encouraged by it, as they go forth to the battle-field. While it points to heaven, leading every heart to pray, it shall also be a shield to cover and protect in the hour of danger, and thus give the victory.

It is pleasing to remember, in this connection, the example of Maj. Anderson in running up the United States flag on Fort Sumter. An appropriate prayer was offered on the occasion, as a significant part of the ceremony ; nor can we believe it was in vain, as we recall his noble defence and honorable withdrawal. That banner arose with prayer, and wonderfully protected that little band against fearful odds, seventy against seven thousand, who were mysteriously constrained to permit its national salute, on being lowered. Verily, the Lord is still our banner. We will remember "Jehovah-nissi," with ever-increasing confidence and joy.

ARTICLE VII.

ROMANISM AT ROME.

To know thoroughly what Romanism is, it must be studied at Rome. In every other part of the world, from the intelligence of the people, or the tolerance of another faith, it meets with hindrances to its full operation. In the Papal States, being subject to no such restriction, it has a free field. Everywhere else, it is the dried and pressed leaf of the herbarium ; at Rome, it is the gigantic tree, rooted in its native soil, full of sap, and producing luxuriantly its own peculiar fruit.

Here, the sovereign Pontiff, with his triple crown, sits on his golden throne, the immaculate and infallible head of the church militant. Pius IX., at the first, would have been a reformer, had reform been practicable. His accession was hailed by the Italians as the dawn of a brighter day. He introduced certain constitutional elements into the government. He granted a Chamber of Deputies and a lay ministry. But the cardinals saw the tendency and resisted him. They arrested legitimate measures which arose in the Chamber, and controlled the ministry. The minister was deserted by the deputies, then assassinated. The pope stood for a while vacillating. The crisis gave him an opportunity to signalize himself in the progress of

civil and religious liberty. We believe it was in his heart to do so. But he lacked courage. He dared not confront the cardinals. He was not the man for his time, and he fled from a people that then loved him as fervently as they now hate him. He refused their repeated invitations to return to a government of his own projecting. At the dictation of his subaltern masters he employed a foreign soldiery to bombard his way back to the bosoms of his people; and wading through their blood, a disappointed man, he sits on his throne firmly or feebly, according to the number of alien troops by which he is surrounded.

Here is the College of Cardinals, that rear-guard of absolutism, that impure junto of misanthropy, tyranny and sensuality. It numbers seventy; fifty six of whom are cardinal priests, twenty four cardinal deacons, and six cardinal bishops. The pope appoints the cardinals, and they, in turn, elect the pope, and act as his counsellors at home, and as legates abroad. They assist him in the celebration of mass, and one officiates as his prime minister. Nominally they are subject to him, but in reality are his rulers.

Examples of nobleness and philanthropy, there are, doubtless, among them. But according to common fame and reliable testimony, these are the exceptions. The revolution of 1848 brought several of them, for a time, under the protection of our minister at Rome, and into a familiar interchange of thought and feeling, which disclosed a social and moral debasement, the farthest remove from what the gospel requires of its teachers, and which would blast the fame of any minister in our land.

The Propaganda di Fide, founded by Gregory XV. in 1622, and further endowed by Urban VIII., is also at Rome. It is situated at the southern extremity of the Piazza di Spagna. Its annual income at the close of the last century was three hundred thousand Roman crowns. Its printing press was one of the finest in the world, with type for publishing in twenty seven different languages. The French revolution swept over it, and its pupils were scattered, its funds appropriated to other purposes, and its fonts of type carried to Paris. In 1818 the college was re-opened and it now numbers from sixty to

seventy students, collected from all parts of the world. The scholastic dress is a long black cassock bound with a red girdle, two broad ribbons hanging from the shoulders behind.

The students are entirely supported by these institutions, even to the expense of travel to Rome and back to their native country. Each one gives a pledge that he will devote his life to the dissemination of the Catholic faith. And so magical is the influence of the institution that it is said no one wishes to leave it till the course is completed.

At the annual exhibition in 1851, parts were performed in fifty different languages. This institution presents an illustration of some of the comprehensive educational principles of the Romish church. It disdains the odious distinctions of color, which obtain in some parts of the Protestant church. The blackest Ethiopian stands here on a level with the fairest of the Anglo-Saxons. It collects the materials upon which it works from every nation, tribe and tongue, and stimulates to the highest zeal and energy by the highest admiration and praise.

The Propaganda is the heart of the whole masterly system of the Papacy. By the multiform orders of monks and nuns, as through so many veins and arteries, it noiselessly sends out and receives back its vital fluid. The whole world is distinctly mapped out in its halls, and the chief points of influence minutely marked. A kind of telegraphic communication is established with the remotest stations in South Africa and Siberia, and with almost every nook in our own land, to which the myrmidons of papal power look with the most of hope and also with the most of fear. It is through means of this moral galvanic battery, set up in the Vatican, that the church of Rome has gained its power of ubiquity, and has well-nigh made itself omnipotent as well as omnipresent.

The same forestalling, stimulating principle is applied in the training of monastic females. At vespers, on Sabbath evening, we have witnessed a service by the "white nuns," illustrating this feature of Romanism. They are girls from eight to sixteen, with blue frocks and white veils, falling upon the shoulders behind and nearly to the feet. They enter the church from the adjoining nunnery, in a procession, two and two, approach the altar, slowly bending the knees almost to the floor, and

bowing in graceful homage to the Virgin. Then rising, they turn each to opposite sides of the space, kneel again, rise and seat themselves. The service consists of chantings and responses, genuflections and demonstrations, after which the nuns retire, bowing to the altar as when they entered. In these ecclesiastical gymnastics they are trained to the utmost exactness and gracefulness of manner.

But why are these girls, at this tender age, taken out of the family relations, and foredoomed to a life with which they can have no natural affinities? God made man male and female, and in the unity of this dualism is developed the whole humanity. The church of Rome, in respect to the clergy, contravenes this primal order. Not a few of the ills which afflict fair Italy arise from this initial vice of Romanism, the celibacy of the priests. They are the teachers and rulers of the land. But they are allowed no family ties of husband and father, and cherish none of the humanizing, elevating influences which God has connected with these hallowed relations.

Another characteristic institution of the Romish church, which has its centre at Rome, is the Company of Jesus, or the Jesuits. The general of the order resides at Rome, wielding a power second only to that of the pope. To the three vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience common to other orders, Loyola added a fourth, peculiar to the members of his society. It was the vow of obedience to the pope in the service of the church, without charge for support. This procured them their institution from Paul III. in 1540. In nine years they acquired a superiority to all human control, except that of the pontiff.

The constitution of the society is essentially military, and most rigidly despotic, all power being lodged with the general. In his hands, all are to be as "a staff," or "as a dead body." It was the boast of Ignatius that he wished for only a month to secure the conquest of the spirit, and initiate into the order. This achievement over the will and conscience is made by means of a manual called the "Spiritual Exercises." "These," says father de Ravignan, "have created the society, maintain it, preserve it, and give it life." Hence this book is placed at the threshold of the order. In thirty days it regenerates. During

this period the novice is secluded from the world. He contemplates the life of Christ in a military parable. Two companies and standards and chiefs are drawn out before his excited imagination. Satan appears in Babylon, on whose banners are engraven in flaming characters, "Riches, honor, pride"; Jesus is seated on a plain in Jerusalem, surrounded by images of sweetness, gentleness and peace, with "Poverty, reproach, humility," inscribed on his banner. This is called "the meditation of the two standards," in view of which the trembling pupil is to choose, yet into which so much has been thrown that is imposing and dazzling respecting the monastic life, as to leave him almost without the power of choice. He is then taken in contemplation to the infernal regions. He is shown huge broiling monsters, heated furnaces, and the writhing, burning souls of the lost. He sees the smoke of their torment, snuffs the sulphuric and putrid odor, and even tastes the wormwood and the gall. Now he prostrates himself with his face to the ground, now lies upon his back, as the book directs. He sits and stands, sighs and groans, weeps, reflects and prays, all by a prescribed rule. In this way the victim is broken to the will of the ghostly fathers, and the spirit fitted to the mould. The man is lost in the order. His last act of freedom is his choice of perpetual bondage. Says Loyola, "If the authority declares that that which seems to you white, is black, affirm that it is black."

From the life of free thoughts and free words, men are thus taken into the close atmosphere of the tombs, to lie as corpses among the dead. The order is a complete despotism over the mind, conscience, will and estates of its members. Espionage and inquisitions reign in all grades and offices of the Company except the highest. All are watched by all, and all give account to the general of the order, who gives account to none.

Once more, at Rome the central enginery of the Inquisition still works with a secret, though somewhat abated force. This is the main defensive expedient of the Papacy, devised by Innocent III. in the twelfth century, for the conviction and punishment of heretics. Its processes are all secret as the grave, and its cells full of dead men's bones. Within the enclosures of this "court of death" are kept the "iron shears" of this mother

of us all, with which she is wont to pare the faith of men into agreement with her canons and her catechisms. Here, too, are the huge "keys" of St. Peter, and the deep dungeons with which she locks up poor, tempted pilgrims, to keep them unspotted from the world. Behind all, upon his bloody throne, sits the dark-visaged inquisitor. His "bones are marrowless," "his blood is cold," he has "a lean and hungry look," and is filled "top-full of direst cruelty." For this inhuman work a laic must not be taken, for he has some social bonds, some "milk o' human kindness" which may make him a coward. A monk, an isolated, unhumanized Dominican monk, is the only person qualified for the office.

The most concealed germ of free thought is hunted out of the soul by the disguised or open emissaries of the Inquisition. "Dishonor of the reason," says Schiller, "and the murder of the soul constitute its vows. Its instruments are terror and disgrace. Every passion is in its pay, and its snares lie in every joy of life. Even solitude is not secure from its espionage; and the fear of its omnipresence holds freedom fettered, even in the depths of the soul. All the instincts of humanity has it trodden down under the feet of credulity, and to it have been made to yield all those bonds which men esteem holiest. All claims upon his race, are, for the heretic, disallowed. For, by the least infraction of the law of Mother Church, he has destroyed his humanity. A modest doubt of the infallibility of the pope, is esteemed parricide. Even the lifeless body of the heretic is cursed. No destiny can rescue its victims, and the grave itself is no refuge from its terrible arms."

The strictest literary censorship, which is a part of the criminal jurisprudence, is extended by the inquisitors, to every department of science, archæology, philosophy, history, political economy and theology. No original investigation is tolerated, divergent from the prevalent orthodoxy. We saw a list of condemned books on the door-post of St. Peter's, of a part of which the following is a translation: "A decretum of the sacred congregation of the holy Roman church of Cardinals, by our most holy Lord, Pius IX., in which we have condemned, and will condemn, have proscribed and will proscribe, the following works," &c.

Then follows a list of the books, among which are "A Historical Analysis of Christian Civilization," "Mysteries of the Inquisition, and other Secret Societies of Spain," and "Letters on the Interpretation of Egyptian Hieroglyphics." "No one shall dare to publish, read, or keep in any place or idiom, any one of these condemned books, under the penalties stated in the 'Index of Vicious Books.'"

But what is there in the "Hieroglyphics of Egypt," of which the Romish church need stand in such fear? Why is she so terrified at the "Analysis of Christian Civilization," except that she is the pledged opponent of the highest and truly "Christian Civilization?"

Thus is every avenue of intelligence guarded by some sacerdotal janitor. Even gas light has not, until recently, been allowed at Rome, the chief illumination of the Papal States coming from wax candles. Of these the consumption is enormous. But there is one object upon which these mitred ecclesiastics look with more intense anxiety and fear than any other. It is the Bible. This they regard as the fomenter of all their difficulties. This occasions all the agitations and feuds among the people, and enkindles in them dangerous desires to think for themselves, and to know what God teaches. Here are the seeds of free schools and free thoughts, a free press and a free government. The Bible has made England and America free. Hence the Romanists proscribe it and burn it; and they exile, incarcerate, or burn those who read it.

David says, "The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple." But these priests say, that this is just the class which will be made more simple by reading it. Christ said, "Search the Scriptures;" but this self-styled vicar of Christ anathematizes all those who obey this command without a license from the Inquisition.

The state of society in Rome is such as long training under an intolerant and bigoted hierarchy is suited to induce. The feast days trench on the industry and business enterprise of the few who are disposed to labor, and the Sabbath is overridden by the week days as a means of remuneration. Numerous lotteries are licensed. Idleness is brought into good repute by the fact that a multitudinous priesthood, the first class in society,

have nothing to do. Mendicity is general, and often impudent, because it is encouraged by so many monastic orders, whose members are, *ex officio*, beggars. And mendacity cannot be a less common vice, where the church holds out, in her factitious miracles, a lie in her right hand. Licentiousness is scarcely a discreditable weakness, where the sanctity of the offender takes away the criminality of the offence, and where the commandments of the church so contravene the ordinances of heaven, as to awaken sympathy for the criminals. The crime of infanticide is measurably prevented by the multiplicity of Foundling Hospitals. The absence of delicacy and purity in women, who have many other attributes of female loveliness, is not surprising in a state of society where celibacy fills every seat of instruction, authority and religion. It is no marvel that a government of unmarried priests should make a nation of unrestrained libertines.

How much true piety there may be in such a state of things, it is difficult to say; where religion is a manual labor, or a series of manipulations; where the priest manufactures a deity out of a bit of bread, and the people first worship and then eat it; and where the liturgy is a melodrama in an unknown tongue, and not a simple utterance of the heart in the self-abasing adoration of the Almighty.

That there are some earnest and sincere hearts which beat, under this oppressive ceremonial, with true love to Christ, there is little doubt; some, in whom the Spirit of God has been mightier than all these obstructive powers. But that, as a system, it throws its darkening and chilling shade over vast multitudes of human beings, and most successfully shuts them up in caves of mental and moral darkness, there is just as little doubt.

The massive strength of the Romish hierarchy is found in the five great institutions of which we have taken a glimpse, the Papal See, the College of Cardinals, the Propaganda, the Order of Jesuits, and the Inquisition. It involves the highest constructive human skill, and is the fruit of twelve hundred years' experience. But just here, too, is its weakness, because mere human sagacity is always weak, and must in the end prove futile.

In a certain mythology of the ancients, the heavens are sup-

ported by the earth, the earth by an elephant, the elephant by a turtle, and the turtle stands on his own feet. By a similar series of supports, the Inquisition stands on the Propaganda, the Propaganda on the Cardinals, the Cardinals on the Pope, and the Pope on nothing.

As a spiritual despotism it must remain as it is, or fall. Reform is impracticable. Luther and Melancthon sought this earnestly, boldly, but ineffectually. They did not break from the church until, for their efforts at reform, she cut them off as guilty of damnable heresy. Then the die was cast. They must protest, and fight for the truth, or die. The papal anathema roused the Saxon monk. "You will burn me," he says, "for answer to God's message which I strive to bring you. I take your bull as a parchment lie, and burn that." And proceeding with it to the eastern gate of Wittenberg, he kindled a fire which illuminated the whole north of Europe. "Confute me by proofs of Scripture," said he at the Diet of Worms, "or else by plain, just argument, otherwise I cannot recant. Here I stand. I can do nothing else. God help me."

Thus the battle commenced, the great battle of Armageddon, of truth against error, light against darkness, Christ against Antichrist. Here the papacy closes the breviary and "Ope the purple testament of bleeding war."

To the side of truth and freedom gather the faithful and free from every clime. They are cheered by the voices of the slain witnesses under the altar, saying: "How long, Lord God Almighty, shall we not be avenged?" And their final victorious requiem shall be, in the language of the seer of Patmos:

"Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath rewarded her iniquities. Alas! alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city, for in one hour is thy judgment come!"

ARTICLE VIII.

SHORT SERMONS.

“Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.”—*Phil.* ii. 12, 13.

How entirely the salvation of man is of God, from first to last, and yet how indispensable are his own earnest and unceasing efforts, this text declares. We note,

1. *The Christian's duty as respects his own salvation.*

We say the Christian's duty; for the text is addressed to Christians, and can properly be addressed to none others. The exhortation implies:

(a) That his salvation is imperfect.

Else why commanded to work it out? His justification is complete at the very first moment of his believing, through the imputed righteousness of Christ. But his sanctification is a slow and gradual process, commencing at the time of his regeneration, and perfected only when he reaches heaven.

(b) That his salvation is an arduous work.

So the language imports; “Work out.” So too, elsewhere, “Giving all diligence.” “Strive to enter in.” “Watch and pray.” And why not? Shall men labor and toil after wealth, power, fame, and not for a heavenly crown?

(c) That it is a matter of vast and overwhelming importance.

It is salvation from the dreadful evil of sin; from the just displeasure of a holy God; from the bitter pains of eternal death. Therefore with fear and trembling work it out.

2. *The Christian's encouragement to work out his own salvation.*

“It is God which worketh in you.”

(a) “To will.”

The will is only enmity against God, till he turns it by his grace, and thenceforth its motions are right only as influenced by his Holy Spirit. “Not that we are sufficient of ourselves,” etc.—2 Cor. iii. 5.

(b) “To do.”

“He that abideth in me and I in him,” saith Christ, “the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing.”

(c) “Of his good pleasure.”

That is, according to his good pleasure he worketh in us. Herein

he shows the freeness and willingness of his grace. No obligation. He chooses to do it of his mere good pleasure. Delights to finish what he once begins. Never leaves anything unfinished, much less so glorious and excellent a work. Therefore,

1. Let the indolent professor take alarm.
 2. Let the diligent be encouraged.
 3. See the absurdity of waiting for God to do all.
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“If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.”—1 *John*, i. 9.

THE daily confession of sin is the duty of all, “for there is no man that sinneth not.” The text has direct reference to Christians, for the apostle is writing to Christians, and he says, “If *we* confess our sins.” Can it be less the duty of ungodly men?

1. *What is implied in confessing our sins?*

(a) True conviction of sin.

Conviction of sin is true, only when it is wrought by God’s perfect law, and is deep and thorough, including a sense of utter unworthiness and just condemnation.

(b) Sincere sorrow for sin.

Not for the consequences of sin, misery and punishment, but for sin itself, as the evil and bitter thing which God hates, and for which the Son of God endured the bitterness of death.

(c) Readiness to forsake sin.

To confess ourselves on the Sabbath miserable offenders, and then go and sin all the week, is only to mock and offend God. “I have done iniquity, I will do no more,” is the language of true confession.

2. *The benefits which flow from the confession of sin.*

(a) Forgiveness.

Confession is not the ground of pardon, but prepares us to receive it as a free gift of God, through Christ’s blood. The blessing is sure. He is faithful to his promise, and just to Christ, our surety, who bare our sins in his own body on the tree.

(b) Ultimate and complete redemption.

“To cleanse us from all unrighteousness.” To this also is God pledged by his eternal truth and equity. This he is daily accomplishing in his people by the effectual working of his Spirit, through his word, the discipline of his providence and his ordinances.

What is the conclusion? “Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.”

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1.—*The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, as amended by the Westminster Divines in the Royal Commission of 1661, and in agreement with the Directory for Public Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. 12mo. pp. xxiv, 637.

Liturgia Expurgata; or The Prayer-Book amended according to the Presbyterian Revision of 1661, and historically and critically reviewed. By CHAS. W. SHIELDS, D.D. pp. 188. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien. 1864.

THE historical fact has mostly fallen out of the knowledge of the churches that, in the reign of Charles II., a commission of Presbyterian and Episcopal clergymen, bearing his seal, was assembled at the Savoy in London to adjust a basis of uniform worship throughout the realm. Nothing came out of it in the way of establishing such uniformity, for the prelatic party showed so great unwillingness to yield a point, that "what was begun for a conference soon became a campaign." But though the bad faith of the king and the inflexibility of the bishops gave a new revival to high church pretensions for years thereafter, the revised ritual of the Elizabethan episcopacy now before us, in this new edition, is a lasting and most interesting memorial of that good attempt. It contains within itself a valuable monument of a critical epoch of ecclesiastical history.

Turning it carefully over and comparing it with the book in use among the Episcopalians, we find their chief material alike, in substance and arrangement. The forms of worship do not vary essentially, as composed of prayers, litany, Scripture readings. The main alterations are in the administration of the Sacraments, and are designed to remove the papistical leanings of the older Prayer Book, and to bring the whole to a more scriptural expression. This is very noticeable in the form of baptism. The order of inducting clergymen to their office is also omitted, and some other formularies which nobody, we believe, at present uses. In these respects the labors of the revisors were greatly valuable. It is manifest that they reduced their emendations to the smallest amount consistent with fidelity to their position as Christian ministers and men. In their views, also, not a few of the prelates of the land concurred,

who openly gave their voice for a change of the rubric, and a "reduction of episcopacy," as it was then termed, so as to make "the diocesan bishop a sort of permanent moderator of presbytery and synod." But the extremists had the power in their hands, and the schism of Christ's body was not healed. If that Savoy Conference had succeeded according to the hopes of its authors, it might have changed the entire church history of the next two centuries in Great Britain and America.

Beside the common forms of morning and evening prayer with which attendants upon Episcopal services are familiar, this order of worship contains two or three other short rituals which may be used in place of the longer ones or combined with them, so as to vary the service both in length and expression. Instead of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Divines is inserted. If a church desires to adopt a form of worship out of a book in place of an extemporized method, we think this reproduction of so ancient, scriptural, devout and orthodox a ritual presents every thing which is really desirable for that purpose.

The second title above is of a wholly separate work, though bound up in the same volume, to which it forms a valuable and quite necessary companion. The accomplished editor gives the history of the work which precedes it, and of the religious state of those times so far as this matter is involved. He then goes into an argument in favor of recalling into use this venerable ritual of his own church. The case, as he presents it, certainly has much strength. There are many things which suggest the possibility that our ordinary mode of non-prelatic worship may have too little of form for the best good of the bulk of our people, and thus tend directly to produce a very unspiritual and routine service. It is not wonderful that the English dissenters, thrown back so rudely by king Charles' bishops in their sincere efforts to modify the worship and polity of the realm, should have made so clean a sweep of every vestige of ceremonialism in their churches; nor that puritanism should have been so bent on unclothing itself of all the vesture which could possibly be spared, in its enforced contention against a terrible tyranny in church and state. But while we reap the great benefits of that heroic struggle, it is a question if we are not carrying on into the future some inconveniences accruing therefrom, which might now be dropped without harm to any one, and with the gain of some new power of attraction and adhesion which we very much need. Considerable changes are delicate things to manage, but they are often very desirable and sometimes really indispensable. If we mistake not, this volume points to a question which ought to be restudied, for practical pur-

poses, by our non-episcopal churches. We say this, not as having satisfactorily made this study, nor as committed to a theory about it; but as conscious of the very important interests involved in the debate concerning the best manner of conducting the public worship of God, and as mistrustful that something remains to be learned by us in these premises.

2.—*Evenings with the Bible and Science.* By J. B. SEWALL. 12mo. pp. 151. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1864.

THE author of this modest volume evidently has made physical philosophy a careful and congenial study, the result of which his parishioners have enjoyed in these lectures which are now added to our popular religious literature. He takes up the controverted points of the Adamic, Mosaic, Noachian, and Egyptian records, and maintains the inspired accounts with a discriminating criticism and a firm logic. We think that he makes unnecessary concessions occasionally, but they surrender no very important ground. It is well to be generous in these controversies, and also to be thoroughly fearless. These lectures are good illustrations of the practicability of popularizing science, and also of the way in which it may be made to help the religious education of a people. Those who heard them must be glad to freshen up the recollection of these arguments and more fully master them, through these pages which others can read with equal advantage. The *exposé* of Colenso's sophistry is excellent.

3.—*The Book of Praise*, from the best English Hymn Writers, selected and arranged by ROUNDELL PALMER. 12mo. pp. 480. Cambridge: Sever & Francis. 1864.

THE Attorney General of the British Queen has given his leisure moments to this work, which shows that a learned professor and practitioner of the driest of social sciences may have a soul of exquisite sensibility and glowing devoutness. It adds new lustre to a distinguished name, to find a wreath like this encircling it. These pages throb with religious emotions. They breathe the purest consecration to Christ which the church has developed. The author arranges his gathered treasures, firstly, to the several clauses of the apostles' creed; secondly, to the successive petitions of the Lord's Prayer; thirdly, the natural and the sacred seasons; fourthly, songs of the heart, as the call, the answer, faith, love, hope, joy, discipline, patience. It is a closet companion and not a book for church worship; just such a volume as finds a hearty welcome in Christian families of appreciative taste and culture. Many of our most fa-

miliar hymns are here, and others which we are glad to make a new acquaintance with. The notes and list of authors are useful aids to the history of these selections. We notice two or three American contributions. The work is done in the neatest of Cambridge style.

4.—*Visions in Verse : or, Dreams of Creation and Redemption.* 12mo. pp. 282. Boston : Lee & Shepard. 1864.

A VERY beautifully printed volume on tinted paper. The themes are high, "Creation and Redemption," and the successful treatment of them in verse would require a combination of powers which is exceedingly rare. The author of these "Visions" is not endowed with such powers. His endeavor to harmonize divine sovereignty and man's free will is feeble and leaves sovereignty feeble. Lucifer, as described before his fall, was either a very imperfect and unattractive angel or already in a lapsed frame of mind. The account of the formation of Adam by God's "plastic hand," from "clay and sand," and "water," and "stone," and "strata fresh," reminds us of a mechanic laboriously fashioning a clay model, nor can we enter into the feelings of the author when he exclaims,

"How interesting 'twas to see
The moulding of divinity!"

The following are samples of style and rhyme such as abound throughout the book.

"Their structure so ingenious and
Most seeming massive, strong and grand."—p. 12.

"The always changed expression
Of what was still in essence one."—p. 18.

"Used with his own thought to reflect,
Characterized by intellect."—p. 27.

"And Lucifer was thus led on
To self-exaggeration."—p. 41.

"And rescue from the fearful chasm,
That opened near of egotism."—p. 42.

The author, if not poet or philosopher, is evidently a Christian, and the tone of his book throughout is serious and reverent.

5.—*Christian Home Life.* A Book of Examples and Principles. 12mo. pp. 228. Boston : American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill.

WE have perused this volume with peculiar satisfaction and give to it our earnest commendation. The subject, Christian Home Life, is apparently of the very deepest interest, and perhaps the need has never been greater than now to have it pressed on the attention of

the religious portion of our American community. It is something to say that the author has made an unusually attractive and readable book. But he has done much more. He has set great scriptural principles in regard to the family in a clear, strong light, and has enriched his descriptions with copious illustrations drawn from the Bible and from the best Christian biographies. We earnestly hope this admirable treatise may have a very extensive circulation.

6.—*Letters from Italy and Switzerland.* By FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY. Translated from the German by Lady Wallace, with a Biographical Notice. Third Edition. pp. 370. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt. 1865.

Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. From 1833 to 1847. Edited by Paul Mendelssohn and Dr. Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, &c., &c. Translated by Lady Wallace. pp. 427. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt. 1864.

THESE neat, student-like volumes are a rare addition to our epistolary literature. They unfold the inner life of one of the truest, most beautiful of modern characters. Their author not only stood in the very foremost rank of the chiefs of musical genius, but he possessed also a large general culture in letters and art, and was a man throughout of noblest impulses and most refined tastes. His personal relations in the social and domestic circles in which he moved, as well as his connections with the public, were alike pleasant and fortunate. All this gave him a wide range of correspondence, in which he found a high and continual enjoyment, the affluent fruitage of which is put within our reach in this admirable publication.

The first series is made up of letters mostly written to a beloved sister during the author's travels, in early life, in Italy and Switzerland. These are of varied and quite unusual interest. They are replete with nice observation and genial criticism of the subjects of daily observation, interspersed with glimpses of spiritual light, and throbbing with an ever tremulous sensibility to beauty, which charm and captivate the reader. The second series takes up the writer's life at the close of these travels, and brings it on through its singularly happy and successful course to its close. The whole is full of brightness and harmony. The musical enthusiasm of the great composer plays along it a sweet but not obtrusive accompaniment. We cordially commend this collection of letters to our readers who love the very best of a good thing. They will find here an intellectual and æsthetic dessert of delightful flavor and richness.

7.—*Life and Labors of David Coit Scudder, Missionary in Southern India.* By HORACE E. SCUDDER. 12mo. pp. 402. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1864.

THIS is a delightful book, and cannot fail to be read with exceeding interest. The writer, a brother of the subject of the memoir, has done his work ably and faithfully, for while it is a touching tribute of brotherly love, none can fail to see, from the way in which the facts are presented, that the record is just and true. That the author is happy in his subject none will deny; for who can fail to love the hearty, genial boy, whose enthusiasm brightens and freshens all with whom he comes in contact, and whose religion is carried into the minutest details of his every day life. And the interest deepens as the boy develops into the man of genius and science, and then all is absorbed in the earnest Christian missionary.

The life of this young man, a great part of which is given in his own words, demonstrates most clearly that religion need not make its possessor gloomy and unsocial, but that the Christian may, and ought to be, the happiest of mortals, enjoying to the utmost all the good things his heavenly Father gives, while he does that Father's work with all his heart.

In this memoir the author's style is clear and forcible, his power of expression rich and varied, while he shows much ability in the analysis of character. We congratulate the young author on his possession of some rare literary gifts, and suggest that he use them sparingly and rigidly. We have learned that "heading in" our young fruit trees, and severe pruning of our grape vines, gives the most and the best fruit.

8.—*Dramatis Personæ.* By ROBERT BROWNING. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1864.

MR. BROWNING holds a unique position among the poets — a star which dwells apart. He is not a poet of nature, he describes but little, seems to be not much in sympathy with the common joys and woes of life. His genius is not lyrical, rather dramatic; yet it would be impossible for him to put a play upon the stage with any chance of success, for neither his style of thinking or writing is sufficiently popular; and even for closet study his dramas and poems are obscure and fatiguing. He is not affected nor consciously unnatural, as we are disposed to think. But his naturalness is of the most non-natural kind, by all ordinary standards. He has his admirers; but more because of his Blondinian sleight-of-foot on tight ropes stretched over Niagara chasms, than as his excellent wife

drew crowds to her side through the depth of her human and Christian love. Mr. Browning always seems to us to belong, in literature, to the class of really strong and great minds which are perpetually strained up to within an inch of snapping all in pieces like a glass torpedo. To vary the similitude — he never makes us think of such a beautiful picture as that soft, golden sunset by Weber, which our friend Jenks has on exhibition, a landscape suffused with mellowest, most tranquilizing loveliness. Rather he reminds us, in his sharp dissections of men and women, of the picture in the same gallery (a wonderful one of its sort) of the martyr-physician just ready to dissect a plague-corpse stretched before him, in order to find out the mysterious secret of that horrid malady. There is science and art enough, but we long for the sweet, warm graces of a loving soul. Doubtless the poet has them for his friends, but his pages are more glacial than genial.

9—*Life, Times, and Correspondence of James Manning, and the Early History of Brown University.* By REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD. 12mo. pp. 523. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1864.

THIS book has a splendid Index of more than forty pages, fine print, double columns, and the book is worthy to be indexed. It is a matter of surprise to us that this ancient and honorable institution and its first President have been so long neglected by our writers of history and biography. Certainly it is an inviting field, and rich in material, as this volume shows. There have been associated with this ancient seat of learning as pupils and teachers, men who have left their names distinct on the list of scholars, statesmen and patriots. Tardy but due honors are at length being paid to them. Previous sketches had been prepared, but nothing proportioned to the worth of the theme.

A man, the founder of a University, whose MSS. were packed up by the barrel, so unfortunately destroyed by a housewife who believed in clean attics, ought not to wait three-fourths of a century for a biographer. Yet this volume confirms the proverb that "patient waiters are no losers." Mr. Guild has spared no labor in gathering scattered, obscure and almost unknown material, in studying it thoroughly and preparing it for these pages. There is a home feeling about the book that we admire. It takes us back in a social way into the times, offices, homes and hearts, of that era and that section of New England.

In some matters of taste we should vary the volume, as in the introduction of an anecdote on p. 35, with profanity in it, and in the introduction of irrelevant matter, as Mr. Hart's Letters, pp. 32, 37.

But these are minor matters. We welcome the sheaf from an old field strangely neglected by any general reaper.

10.—*The Poems and Ballads of Schiller*. Translated by Sir EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, Bart. From the last London Edition. pp. 407. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1864.

THE second, or as some think, the first, of the great German poets is introduced to us in this spirited version of his minor pieces. Schiller's genius is recognized as a chief glory of modern literature. His modes of thought and expression are hardly English enough to bring him into close converse with our cultivated readers; but students will enjoy his brilliant, penetrative, impetuous conceptions and utterances. The prefaces and notes by the editor will aid the right comprehension of the often obscure idea. There is some metaphysical and theological speculation which is more German than true; some panegyric of nature as opposed apparently to Christianity, which we repudiate, in its obvious sense. But there are magnificent bursts of poetry here which waft us away to the loftiest heights of song, and sweetly tender touches of the lute which dissolve us in tears. Withal, Schiller used at times a keen irony which cuts like a sharp razor, as in the poems styled "Philosophers," and "Breadth and Depth." The translator has showed a worthy industry to present his illustrious subject in a fitting garb, and successfully, in the judgment of competent scholars.

11.—*The Hawaiian Islands: their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors*. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 12mo. pp. 450. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

FORTY years of missionary labor by the American Board on these Islands, totally heathen when the labor began, and now fully Christian, is a noble subject of inquiry and a noble theme for a writer. The Senior Secretary made the tour of the Islands officially and so reports in this volume. The record is a clear, simple, yet fascinating one, of cool, judicious and candid observations. No coloring of imagination or style is apparent. The life and glow of the volume are all from the living, glowing facts of these Islands and forty years labor for Christ and humanity on them. Without pretending, or really being, anything more than an official Report, it is the noblest record and defence of Christian Missions that has been made. Doing such work, we are not surprised that the A. B. C. F. M. is able to blot out vast debts and lay plans for immense labor for the coming year, even while our financial condition as a nation is in so novel and uncertain a condition.

12.—*Outlines of History*. Illustrated by Numerous Geographical and Historical Notes and Maps, Embracing Part I. Ancient History. Part II. Modern History. Part III. Outlines of the Philosophy of History. By MARCIUS WILLSON, Author of "American History," "History of the United States," etc. University Edition. pp. iv. 845, v. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co., 1864.

WE consider it a very grave defect in all our American systems of education that so little time is devoted to the study of History. We think it should be commenced as soon as our children are capable of being interested in the story of Christopher Columbus, the Pilgrim Fathers, and George Washington, and prosecuted with diligence to the very end of the course, whether in the Academy, the High School, or the University. It is very certain that in such a case it will continue to excite increasing interest, and to impart increasing treasures of knowledge and wisdom to the end of life. We think that every college and university should have a well-endowed professorship of History, and that the incumbent should not only be a master of the facts and the philosophy of History, but capable of awakening enthusiasm in the subject in the breasts of young men. That such enthusiasm can be awakened has been abundantly illustrated by the most brilliant of all our popular lecturers, the Rev. John Lord, LL. D. For the last quarter of a century Dr. Lord has delighted the most cultivated audiences, not only in our great cities and in our colleges and theological seminaries, but in London, in Glasgow, and in all the most important towns of Great Britain, by his masterly historical pictures, developing and enforcing through these pictures the profoundest lessons in politics, morals and Christianity. Multitudes of our young men have acquired a taste for historical studies through listening to Dr. Lord, and have added Milman and Hallam and Macaulay and Prescott and Motley to their libraries, and have gained largely in the breadth and soberness of their views, and in elegant literary culture.

It is unnecessary to say that the history of the nations furnishes the grand transparencies through which shines most clearly all human wisdom and all divine. Take away from the Bible all its historical portions, and how sadly would it be marred, considered as the Book of God to teach to man the great principles of his law and government. Just as clearly does all profane history, both ancient and modern, illustrate the same eternal and immutable truths. Is not the history of the last twenty centuries very mainly the history of Christianity? How wonderfully did God prepare the way for the

advent of its illustrious Founder, by a political fusing of the nations, and placing Cæsar Augustus on the throne of the civilized world! Since the day of the crucifixion and the scattering abroad of Christ's disciples to preach the gospel throughout the Roman empire, that gospel has been the grand disturbing and transforming force among the nations, and Christ the stone on which all that has fallen has been broken. You may read in characters just as distinct on the page of history, if you will, as in the prophetic roll "For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish." The writer of history must not be merely a narrator of facts in the order of their occurrence, however accurate in detail and elegant in style. He must seize upon the events which give character to an age; must portray the men who shape the destinies of nations, and must grasp them so as to make them the prominent objects on which the broad lights and shadows of great pictures fall. This has evidently been the aim of the author of the work before us, and we think he has succeeded in a remarkable degree. We are acquainted with no work which we consider so well fitted to the design. It is a compend of history, for the High School and the University, and in the hands of a competent teacher it can hardly fail to wake up in the minds of intelligent pupils a life-long interest in the wide and rich domain of historical research. Mr. Willson speaks very modestly of his "Outlines of the Philosophy of History." Yet we are persuaded that the student will find this part of the work of exceeding interest and value. The maps, eighteen in number, with brief descriptive letter press, will be found a very special convenience, as who does not find his knowledge of geography continually fading out. As a comprehensive and convenient book of reference the volume will be found worthy of a place in the library of the scholar.

13.—*Truth in Love.* Sermons by the late Rev. Josiah D. Smith, D. D., Pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio. With a Biographical Preface by the Rev. JAMES M. PLATT, and an Introduction by M. W. JACOBUS, D. D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

WE are much pleased with these sermons. They are discriminating, direct, tender, earnest, reverent and thoroughly evangelical. Dr. Smith was eminently a workman that needed not to be ashamed. The Biographical Preface adds much to the interest of the volume. He died in 1863, before the completion of his 48th year, and his death caused great lamentation.

14.—*History of the Peace.* Being a History of England from 1816 to 1854. With an Introduction 1800 to 1815. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Vols. I and II. pp. 455, 500. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1864.

A GOOD book to read in these dark and troublous times, fitted to excite courage and hope. It shows us how out of confusions and storms, revolutions and counter revolutions, the ambition of tyrants and the carnage of war, the crumbling of thrones and the overthrow of kingdoms, the derangement of currency and trade and distress of the people, cabinets made and unmade with more than the rapidity of the changing moon, conspiracies, cabals, factions, riots, terror, men's hearts failing them for fear, the sea and the waves roaring—how, out of all this, God has brought order and peace and prosperity, turning the shadow of death into the morning. Miss Martineau wields a strong pen, and has delineated with graphic force the great events of England's history in the first years of the present century. The illustrious statesmen of the period, Pitt, Fox, Canning, etc., with the then great captains Nelson, Napoleon and Wellington, are sketched, if not with the fascinating pencil of Macaulay, with, at least, equal discrimination and fairness. That pestilent scourge and meanest, basest of men, George IV., and his hapless, cruelly oppressed Queen, appear at full length, but with the delicate and dignified reticence in detail and coloring which we should expect from our author. All the matters of internal policy which have stirred the heart of the great English nation since the beginning of the present century are treated with singular accuracy and force; such as Banking, Poor Laws, Free Trade, Parliamentary and Ecclesiastical Reforms, etc.; while Agriculture and Science and Literature and Art receive their share of attention.

The peculiar value of this edition is set forth in the following extract from the Publishers' Note:

“Previous to undertaking the republication of the ‘History of the Peace,’ we wrote to Miss Martineau, soliciting from her pen a Preface for this edition. She responded with promptness, not only supplying the desired Preface, and making sundry corrections in the text of the work, but proposing to write, expressly for this edition, an entire new book, containing the History of the Peace down to the Russian War in 1854: making the present work a complete History of England from 1800 to 1854. This offer we gladly accepted. The present publication has, consequently, a value and completeness largely in advance of the English edition.”

Of the exquisite beauty of these volumes we cannot speak too

highly. They are on cream laid tinted paper from the Riverside press. We shall wait impatiently for the remaining two volumes.

15.—MISCELLANEOUS. *Progress : or The Sequel to Jerry and His Friends.* By Alice C. Dodge. 16mo. pp. 342. Boston : American Tract Society, 28 Cornhill. This book is well written, being an account of some very good boys and very intelligent ; good and intelligent we should say quite beyond the average of the boys we are accustomed to see, even in intelligent, Christian families. It is a very interesting book for boys to read, but we have grave doubts whether it is the right kind of a book to put into the hands of boys ; just because it does not describe good boys as they really are, or as they can reasonably be expected to be. If one half the adult members of a church were as matured in piety and understanding as Jerry and his friends, it would be a wonderful church. *Amy Carr : or The Fortune Teller.* By Caroline Cheesbro. 12mo. pp. 226. New York : M. W. Dodd. 1864. A pleasant tale of a poor foundling, illustrating God's care for the forsaken, and the effect of a sincere piety to fill the humblest scenes with light and cheerfulness. *Light on the Ocean.* By S. W. Hanks, Corresponding Secretary of the Boston Seamen's Friend Society. Boston : Mass. Sabbath School Society, 13 Cornhill. This very interesting little book contains a variety of incidents and experiences relative to sailors and life at sea, and is exceedingly well fitted to stimulate and encourage Christian efforts for the well-being of a class of men to whom we are under great obligations. *Our Birds*, by the same Society, is a charming book for boys. Twelve of our common birds are here beautifully presented in their own portraits, and with a kind of biographical story of each. *New Stories from an Old Book.* 16mo. pp. 216. By the same. The sixteen stories have for a basis some facts in Scripture history and are well told. *Stories for the Little Ones.* Second Series. By the same. A bound volume of little tracts, attractive and instructive. *A Soldier of the Cumberland.* Memoir of Mead Holmes, Jr., Sergeant Wisconsin Volunteers. By his Father. With an Introduction by John S. Hart, LL.D. Pro Christo, pro patria. Boston : American Tract Society. Another of the thousands of young heroes whose deaths are purchasing our life, and one of the best of these thrilling histories.

ARTICLE X.

THE ROUND TABLE.

FREE THOUGHT AND SPEECH UNDER PAPACY AND THE JESUITS. In the October number of his Review Mr. Brownson says: "It is possible that this number of our Review may be the last." It is rumored that the Review is suspended by an *ex cathedra* mandate. The cause of this papal interference with progressive thought and free discussion is suggestive to both Roman Catholics and Protestants.

Mr. Brownson has spoken against the Jesuits as an order "not adapted to our age, and especially to our country," and as making adaptation impossible by having moulds of another land and past ages "in which every one entering the Society must be recast."

He has objected to the temporal sovereignty of the pope, as both impolitic, and no necessary tenet of a good papist. As belonging to a mixed system of civil and ecclesiastical government of past ages, he thinks it must be abandoned with the dead past.

He denies the absolute authority of the Fathers on theological questions, discriminating between faith and theology. "Faith is divine, theology is a human science." While the weight of the Fathers is presumptive, it is not conclusive and authoritative for any theological point. As each may only quote his predecessor, and without any original research, the *catena patrum* may have only the value of the first link, and we be as well able as the first man in the series to judge on the point in question. "Any attempt," he says, "to bend the human mind, thought, or reason, back to the theology of any past age is hostile to the interests alike of religion and civilization." And herein Mr. Brownson arouses all the power of the Jesuits against his Review. Their religious views are a rescript of the mediæval times, and their civilization is no farther along in the ages than the cross-bow, portcullis, divine rights for the people through the popes, government without *magna charta*, and trials without public accusation, defence or jury.

He has also denied the infallibility of the pontifical Congregations, and even of the pope himself. "They have no infallibility, except that of the pope himself, who approves their decisions, and that the pope is infallible is no article of Catholic faith. One may deny his infallibility, and maintain that his definitions are reformable, and yet be a good orthodox Catholic." This certainly is occidental and not

oriental in its letter and spirit, and more so in this passage: "If the pope should give us a command in the civil order we should not feel bound to obey it, any more than we should feel bound to obey a command given by our temporal sovereign in the spiritual order."

These and others, quoted and indicated, are bold words, savoring of manhood, individualism and the nineteenth century. We are not surprised that their continued utterance should be forbidden by Rome. They jar all along back among the cloisters and skeletons and fossils, bulls and triple crowns of the papacy. Mr. Brownson well complains that he is met not by argument but by denunciation. But with his masterly knowledge of the papacy he should have expected just this. Mr. Brownson should have foreknown that he must eventually go under the "iron shears" to be clipped to the one pattern, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, or go under the *anathema sit*. We sorrow that a man of such independence of thought must be silenced. We need more of them, very many, in all parties in church and state. Speaking of popular opinion Mr. B. says: "for which we have and never had much respect." This is the mistake and the glory of the man, and now he is to die editorially a martyr to his mistake and his glory.

This hostility to Mr. Brownson's progressive and readjusted papacy shows how difficult a thing it is to move Romanism. It has been found exceedingly difficult to slide it up the inclined plane of progress in Europe, though the rising grade was evidently very slight. After being shipped to this country it protests against naturalization; it will not become acclimated; it will not be modernized. It insists on continuing both European and mediæval. Mr. Brownson's strenuous and liberalizing endeavor is a failure. The two parties in that church are both right. One insists that Romanism can not readjust itself and keep up with the times; and the other affirms that it must keep up or perish.

We have a parallel struggle now in the South. Secessia refuses to adapt her civilization and Christianity to modern times. She insists on preserving a section of the dark ages, a sample of feudalism. She rejects all new almanacs, and purposes, with sword in hand, to live by the old one of centuries past; while the North concludes to keep up with the still moving heavens, and get out a new almanac every year adapted to the changes of the times.

We look anxiously to see the issue with Mr. Brownson. If he goes into the *Index Expurgatorius* he will go into a goodly company, and like the great Bellarmine he may be taken out by a succeeding pope. Perhaps it is presumptuous in us to commend him to the study

of Milton's Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing and of a church that sustains that liberty.

NOVELTIES. People who go through the world with a crowbar on their shoulder, ready to pry up and turn over every stone they meet, may make some valuable discoveries, but are apt to do much mischief. Thanks to Providence, there are some things so well fastened down that they cannot be loosened, however vigorously these folk may work upon their motto—

“Of old things, all are over old;
Of good things, none are good enough;
We'll show that we can help to frame
A world of other stuff.”

There are two extremes to this matter, as to most matters. It will not do to take old Terence's *dixit* as a universal proposition:

“Quod si quiessem, nihil evenisset mali:”

but, then again, the fool who runs before he is sent must not wonder if he runs only on a fool's errand.

A restless, dissatisfied state of mind breeds a great part of our innovations without improvements; and this is a marked characteristic of our North American people, owing possibly to an extra allowance of oxygen in our atmosphere, and the peculiar action of the east winds upon nerves which lie near the surface. It is symptomatic also of vulgarity, ignorance and vanity to be always trying to make well enough better. Not but that holy writ promises to “make all things new.” But “I,” saith the Lord, will do it. He never has, however, done it by this kind of helpers: he uses, for these renovations, humble souls who prefer to do his work rather than their own.

Novelty-hunters care little about increasing the sum total of human wisdom and social well-being. They are on the chase of a new sensation, a different sort of exhilaration in finding or making something unlike anything else. Blondin must out-blondin all the race of aerial gymnasts; Punchinello must swallow his own head with his hat on, if some one else has done it barcheaded. And the gaping lookers-on will worship the successful beast, though he have as many horns and tails as him of the Revelation.

Here we have the spawning-ground of a thousand and one modes of living, dressing, recreating, authorship, et cetera; expensive, uncomfortable, fatiguing, demoralizing, yet promiscuously patronized, by high *ton* and low *not-ton* alike, still vindicating the fact, that

—“new customs,
Though they be never so ridiculous,
Nay let them be unmanly, still are followed.”

Science, literature, theology, are tempting fields to this genius for reconstruction, or rather for alteration. Legitimate progress is one thing; tumbling down a wall and throwing the bricks and broken mortar in every body's face who walks in the neighborhood, is another and not particularly rational thing. We do well to wonder at the large and deep learning of our forerunners, on at least the two latter ranges of knowledge above named. It came through their habits of patient industry and meditation in the search of truth. Our hop-and-skip education calls them plodders. But if they could not make time on the race-track like our jockey trotters, they carried treasure in their brains which was worth unloading at the end of the course. They, in their turn, revered the ancient, and were not afraid of contracting an undue mossiness by making the Virgillian text their own:

“*Sanctos ausus recludere fontes.*”

Full many of our bright wits, and some not over bright, vote those fountains dry, and set to work to fill up cisterns of their own digging as best they may. And curious are the compounds which they draw off for the thirsty lips around—some spinning up with the ambitious frothiness of a strong pressure of fixed air—you must drink it quick or it will flatten terribly; other some running heavily out like a muddy draining of apothecaries' poisons. We have drug shops and quack laboratories in literature, criticism and religion, *ad nauseam*, because we still have the endless succession of the men and women too of Athens, who spend their time in nothing else but either to tell, or to hear, or to invent some new thing.

Praise to the superintending Omniscience, something will come out of all this, not altogether evil; we hope, positively good. Old Indopleustes did a little perhaps toward advancing physical science by teaching that the earth was a flat plane with a huge mountain at one extremity around which the heavenly bodies performed their revolutions; that an innumerable multitude of angels guided the stars in their orbits beneath the concavity of the heavens which rested on mighty pillars in the region of the setting sun. The big turtle of, who was it? was the “*vox clamantis in deserto*” of the Newtonian law of gravitation. Even a rusty nail may unlock a chest of bullion. Possibly our lock-pickers, who are so busy with no better tools of their own manufacturing, at many a mystery hid from the ages, may by and by stumble upon a discovery which shall be worth the candle.

"THE LAND IS MINE." This is a first principle with God in his laws for Israel concerning the tenure of real estate. He gave no quit claim deed, but assigned the land in such way that no class could gain a monopoly and perpetual control of it. "The land shall not be sold forever." Toiling for centuries for others under a real estate despotism, the freedom of Israel is made secure in their new homes by an inalienable family interest in the land given to them by lot.

By the law we have referred to, in the twenty-fifth of Leviticus, all land without the walled towns was to come back into the hands of its original owner or his family heirs, at the ends of periods of fifty years, if in the intervening time it had been alienated. So no family could become permanently poor or disfranchised or bound to service by ceasing to be landholders. And so no one could disturb the civil or pecuniary balance in the State by getting vast landed interests under his control. Not only so, but by a kind of parental kindness and forethought God in this way secures a support for the less gifted in economy or business talent in his family. Some naturally possess more gifts than others for the acquisition of property, and often it is the misfortune rather than the fault of some that they are poor. So as parents show a peculiar tenderness toward an imperfect or infirm child, our common Father in this law makes provision for the less fortunate in his Israelitish family.

We can trace with much clearness the providential legislation of God among other branches of his family to enact this same principle. Europe has been now for centuries in disturbance, brought about really by God's movement to break up the feudal system and the huge land monopoly of the continent. In those many dismantled castles and titled families thrown back into the ungraded human mass, God is perpetually saying; "The land is mine, and it shall not be sold forever." Bread riots are as natural a sequence to corn-laws as pain to the burning of living flesh.

Those continental tremblings and muttered threats of revolution, brought about by men whose hands are callous from labor and whose stomachs are clamorous for food, are really providential protests against human interference with the divine jurisdiction in the matter of real estate. This vast control of human interests and life, that he obtains who gets control of vast tracts and regions of land, is an offence against the legislation of heaven; and human legislatures, parliaments and courts, but poorly satisfy their divine constituency by supplementing and modernizing his disregarded laws with poor-house systems and government rations. Underneath the agrarian theory, so imperfect, objectionable and even odious in some of

its forms, there do lie certain great first principles, and among them this, that the land is for man, and not classes of men. We are now trying to strike bottom on one or more of these first principles in the settlement of the labor and wages question of the South. This question sustains a most intimate causal relation to our civil war, and is a part of the most intricate problem to be wrought out in any close of the war that we may either project or achieve.

One thing is settled, and has been since the days of Sinai and Canaan, that any national government to have comfort and quiet in itself must make it secure that the land it controls shall both comfortably nourish and nobly lift up the people who work it.

PELAGIANISM teaches that the infant is "characterless"; that, possessed of animal passions, and exposed to temptations in a sinful world, it is not only liable to be overpowered by these, but in almost if not in every case, is overpowered, and so, if life is sufficiently prolonged, grows up to be a sinner.

Some of our modern Theology teaches that the infant, in its relation to the divine government, is *morally* characterless; that the animal passions, or affections, have been so disordered by the Fall, as that the child, when it comes to the exercise of conscious moral choices, always chooses evil instead of good, the wrong instead of the right.

Now, what is the essential difference between these respective teachings? How does a characterless child differ from a child without a moral character, in relation to moral laws, and as a subject of moral government? And what becomes of such children when they die? They are not sinners, for they are incapable of conscious moral choices. Who can suppose that the infant of a day, or a week, or month is capable of these? Are they then non-descripts in the government of God, belonging to neither the class of the sinful nor the holy? Can they be saved by Christ's atonement, if they die before the period of conscious moral choices, in the view of the fact that they have no moral character, if they have none before this period, and in view of the fact also that the atonement was made to redeem from sin? We ask again, What becomes of infants, if there be such, that die before they have a moral character, before they need a Saviour from sin? Can they go to heaven, while the Scriptures explicitly teach that all who go there join in the song of redeeming love, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen."—Rev. i. 5, 6. Where do they go?

It is not strange that we are told by many at least who adopt this seemingly if not really Pelagian theory, when pressed with the scriptural difficulties which environ it, that they do not know ; that a benevolent God will take care of them, and that they must be content to leave them in his hands.

Philosophy cannot tell what becomes of them. It can guess. It can assume as facts what it can not prove, but it can not tell. The Scriptures, however, do tell us that they are sinners, and how they can and must be saved. They do not tell us definitely in what sense they are sinners, except that they are so "by nature," before they are conscious of moral choices, but they affirm that they are sinners, because they include them among the "all" upon whom "death passed, because that all have sinned," and among the "all" for whom Christ died, because "all were dead." If saved, and who will presume to say that any infants are not, they are and must be saved by virtue of his atonement.

"UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES." All very well, if one can take the position *under* what is only standing *around* (*circum-stantes*) him. And yet many of our most finished, we can not in this instance say classic, writers and speakers, as for example, Mr. Everett in his late Faneuil Hall speech, are frequently getting *under* circumstances. We can not see how they do it, or, when done, we can not see anything *above* them. When a man takes his stand "*in the circumstances*" we think he is master of his position, and can defend himself classically and etymologically.

PREACHING. Thirty years ago we made some notes, on preaching, from a volume of which we have not seen a copy for nearly that length of time, written, if we remember rightly, by an English clergyman of the name of Bridges. We find them in an old notebook, and give them here, with an addition or two, to another generation of preachers, for they are as applicable to the sons as to their fathers, in the sacred office. They carry the heading of *Causes of Ministerial inefficiency, with Hints for greater efficiency*. The causes are

1. General. (a) The withholding of divine influences. (b) Enmity of the natural heart. (c) Power of Satan. (d) Local hindrances, as state of the community, relations of society, etc.

2. Personal. (a) Want of entire devotedness to the work. (b) Conformity to the world. (c) Fear of Man. (d) Want of Christian self-denial. (e) Spirit of Covetousness. (f) Neglect of secret devotions. (g) Spiritual pride. (h) Absence or defect of personal reli-

gion. (i) Defect of family religion, and want of connection of the minister's family with his work. (j) Want of faith.

3. Hints to improve. Strive to interest your hearers by addressing them directly, feeling after their hearts, and showing them that you are dealing with them individually. Don't deliver an essay, instead of a sermon. Study closely human nature. Historical facts, and occurrences of common life may be happily employed, as they are fitted to catch the attention. But don't make your discourse a rag-bag and scissors patch work.

Follow no special model. Be natural. Use a clear style. Avoid all quaintness and conceited points; also many epithets. Don't soar above the comprehension of your hearers; but by easy steps and a simple logic you can carry them a good way upward or downward. Be earnest, not tumid. Write much, even if you do not read your sermons. Stop when you are done.

DOING AND KNOWING. "Every duty which we omit (writes Ruskin) obscures some truth which we should have known." Is there any thing strange, then, in the origin and spread of idolatry among the pagan nations; or in the perverted ethics of modern days, and memorably, in the Southern sections of our own republic? If God's commandments are continually broken, even under the light of nature, how can he be retained in men's knowledge as the one object of worship? If the spirit of Christianity be rejected from a people's national and social life, how can conscience be saved from losing the sense of the simplest moral truths?

MAKING A BOOK. Dr. Sprague, that prince of clerical and ecclesiastical annalists, has put his eighth volume of "Annals," the one on the Unitarians, into the hands of his stereotyper. Two more embracing several minor denominations, will complete this vast work. It is a life work, though he has written or edited some twenty other volumes, all a pleasant excursus from a laborious professional career. One gains an index to the amount of labor expended on his Annals in the fact that he has paid out twenty-five hundred dollars in postage alone.

This is as it should be. If a man assumes to give a book to the world he ought to put time and labor into it, equal at least to a tithe of the time and labor expected in reading it. We do not now mean by books those thousand and one things, written in the afternoon by scribes ycleped authors, published at night, read the next morning, and made waste paper at noon. We mean a volume that aspires to see the next century. In writing such a book an author should feel with the old painter, who was reproached for being so long a

time on his piece. "I paint for a long time," was the noble defence. He should not repeat others unless he can excel them, nor leave any Ruth much to glean after him. To save the greatest amount of labor and time, an author on most subjects should epitomize the old of his predecessors, and tell us distinctly where his new begins. The most of us readers want to begin just there. Guild's "Manning and Brown University" is an illustration fresh and in point of what we mean by an exhaustion of material. We admire the way in which the author of a real book has drawn his wide net through alcoves and garrets, old barrels, associational records, and the retreats of private correspondence.

We are told that a book is indebted for its longevity very much to its style. The knowledge it contains may be reproduced by later writers, and so the old author die out of memory, if his style do not give him a life insurance. Schiller's "Thirty Years' War," Voltaire's "Charles XII.," and some English volumes of the Elizabethan age, illustrate the vitality of a thoroughly classic diction and structure. This being so, the more need is there of toilsome and protracted labor in the making of a real book.

LIFE-WRITING. One of the gravest and most common faults of biographies is, that they present so highly varnished pictures of their subjects, putting in strong lights their commendable qualities, and screening unduly their failings. This tends as much to discourage as to encourage the reader. In this is conspicuously seen the superiority of the biblical narratives of personal lives in both the Old and New Testaments. They give the bad and good qualities with a judicious fidelity. Here there is alike a model and a test of biographical writing. This, too, is the severest touchstone of an autobiographical competency for that delicate work.

BORES. Among the most tiresome of these are your philosophic generalizers who will resolve you the cause of all national, social, historical, and scientific phenomena, with a single glance of their astonishingly astute optics. They remind you of the shrewd hit at the discoverers of false causes, in *Guesses at Truth*: "If they catch sight of a dry stick lying near a tree, they cry out, *σύγρηξα!* here is one of the roots."

PHRENOLOGY AT A DISCOUNT. Sir William Hamilton, after dissecting several hundred human brains, and particularly examining the subject of the frontal sinus, concludes that "no assistance is afforded to mental philosophy by the examination of the nervous system, and that the doctrines which are founded upon the supposed

parallelism of brain and mind are, so far as observation extends, wholly groundless."

SATAN told our Lord that the angels would bear him up from being dashed on the stones (for so it was written) if he would leap from the battlements of the temple. But Christ knew that the promise of protection is against the stones which lie along our paths of every day duty, and not against danger and damage when we jump over precipices.

A SELFISH person is like a top spinning round on the point of its own axis. A benevolent person is like a planet revolving around the central sun, and reflecting its brightness. That sun of the soul is God. Yet the soul may have also a revolution on its own centre, so that this be in harmony with its motion upon the greater orbit.

AUGUSTINE in his *De Civitate Dei* (xxii. 6.1.) thus gives, in a string of Latin preterites, the history of the Pagan persecutions of the early Christians: "Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, et multiplicabantur." So the bush which Moses saw in the desert burned with fire, "nec tamen consumebantur"—an old martyr-seal.

VOLTAIRE used to say that the heart never grew old, but that it becomes sad because lodged in a ruin. Why could not the philosopher-poet see, that grace is the only restorer of this ruin?

ERRATA.

On page 440, fourth line from the bottom insert:

"All right understanding of the origin of the gospels, as we may understand it, must rest upon a living, believing apprehension of their contents which are unlike aught else in the world's history. The Bible has never failed to speak for itself, without the assistance of the learned. In its application to preaching use in the church it has ever preserved its living power, and it ever will. There is the exegesis of the Spirit at home."

On page 448, tenth line, for EXHAUST read EXPAND; nineteenth line, for SPIRANT read SPIRANTE, and twenty-first line, for BREATHED read BREATHING.

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H'G



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